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EDITED BY

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सत्यमेव जयते

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DR. F. W. THOMAS, M. A., Ph. D., C. I. E.

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Born : 21st March 1867
at Fazely,
Staffordshire,
England.

Died : 6th May 1956
at Banbury
Oxfordshire
England

FREDERICK WILLIAM THOMAS

Dr. F. W. Thomas, M.A., PH.D., C.I.E. (Librarian of the India Office, London, 1904-27; Boden Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Oxford and Fellow of Balliol College, 1927-37) passed away at his home near Branburg, Oxfordshire, on the 6th May 1956 at the age of 89. By his sad death, oriental learning has suffered an irreparable loss.

Born at Fazely in Staffordshire on March 21, 1867, Thomas had a brilliant educational career. He obtained a classical scholarship at Trinity College, Cambridge, and won other laurels in Classical Tripos and Indian Languages Tripos. He knew Greek and Latin as well as Sanskrit, Pali and several other Eastern languages. In 1898 he joined the India Office as Assistant Librarian and succeeded C. H. Tawney as Librarian there in 1904. This post he held for about a quarter of a century. On retiring in 1927 he became Boden Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Oxford and Fellow of Balliol College and continued to serve in these capacities till 1937. In the years that followed, he kept himself busy with his scholarly pursuits, inspiring younger scholars by his shining example.

The name of Dr. Thomas was held very high in the field of Indological learning. As a result of his continued hard work for over half a century, he has left an abiding mark of progressive scholarship specially on Sanskritic and allied studies. He was a pioneer in the field of research pertaining to Chinese Turkestan opened up by the explorations of Aurel Stein and others. A large number of publications (well over 200) on Indian and Oriental subjects, in the form of books and papers, stand to his credit. Some of his important works are : (1) *The Harṣacarita of Bāṇa* (translated in collaboration with E. B. Cowell), (2) *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya*, an anthology of Sanskrit verses, and (3) *Tibetan Literary Texts and Documents concerning Chinese Turkestan.*

In recognition of his manifold academic activities, numerous honours were conferred on Dr. Thomas. He was a member of the council of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, of which he held the offices of Honorary Secretary, Vice-President and Director. In 1939, on the occasion of his 72nd birth-day, he was presented with a *Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies* by his friends and admirers.

Dr. Thomas visited India twice, once in 1920-21 and again in 1937-38 when he was invited to preside over the Ninth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference at Trivandrum. He was an Honorary Correspondent of the Archaeological Department, Government of India. Besides, he was the editor of the *Epigraphia Indica* from 1916 to 1922. In that capacity, he edited Vols. XIII to XVI of this journal, Vol. XIII jointly with Sten Konow, and Vol. XVI jointly with H. Krishna Sastri. His own contribution to the pages of the *Epigraphia Indica* relates to certain important Kharōshṭhī records, viz. Inscriptions on the Mathurā Lion-Capital (Vol. IX, pp. 135-47) and on the Relic Casket from Kurram (Vol. XVIII, pp. 17-18).



DR. N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., Ph.D., O.B.E.
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Died: 19th October 1956
at New Delhi.

NIRANJAN PRASAD CHAKRAVARTI

Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, M.A., PH.D., O.B.E., the late Director General of Archaeology in India, passed away at New Delhi on the 19th October 1956. By his demise, Sanskritic studies in general and Indian epigraphy in particular have sustained a great loss.

Dr. Chakravarti was born on the 1st July 1893 at Krishnagar in the Nadia District of West Bengal. After passing his M.A. examination, he entered the University of Calcutta as a Lecturer in Sanskrit and Pali in 1917. He was awarded a Government Scholarship in 1921 for studies in Europe and worked at the Sorbonne (Paris) and Berlin Universities.[1] In 1924 he went to England and was admitted in 1926 to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Cambridge. On his return to India, he entered the Archaeological Survey of India in 1929 as Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy at Ootacamund. His zest for documentary and epigraphical research carried him to the post of Government Epigraphist for India in 1934. In this capacity, he edited Volumes XXII to XXVI of the *Epigraphia Indica*. In 1940, he was transferred to New Delhi as Deputy Director General and became Joint Director General in 1945. He was appointed Director General of Archaeology in India in 1948.

After his retirement in 1950 from that post, his services were utilised by the Government of India in a number of ways. He was appointed Advisor in the Department of Archaeology and retired from this position in 1952. Thereafter he was appointed Officer on Special Duty to guide the artists engaged in depicting scenes from the history of the country, from the dawn of civilisation to the attainment of independence, on the walls of the Parliament House and continued in this post till his death.

Dr. Chakravarti was a member of several learned societies in India and abroad such as the Hakluyt Society, l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient, and the International Committee on Sites and Museums set up by the UNESCO. Besides, he was a Fellow of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Vice-President of the Royal Society of India and Pakistan, London, and the All-India Fine Arts and Crafts Society.

The range of Dr. Chakravarti's scholarship was extensive. His inspiring address on 'Our Cultural Heritage, Its Future' to the All-India Oriental Conference in 1948 and the learned presidential address he delivered at the Indian History Congress at Ahmadabad in 1954, indicating the problems and future lines of research in Indology, were greatly appreciated by scholars. As regards Indian epigraphy, in addition to his scholarly contributions to the *Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India* and *Ancient India*, he edited the Sanskrit inscriptions from Java in Part II of B. R. Chatterjee's *India and Java* and contributed the section on inscriptions in Yazdani's *Ajanta*, Part III. The following learned papers from his pen were published in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

1. Nivina Copper-plate Grant of Dharmarājadēva (Vol. XXI, pp. 34 ff.).
2. Kharod Inscription of Ratnadēva III, Chēdi Saṁvat 933 (ibid., pp. 159 ff.).
3. Two Brick Inscriptions from Nālandā (ibid., pp. 193 ff.).
4. A Buddhist Inscription from Kara (Vol. XXII, pp. 37 ff.).
5. Bhopal Plates of Mahākumāra Hariśchandradēva (Vol. XXIV, pp. 225 ff.).
6. Lucknow Museum Plate of Jayachchandradēva, V. S. 1237 (ibid., pp. 291 ff.).
7. Rewah Plates of the time of Trailōkyamalladēva, [Kalachuri] year 963 (Vol. XXV, pp. 1 ff.)
8. A Note on the *Halāyudha-stōtra* in the Amarēśvara temple (ibid., pp. 183 ff.).
9. Rājapraśasti Inscription of Udaipur, jointly with Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra (Vols. XXIX-XXX. Appendix, pp. 1-123).
10. Hatun Rock Inscription of Paṭōladēva (Vol. XXX, pp. 226 ff.).
11. Brāhmī Inscriptions from Bāndhōgarh (Vol. XXXI, pp. 167 ff.).

[1] One of the results was his *L'Udānavarga Sanskrit* published in Paris in 1930.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

—:)o(:—

VOLUME XXVIII

Title Page.—*For* 1949-50 *read* 1949-1950

Page 338, line 26.—*For* bhavē *read* bhavēt

,, 338, line 30.—*For* eight *read* eighth

,, 338, line 31.—*Read*—Harikēlā, Harikēla or Harikēli in the Sylhet region ; but he appears

VOLUME XXIX

Title Page.—*For* 1951-52 *read* 1951-1952

Page 1, line 6.—*For* west of *read* east of

,, 1, lines 25-26.—*Add note*—Mr. M. R. Gupta quotes the weight of the Belwa plate of Mahīpāla as 13½ lbs. (*JAS*, Letters, Vol. XVII, p. 117).

,, 8, text line 47.—*For* bhāvibhiś=cha *read* bhāvibhir=api

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Page 3, line 11.—*Add editorial note*—The discrepancy of one year in the epochs of the Bhāṭika era suggested by the two inscriptions respectively in the Vishṇu and Śiva temples at Jaisalmer, viz. 624-25 A. D. and 623-24 A. D., cannot be reconciled, as suggested by Prof. Mirashi, by supposing that the second date is recorded in a current year and the first in an expired year. The language of the inscriptions in question (cf. Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 775 and 962) shows clearly that the Bhāṭika years mentioned in both the epigraphs were current only. The year of the first inscription is *Bhāṭikē Saṁvat 812 pravartamānē* and that of the second record *Pravarttamāna-Bhāṭika 993*. Besides the two inscriptions dated in the Bhāṭika era, referred to by Prof. Mirashi, nearly a dozen other inscriptions bearing dates in the same era, all found at Jaisalmer and its immediate neighbourhood, have been noticed in the *Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum*, Ajmer, for the year ending 31st March 1936 ; cf. *An. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind.*, 1935-36, p. 111 ; *IHQ*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 65 ff. It is interesting to note that 624-25 A. D. as the beginning of the Bhāṭika era suits some of these inscriptions while others suggest 623-24 A. D. The earliest date supplied by these inscriptions is Bhāṭika Saṁvat 539, Bhādrapada sudi 10, Sunday (corresponding to the 11th August 1163 A. D.) found in an inscription on a Govardhana about 10 miles from Jaisalmer. The era seems to have been a solarised modification of the Hijrī, the first year of which corresponds to 622-23 A. D.=V. S. 679-80. It appears that the Bhāṭī kings of Jaisalmer fabricated this reckoning about the 12th century by subtracting about 680 from the V. S.

Page 295, foot-note 5.—*Add note*—That Bāṇa applies the name Mālava to East Malwa in his *Harshacharita* seems to be suggested by the fact that, in his *Kādambarī*, he speaks of Vidiśā on the Vētravatī as the capital of the Mālava country (Siddhantavagisa's ed., pp. 18-19: *majjan-Mālava-vilāsinī.. .. Vētravatyā parigatā Vidiś-ābhidhānā nagarī rājadhāny āsīt*) while the same work mentions Ujjayinī on the Siprā as the capital of the Avanti country (ibid., pp. 176-83: *Śiprayā parikshiptā....... vijit-āmaralōka-dyuti* [illegible] *Ujjayinī nāma nagarī*). The same tradition is referred to by Yaśōdhara in his commentary on Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* (VI, 22 and 24), which explains Avanti as Apara-Mālava (i.e. West Malwa) and Mālava as Pūrva-Mālava (i.e. East Malwa). It is also supported by the *Shaṭpañchāśaddēśa-vibhāga* (*Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 51-72).

VOLUME XXXI

Page 12, foot-note 5.—*For* Visala° *read* Vīsala°

" 13, line 28.—*For* inclinded *read* inclined

" 13, line 41.—*For* Chamdānā° *read* Chaṁdāṇā°

" 18, line 21.—*For* vitīya *read* dvitīya

" 25, foot-note 2.—*Add editorial note*—See also P. T. Srinivasa Ayyangar, *Bhoja Rāja* (Annamalai Univ. Hist. Ser.), pp. 98 ff.

" 28, text line 15.—*For* °n=mūtyō° *read* °n=mṛityo°

" 30, line 2.—*For* tin *read* tiṅ

" 32, foot-note 4, line 6.—*For* identify *read* identity

" 35, text line 9.—*For* aṅhri *read* °aṁhri

" 43, text line 50.—*For* °nyajasa[1] *read* °nyajasa[2]

" 43, foot-note 4.—*For* tasmāy=ātmanō nāmnā *read* tsmai Dommana-nāmnē

" 76, line 7.—*For* September 11 *read* September 10

" 76, foot-note 1.—*Add*—The *tithi* śu. 10 and the *nakshatra* Śravaṇa ended at ·03 and ·52 respectively of the following day, i.e. Tuesday. See, however, N. Venkataramanayya, *The Eastern Chālukyas of Vēṅgī*, p. 55.

" 127, foot-note 2.—*For* insetred *read* inserted

" 136, foot-note 3.—*For* agrahra *read* agrahāra

" 174, foot-note 3, line 1.—*Read* Pṛishṭhaśriya

" 187, line 2.—*For* 2 Plates *read* 3 Plates

" 191, foot-note 5.—*For* Daṇḍiamahādēvī *read* Daṇḍimahādēvī

" 207, foot-note 1.—*Read* Maski Inscription of Aśoka, printed at the Government Press, Hyderabad, and published by the Government of Andhra Pradesh, 1958, p. 24

" 211, line 25.—*Read* Brāhmaṇa

" 215, line 12.—*Read* sususitaviye[1]

Page 215, line 13.—*Read* pavatitaviyā

„ 236, line 35.—*Read* Mādhavadēva *for* Mādhava

„ 236, foot-note 3, line 5.— *Read* Brāhmaṇas

„ 264, line 28.—*For* Parasannamātra *read* Prasannamātra

„ 269, line 15.—*For* vyvahāri *read* vyavahāri

„ 269, line 21.—*For* first one *read* second date

„ 269, foot-note 2, lines 2-3.—*Read* the Anantapur District of Andhra and parts of the Bellary, Kolar and Tumkur Districts of Mysore

„ 273, line 17.—*For* Kalayāṇapura *read* Kalyāṇapura

„ 273, line 18.—*For* Laṇkāpura *read* Laṅkāpura

„ 274, line 29.—*Read* āyirattu

„ 274, foot-note 10, line 3.—*For* Sittaramēḷi *read* Śittiramēḷi

„ 275, text line 4.—*For* āna *read* āṉa

„ 275, foot-note 2.—*For* sa *read* śa

„ 325, foot-note 5.— *Omit the last sentence.*

„ 327, foot-note 1, line 1.—*Read* Bombay

335, foot-note 4, line 1.—*Read* cf. No. 15. *Add note*—For *gadani-vyāpāra* or ***madani-vyāpāra***, the intended expression seems to be *mudrā-vyāpāra*. Cf. ***mudrā-vyāpāraṁ*** *paripanthayati* in the description of viceroys (see Vol. XXXII, p. 152, note 2).

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

VOL. XXXI 1955-1956

No. 1—TWO SALANKAYANA CHARTERS FROM KANUKOLLU

(*3 Plates*)

B. V. KRISHNA RAO, RAJAHMUNDRY

Two sets of copper plates were found together at **Kānukollu,** Guḍivāḍa Taluk, Krishna District (Andhra), about fifteen years ago, while digging the old village site for *pāṭimannu*, 'old earth'. The spot where the two sets were found lies outside the ramparts of the old mud fort which is almost in ruins to-day.[1] The ruined ramparts and the situation of the ancient village plainly indicate that Kānukollu was an important walled town in olden days and that it lay on the highway that connected a big emporium or seaport near the northern mouth of the Kṛishṇā on the one hand and the important provincial town of Guḍivāḍa on the other with Veṅgīpura,[2] the capital of the Śālaṅkāyana kingdom. Even today Kānukollu lies on the trunk road that connects Guḍivāḍa with Bhīmavaram in the West Godavari District. When the plates were discovered, people fondly believed them to be of precious metal and therefore quickly divided them as spoils among themselves. Actually the ring and the seal of the second set, marked here as B, were melted down for the purpose of testing the metal. It is indeed fortunate that none of the plates was destroyed or melted down. The writing on them attracted the attention and curiosity of the more enlightened amongst the villagers. And it was in no small measure due to the intervention of the village Karaṇam, Mr. Vinnakoṭa Durga Varaprasada Rao, that the charters were saved from any further damage. The Karaṇam was good enough to secure these two sets for me in 1946 when I happened to visit the place. These were later forwarded by me to the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, who kindly got their mechanical impressions prepared in his office.

A.—*Plates of Nandivarman (I), Year 14*[3]

This is the earlier of the two sets. It consists of **eight** plates held together by a ring, the ends of which were fastened together under an oval **seal.** The ring had already been cut open and the plates taken out for examination by somebody even before they reached me. The diameter of the ring is about 2½ inches while its thickness is about ½ inch. The seal is 1½ inches in length and one inch in breadth. The legend and the crest on it are completely worn out on account of corrosion. But we know that the emblem on the Śālaṅkāyana seals is the bull.[4]

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[1] I came to learn from the villagers that several gold and lead coins along with other valuable articles were picked up but that they were secreted, appropriated or destroyed. People say that even now coins are found here and there in the ruins of the village.

[2] [Macron over *e* and *o* has not been used in this article.—Ed.]

[3] See *Bhārati*, April, 1950, pp. 69 ff. and Plate ; *JAHRS*, Vol. XX, pp. 87 ff. and Plate.

[4] See *Journal of the Telugu Academy*, Vol. XI, pp. 113-127 ; *JAHRS*, Vol. V, p. 22.

The plates are rectangular in shape, measuring 7¼ inches in length, 2¾ inches in width and ¼ inch in thickness. The left margin of each plate contains a round hole about half an inch in diameter, which is intended for the ring to pass through. The plates together with the ring and seal weigh 97 *tolas* ; the ring and the seal weigh sixteen *tolas*. The hole appears to have been cut after the engraving of the inscription thereon was completed. The size of the letters which are all deeply cut on the plates is roughly ⅓ inch. The plates have writing on both sides with the exception of the first and the last which bear writing on their inner side. The inscribed faces of the plates are numbered with the ancient numerals of the *aksharapalli*. The numbers appear on the left margin above the hole. The first plate contains the figure 1 on its reverse side, while the number 8 appears on the obverse or inner side of the last plate. The remaining plates have numbers on their obverse side. But a peculiar feature of the numbering of the plates 5, 6 and 7 is that there is a symbol on their reverse side, whose value is not clear. These symbols are not met with elsewhere.

The **characters** of the inscription belong to the early class of the Southern Alphabet. They resemble closely the letters of the Hirahaḍagalli[1] and Mayidavolu[2] plates of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman and the Koṇḍamuḍi plates of the Bṛihatphalāyana king Jayavarman.[3] Some consonants, *e.g.*, *kh*, *b*, *p*, *th* and *dh* resemble the earlier forms found in the Bhaṭṭiprolu[4] and Jaggayyapeṭa[5] inscriptions. The vowels *ā*, *i* and *e* also retain their archaic character. The medial signs for vowels like *ā* and *ī* differ from those of the Elūru plates[6] of Devavarman. Attention may be drawn to the sign for medial *ū* in *kātūṇa* (line 28) and *bhūmi*° (line 36). This may be compared with that in *atichhitūna* (lines 21-22) of the Mayidavolu plates. As in some other early Prakrit charters, *t* and *n* and *d* and *ḍ* are written almost alike. The letter *t* is to be distinguished from *n* by a slight curve at the right ; cf. *t* in *pariggahitassa* (line 2), *bhāṇitavvā* (line 6), *etassa* (line 10), etc., and *n* in *vachaṇena* (line 3), °*tthiyanaṁ* (line 9), etc. The slight difference between *ḍ* and *d* is that the end of the lower limb of the former is slightly curved upwards. The final forms of *t* and *m* also occur in the inscription. They are written in miniature form beneath the line ; cf. *m* in *phalam* (line 37), *halam* (lines 33 and 34) and *t* in °*dharet* (line 32).

The **language** of the inscription is Prakrit prose with the exception of lines 30-37 which contain two customary imprecatory verses in Sanskrit. The **orthography** calls for few remarks. The word *araṭṭhasaṁvinaikaṁ* (lines 18-19) is written with *i* instead of *yi*. Single consonants between vowels remain unchanged in some cases and modified in others. Thus *k* is preserved in *bhaṭṭāraka* (line 1), *ch* in *vachaṇena* (line 3), *j* in *mahārāja* (line 2, 8) and *vijaya* (line 1), *t* in *niratassa* (line 12), *th* in *rathakāra* (lines 13 and 14-15) and *d* in *pāda* (line 2) ; but modifications of *kh* and *ṭ* are noticed in *pamuho* (line 4) and *bhaḍa* (line 6) respectively.

The inscription records the grant of the village of **Piḍiha** as an *agrahāra* by *Mahārāja* **Nandivarman** for the increase of his merit, strength and prosperity and also for the increase of the fame and fortune of *Bālaka-mahārājakumāra* Khandapotta, to a certain Chātuvejja of the Rathakāra caste.[7] The expression *bālaka-mahārājakumāra* seems to suggest that Khandapotta was a son of Nandivarman. The donor of the grant is Nandivarman who may be regarded for the present

[1] Above, Vol. I, pp. 2 ff. and Plates.

[2] Ibid., Vol. VI, pp. 84 ff. and Plates.

[3] Ibid., pp. 315 ff. and Plates.

[4] Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 326 ff., Nos. 1-3 and Plates.

[5] *Arch. Surv. South India*, Vol. I, pp. 110 f., Nos. 1-3, and Plates LXII and LXIII.

[6] Above, Vol. IX, pp. 56 ff. and Plates.

[7] [See below, p. 4, n. 1. The present inscription apparently speaks of the *Chātuvejja* (*Chāturvaidya*) as a community having various *gotras* and *charanas* while the other grant from Kānukollu, edited below, states that the community resided at Rathakāra which was therefore undoubtedly the name of a locality. The expression *agrahara-Rathakāra* in the present inscription seems to mean the same thing as *Rathakār agrahāra*.—D.C.S.]

as Nandivarman I, though it may not be possible to reckon him as the first crowned king of the dynasty. His epithet *bappabhaṭṭāraka-pāda-pariggahita* evidently indicates that there was Nandivarman's father who was a king and who probably preceded him on the throne. Although the family name Śālaṅkāyana does not occur in the inscription under study, there is little doubt that Nandivarman belonged to the Śālaṅkāyana dynasty of Veṅgī. The Śālaṅkāyanas must have been there ruling in the province or kingdom of Veṅgī during the first two centuries of the Christian era, first as subordinates of the Sātavāhanas and later of the Ikshvākus. They would seem to have assumed independence and sprung into importance in the latter half of the third century. We have yet no means of ascertaining who the first prince was that assumed independence and founded the sovereign state of Veṅgī. Possibly he was a predecessor of Nandivarman I.

The date is : **year 14, varshā 2, day 1.** This way of dating seems to be older than that of Devavarman's grant which contains the Sanskrit form of the name of the month *Pausha* and is dated the tenth day of the dark fortnight of that month. The mention of months and the dark and bright fortnights is probably to be assigned to a later period than that of the present record.[1]

Thus Nandivarman I seems to have been the predecessor of Devavarman. The present record may be assigned to about the same or slightly later period as the Prakrit grants of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman. Nandivarman I may possibly be regarded as a later contemporary of Śivaskandavarman, to whom I have assigned the period 265-275 A.D., and may be ascribed tentatively to the close of the third century.[2]

The *āṇatti* (Sanskrit *ājñapti*, 'executor') of the grant was Hatthisāmi. The last sentence of the record is not quite intelligible. Probably the edict was directed to be protected by the local officer Hadappa, son of *Mahārāja* Puṁṇakoṁgala.[3]

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the inscription is the grant of the village as an *agrahāra* to a Chātuvejja (literally 'one who has studied the four Vedas') of the Rathakāra caste. The donation is said to have been made in accordance with the rites and ceremonies pertaining to the caste of the Rathakāras. Macdonnel and Keith cite a number of authorities on the social position and importance of the Rathakāras from the Vedic literature.[4] Bühler pointed out how the ancient Vedic ritual in certain cases admitted the Rathakāra or carpenter, who had Śūdra blood in his veins, to the participation in *Śrauta* rites, how the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* gives certain *mantras* to be recited by the Rathakāras at the *Agnyādhāna* sacrifice, and how Baudhāyana derives the origin of the Rathakāra from a Vaiśya male and Śūdra female and explicitly allows him to receive the sacrament of initiation (*upanayana* which is meant for a *dvija*).[5]

There is a stone record, of the 48th regnal year of Kulottuṅga Choḷa I, from Uyyakkoṇḍāṉ-Tirumalai in the Tiruchirappalli Taluk, which gives some interesting details about the Rathakāras.[6] It records the decision of the learned Brāhmaṇas of the village in regard to the social position of certain castes and lays down the profession to be followed by a certain *anuloma* community called Rathakāra described as the progeny of a Māhishya by a Karaṇa woman.[7]

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[1] [On the grounds of palaeography and language, the present record has to be assigned to the same age as the Elūru grant of Devavarman and to a date about the middle of the fourth century A.D. Cf. above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 170-71.—D.C.S.].

[2] Cf. *A History of the Early Dynasties of Andhradeśa*, pp. 250-51. [These dates seem to be too early.—D.C.S.]

[3] [See below, p. 6, note 9.—D.C.S.]

[4] *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 265.

[5] *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XIV, pp. xxxviii-xxxix.

[6] *A. R. Ep.*, No. 497 of 1908.

[7] Ibid., 1909, pp. 94-95.

In East Āndhradeśa, particularly in the Districts of Guntur, Krishna and West and East Godavari, there is a class of Viśva-Brāhmaṇas who call themselves Rathakāras and claim descent from the primaeval Viśvakarman. The orthodox among them study the Vedas, particularly the Black Yajurveda, and regard themselves as even superior to the Brāhmaṇas. They follow the *Gṛihya Sūtra* of Āpastamba in their rituals which are conducted by priests of their own community although, when no such priest is available, they invite a Brāhmaṇa. The Rathakāras or Viśva-Brāhmaṇas, also known as the Pañchāṇaṁvāru meaning probably the artisans who use the five kinds of tools, are divided into five groups, namely, the *kaṁsāli, kammara, kañchara, kāse* and *vaḍraṅgi*, and follow respectively the professions of the goldsmith and silversmith, copper-smith, blacksmith, stone-cutter or mason, and carpenter. During the closing decades of the last century, the Viśva-Brāhmaṇas claimed certain religious rites and privileges which, they alleged, were denied to them by the Brāhmaṇas and fought their way in civil courts quoting the authority of the *Śruti*. At that time the learned among them assembled in meetings held all over the land and published a treatise called *Rathakārādhikaraṇam*, consisting of the authoritative opinions of renowned scholars among them, based upon the authority of the Vedas. If such is the social and religious status of the Rathakāras in modern times, it is easy to imagine what it was sixteen hundred years ago in this part of the country. The subjoined record clearly shows that the Rathakāras in East Āndhra enjoyed the same rights and privileges they were entitled to in the Vedic period.[1]

Of the localities mentioned, Veṅgīpura is well known. Piḍiha, the object of the grant, cannot be identified.

TEXT[2]

First Plate

1 Vijaya-**Veṁgīpurā**[3] Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-

2 [4]pāda-pariggahitassa mahārāja-

3 sirī-**Naṁdivaṁmassa** vachaṇena **Pi-**

Second Plate, First Side

4 **ḍiha-**ggāme mutyada[5]-ppamuho gāmo

5 [6]savva-samaggo savv-āyoga-pesana[7]-

[1] [See above, p. 2 , n. 7. Reference to the grant made in accordance with *agrahāra-Rathakāra-vidhāna*, i.e. the custom associated with grants accepted by the Chāturvaidya Brāhmaṇas of Rathakār-āgrahāra (cf. *Chātur-vaidya-grāma-maryādā* in *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 408, 417, etc.), the epithets applied to them, viz. *śāp-ānugraha-samartha* and *tapaḥ-svādhyāya-nirata*, and the two grants made in favour of them point to their high social position. It is difficult to believe that the Rathakāras or carpenters, even if they claimed to be Brāhmaṇas like so many other aspirants for a higher social status (cf. *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 11 and note), could have ever enjoyed such a position in the Brahmanical society and been especially noted for their mastery over the four Vedas as well as devotion to *tapaḥ-svādhyāya*. A community like the so-called Viśva-Brāhmaṇas of Āndhra can hardly be described as *nānā-gotra-charaṇa*.—D.C.S.]

[2] From the original plates.

[3] There is a superfluous dot within the *ā-matrā* of the letter *rā*. Similar dots are seen also in other cases (cf. *hā* and *rā* in line 2 below).

[4] Against this line, near the ring-hole, appears the numeral *1*.

[5] See Burnell, *S. Ind. Pal.*, p. 135, n. Cf. modern *mōtādu* used in some parts of the Guntur and Nellore Districts in the sense of a village official or servant supervising the distribution of water for irrigating rain-fed or tank-fed lands. [The reading is *mutuḍa* as in many other inscriptions.—D.C.S.]

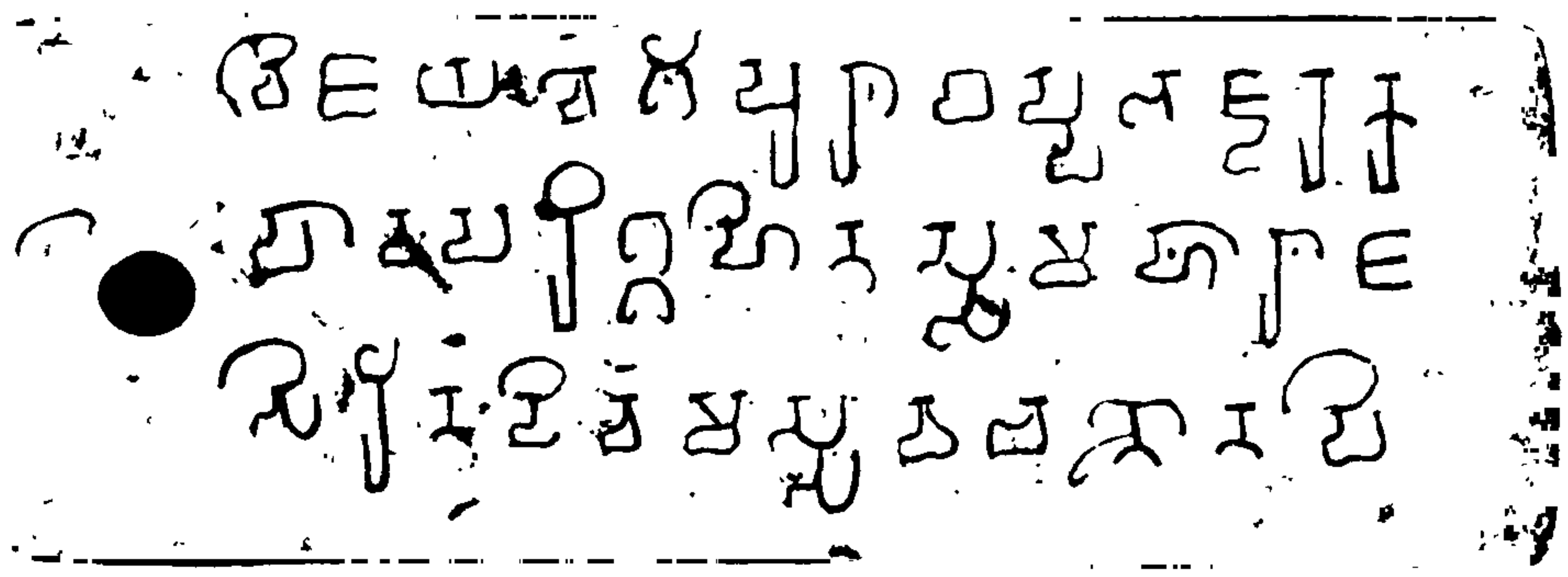
[6] Against this line, near the ring-hole, appears the numeral *2*.

[7] [Cf. *āyoga-niyutta* of the Basim plates (above, Vol. XXVI, p. 151) and *pesana-ppayutte* of the Hirahadagalli plates (ibid., Vol. I, p. 1). The words *āyoga, pesana* and *āyoga-pesana* are technically used in the sense of service.—D.C.S.]

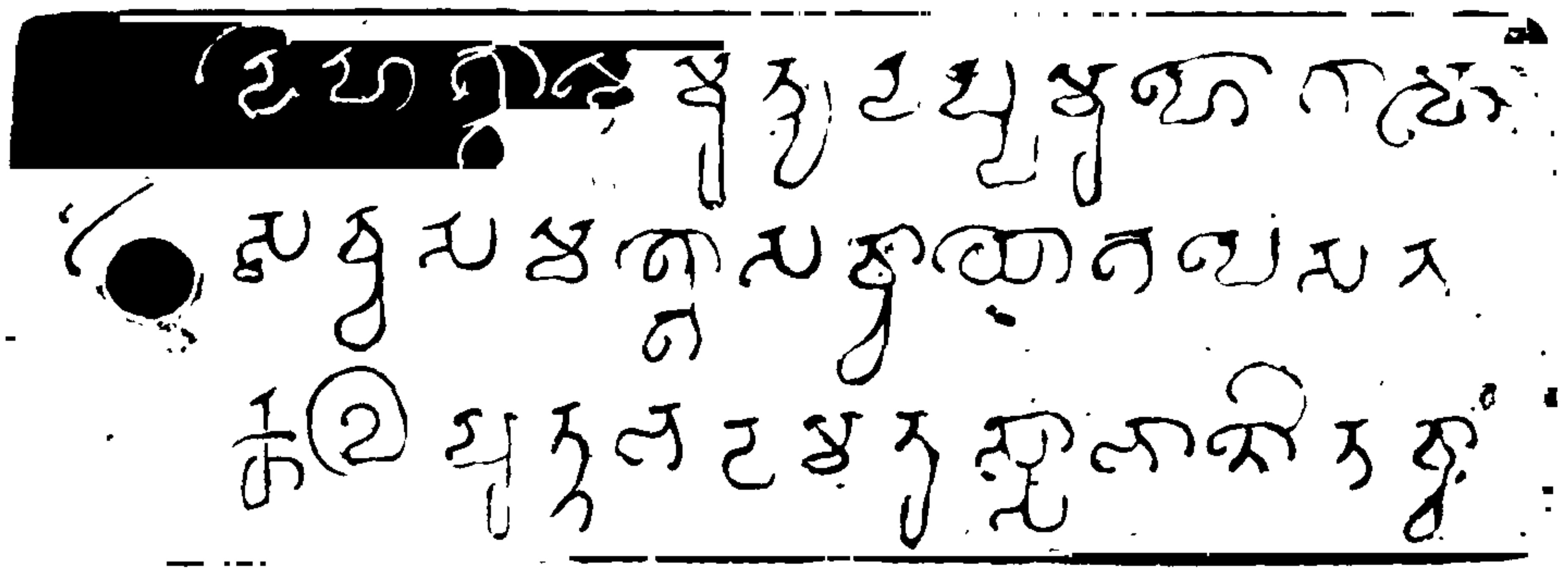
TWO SALANKAYANA CHARTERS FROM KANUKOLLU—PLATE I

A.—PLATES OF NANDIVARMAN (I), YEAR 14

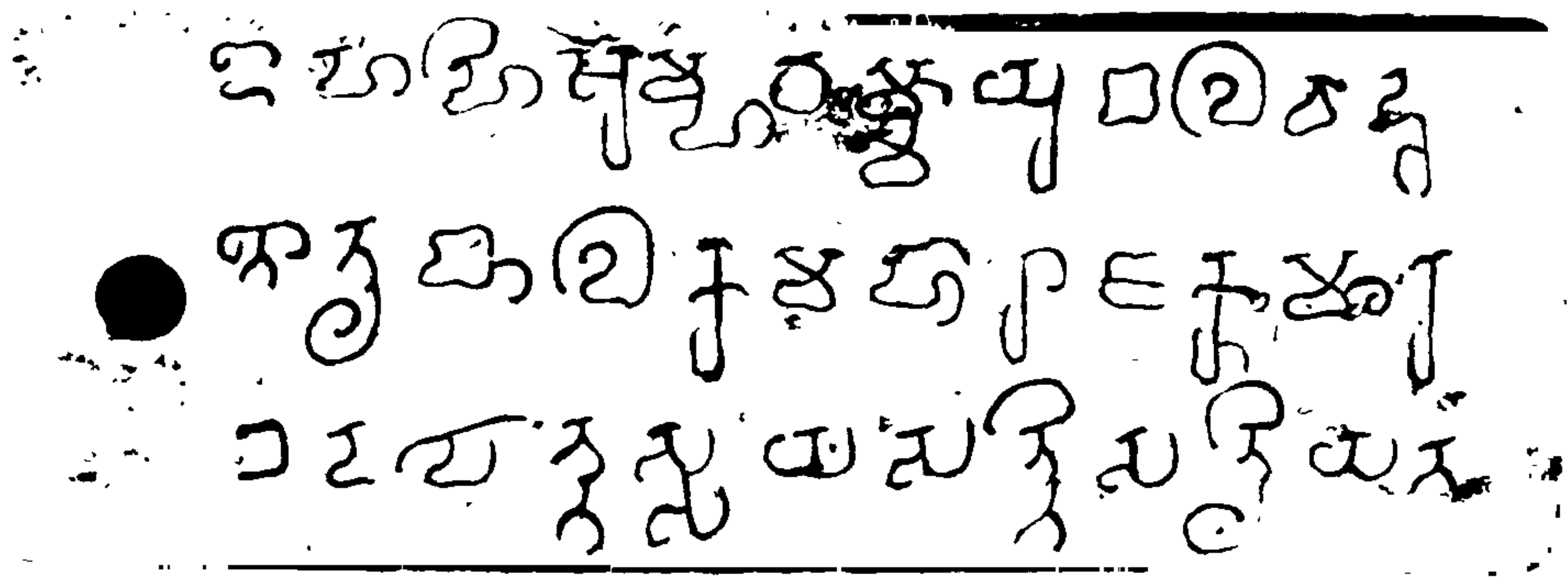
i



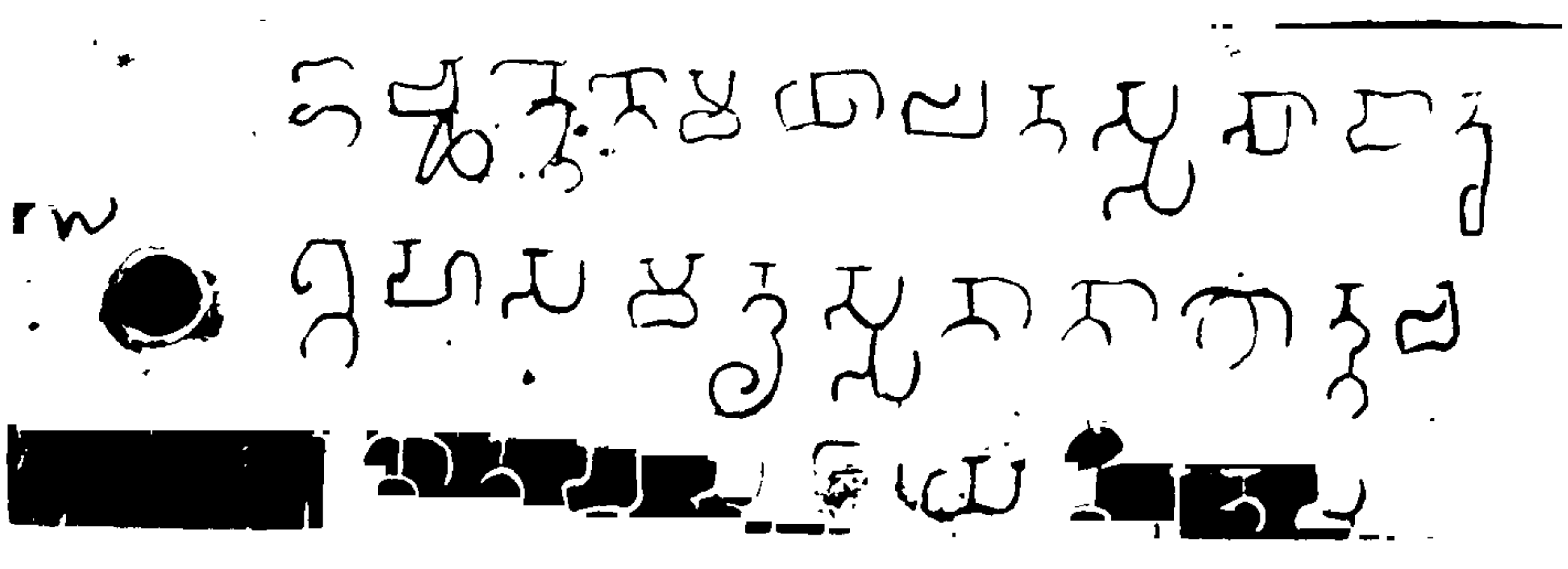
ii,a



ii,b

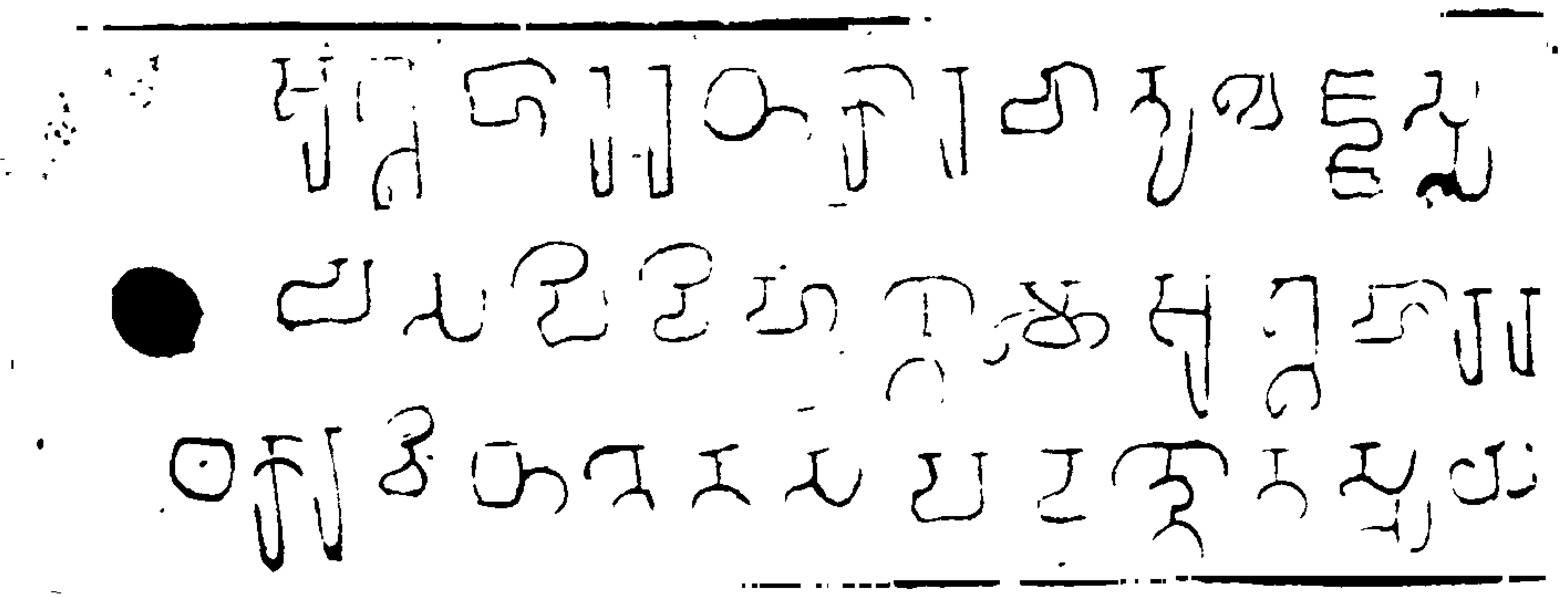


iii,a



iii,b

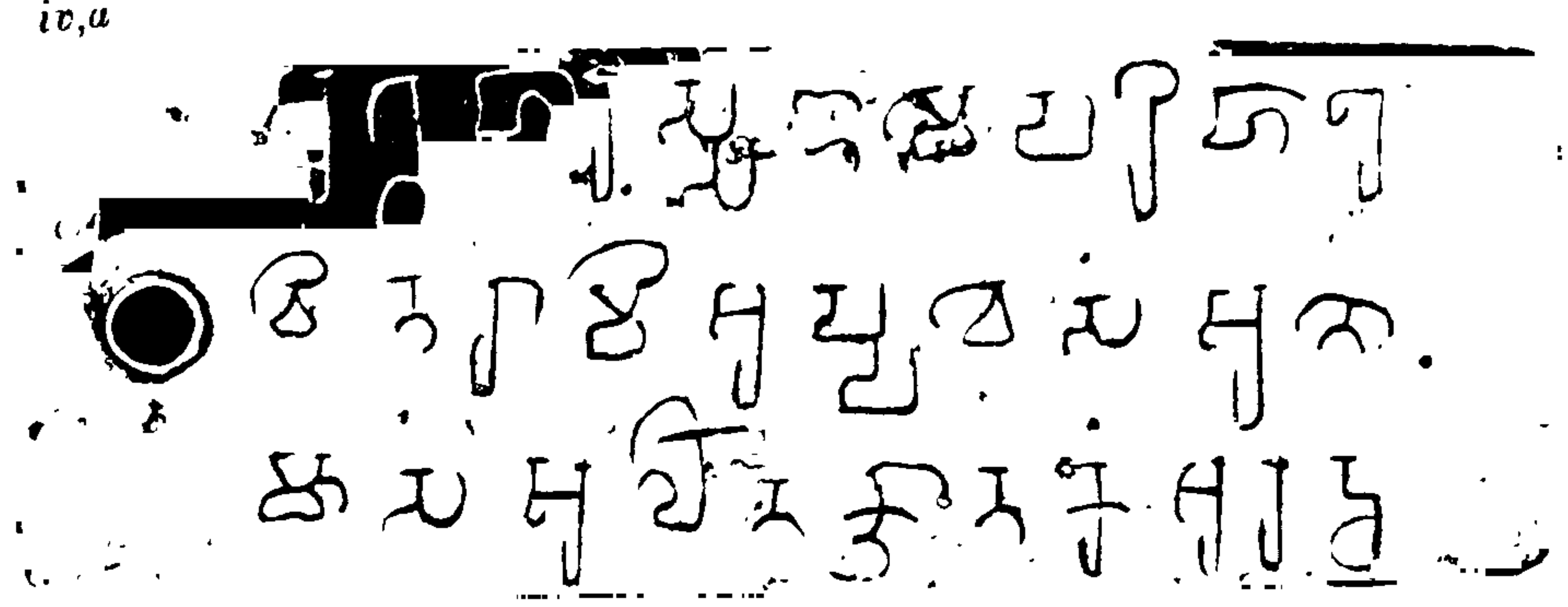
14 14



iv,a

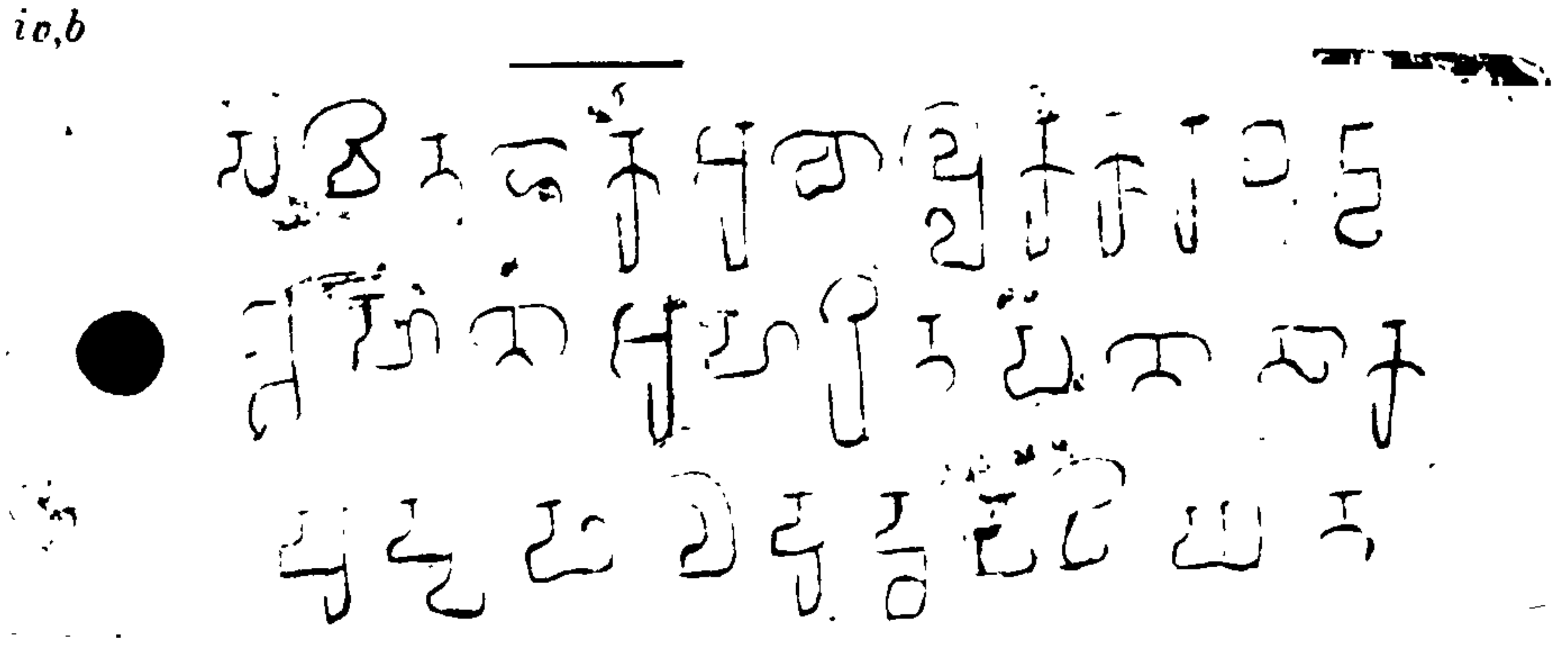
16 16

18 18



iv,b

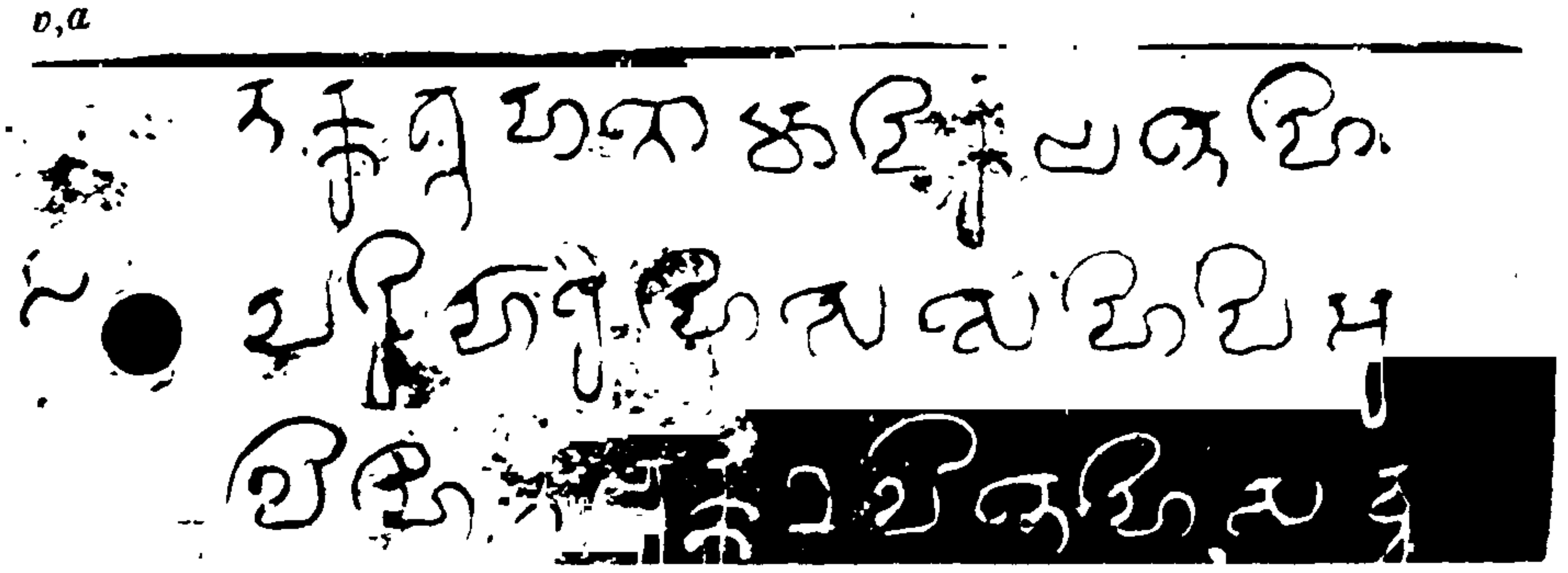
20 20



v,a

22 22

24 24



6 kulaputta-bhaḍa-manussā bhāṇitavvā

Second Plate, Second Side

7 iha hi amha-dhamm-āyu-bala-vaddha-

8 ṇattha[ṁ] bālaka-mahārā[1]jakumāra-

9 Khaṁdapottassa yasatti-satthiyanaṁ[2]

Third Plate, First Side

10 ichchhanteṇa mayā etassa sāp-ānu-

11 [3]ggaha-samatthassa nānā-gotta-cha-

12 raṇa-tapas-sa[jjhā]ya-niratassa

Third Plate, Second Side

13 aggahāra-Rathā(tha)kāra-chātuvejjassa

14 esa Piḍiha-ggāmo aggahāra-Ra-

15 tha[4]k[ā]ra-vidhānena saṁpadatto [|*] tassa ya.

Fourth Plate, First Side

16 aggahārassa ime parihāre

17 [5]vitarāmi appavesaṁ an[o]-

18 māsaṁ a-loṇa-kkhātakaṁ a-raṭṭha-

Fourth Plate, Second Side

19 saṁvinaïkaṁ a-chollaka-kura-khaṭṭa-

20 ggahaṇaṁ a-harita-paṁṇa-sāka-

21 puppa-phala-duddha-dadhi-ghata-

Fifth Plate, First Side

22 takka-ggahaṇam-ādikaṁ etehi

23 [6]parihārehi sesehi pi a-

24 lihita-chukka-khalitehi savva-

Fifth Plate, Second Side

25 jāta-parihārehi parihara-

26 [7]dha parihārāpedha cha [|*] yo cha

27 khu etaṁ sāsanaṁ appamāṇaṁ

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[1] In place of this *rā*, the engraver had apparently first engraved *ro* and later corrected it by erasing the left-hand stroke.

[2] [Better read *ya santi-satthiyanaṁ*=Sanskrit *cha śānti-svastyayanam*.—D.C.S.]

[3] Against this line, near the ring-hole, appears the numeral *3*.

[4] The position of this *tha* shows that it had first been omitted and was later supplied.

[5] Against this line, near the ring-hole, appears the numeral *4*.

[6] Against this line, near the ring-hole, appears the numeral *5*.

[7] Against this line, near the ring-hole, appears a sign looking like a numeral.

Sixth Plate, First Side

28 kāt[ū]ṇa bādha-pīlaṁ janejjo

29 [1]tassa khu na paritussajjamha

30 tti [|*] bhavati ch=ātra[2]

Sixth Plate, Second Side

31 Sva-dattam=para-dattaṁ vā yo nṛipo

32 [3]n=oddhared=dharet [|*] jātau jātau

Seventh Plate, First Side

33 sa pibati vishaṅ=hā(shaṁ hā)lahalam(laṁ)

34 [4]halam[5] [||*] Bahubhir=vu(rvva)sudhā dattā bahu-

Seventh Plate, Second Side

35 bhiś=ch=ānupālitaṁ(tā) [|*] yasya

36 [6]yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya

37 tadā phalam ||[7]

Eighth Plate

38 sava 10 4 vāsa 2 diva 1 Hatthisāmi

39 [8]āṇattī mahārāja-Puṇakoṁgala-

40 putto Hadappaggāha chhetya varoyati|[9]

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[1] Against this line, near the ring-hole, appears the numeral *6*.

[2] A space for two or three letters is left blank here. One would expect some such expression as *bhavataś ch=ātra Vyāsa-gītau ślokau*. Mark the use of Sanskrit in this portion.

[3] Near the ring-hole there appears a sign looking like a numeral.

[4] The position of this word indicates that it had been omitted and was later supplied. The mute *m*, indicated by its smaller size as well as by its having been placed below the line, does not have the slanting stroke over it as the same letter in the previous line has. To the left of the ring-hole there appears the numeral *7*.

[5] [This word is unsuitable in the context. One may suggest *dhruvam* instead.—D.C.S.]

[6] To the left of the ring-hole there appears a sign looking like a numeral.

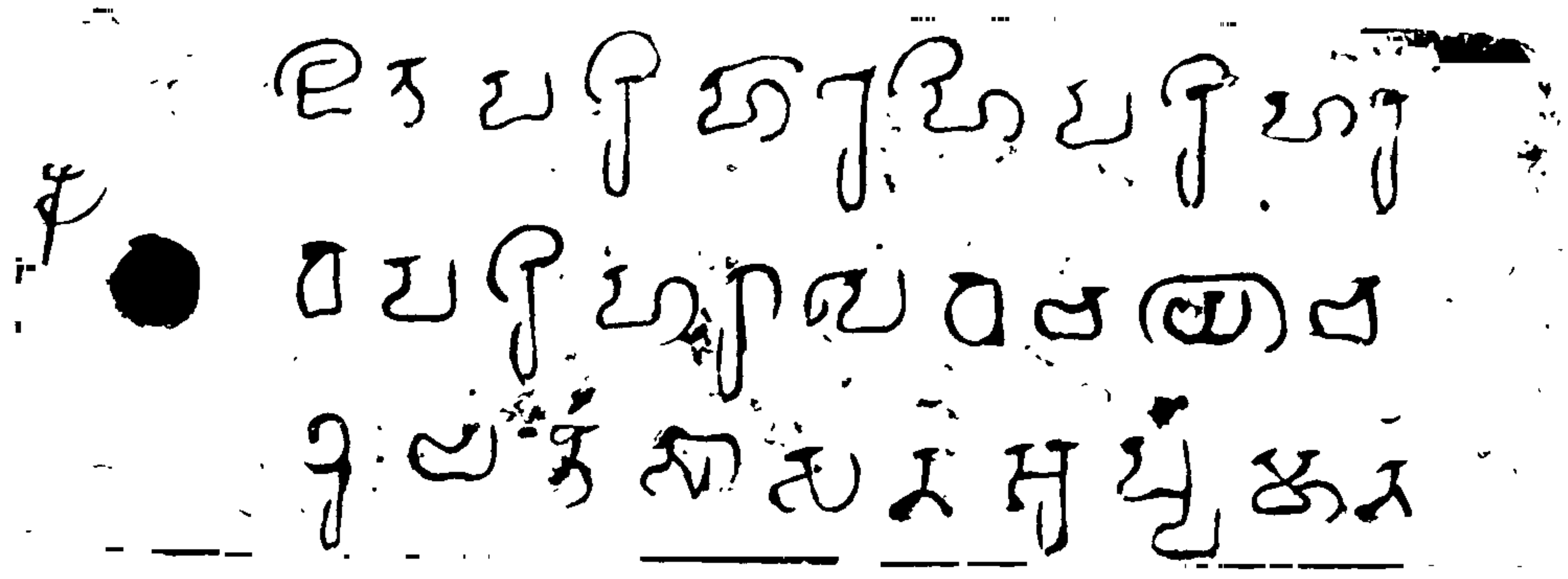
[7] The punctuation is indicated by a horizontal mark.

[8] To the left of the ring-hole there appears the numeral *8*.

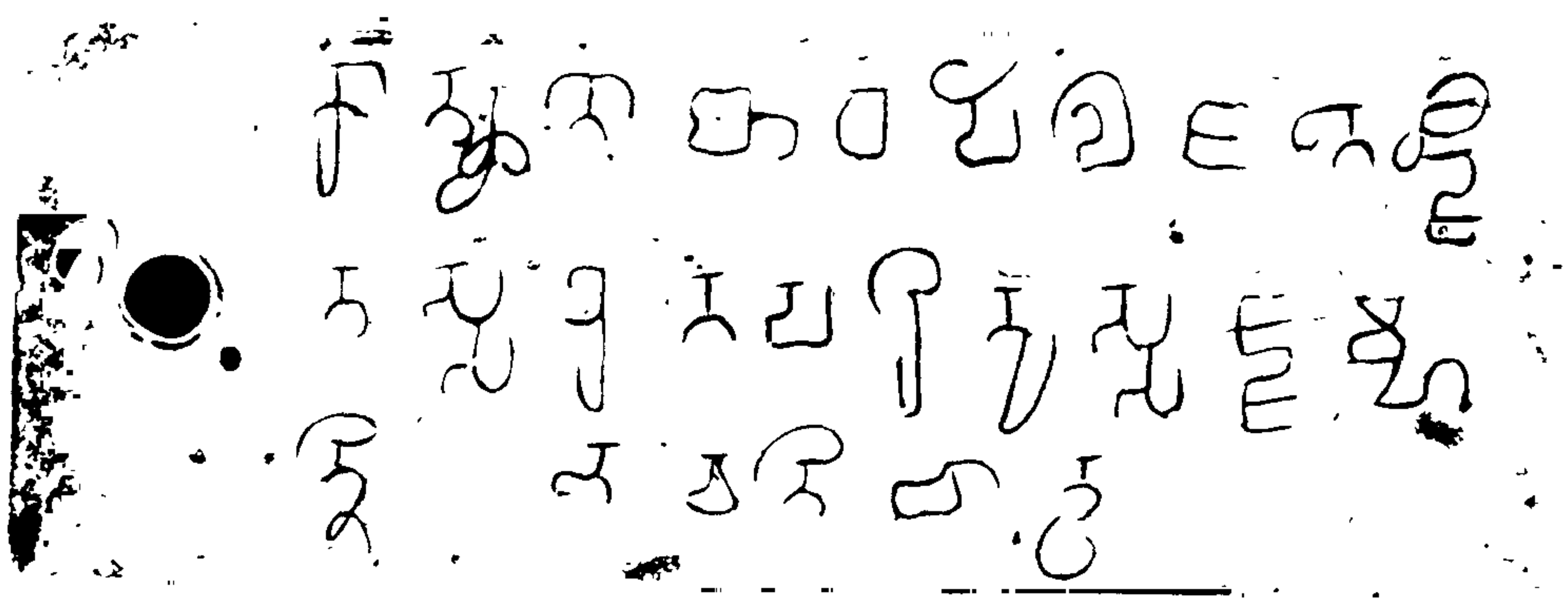
[9] This is a horizontal stroke marking the end of the record. The reading and the meaning of the latter half of the last line is not clear. [The expression *hadappaggāha* stands for Sanskrit *hṛita-pragrāha*, while the following letter is *ma* as found in *bhūmi°* in line 36. The whole passage stands for Sanskrit *hṛitapragrāh-āmātya-Varaś cha iti* and suggests that an officer named Vara was another *ājñapti* of the charter besides Hastisvāmin. *Hṛita-pragrāh-āmātya* (i.e. an *amātya* or officer in charge of the seizure of stolen goods) reminds us of the *Yukta* in charge of *pranashṭ-ādhigata-dravya* as known from the *Manusmṛiti* (VIII, 34) and the police officer called *Chauroddharaṇika* in later inscriptions (Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 184). According to the author's reading of line 39, the officer serving under the Śālaṅkāyana king was the son of a *Mahārāja* named Puṇakoṁgala whose identity has not been determined. But the reading of what has been read as *Puṇa°* may also be *puto*. In that case, Vara may be regarded as a son of Koṁgala who was a *Mahārāja-putra*, i.e. the son of the *Mahārāja* probably indicating the issuer of the charter. This interpretation of the passage involves a case of *sāpeksha-samasa* which is, however, quite common in inscriptions. There are many instances of members of the royal family being appointed to high offices of administration.—D.C.S.]

A.—PLATES OF NANDIVARMAN (I), YEAR 14

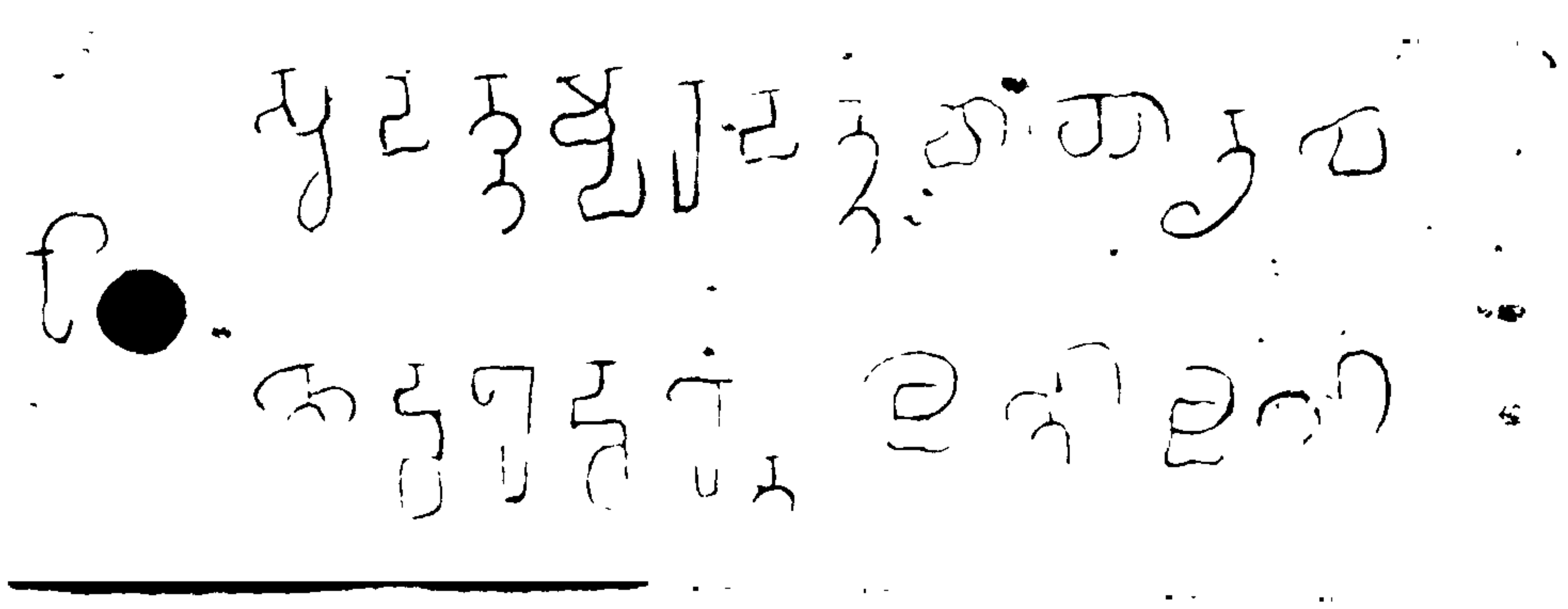
v,b



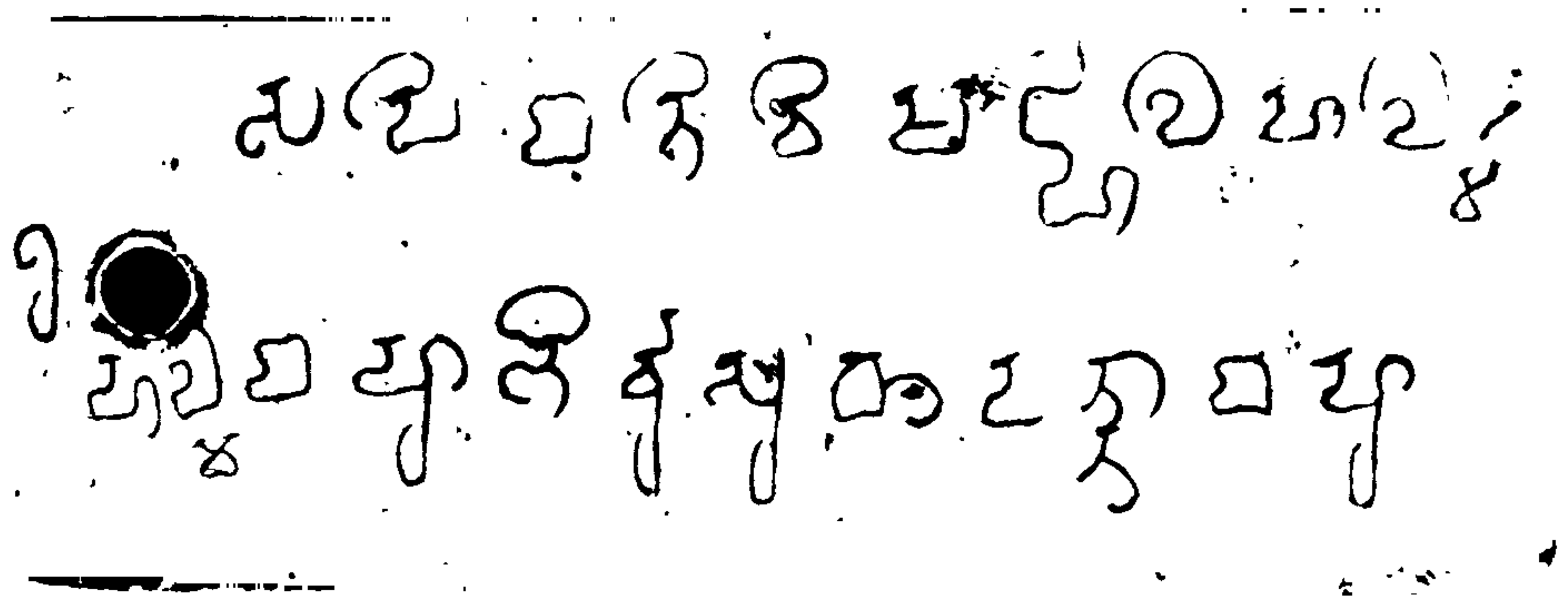
vi,a



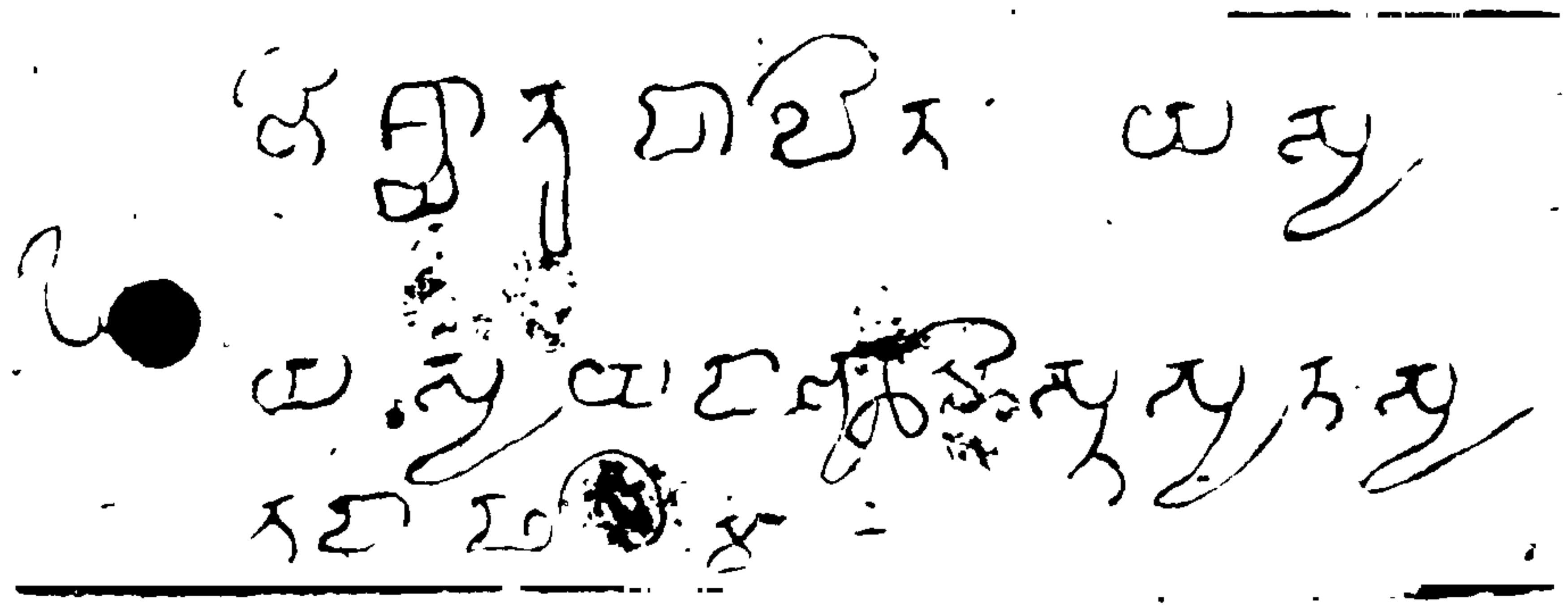
vi,b



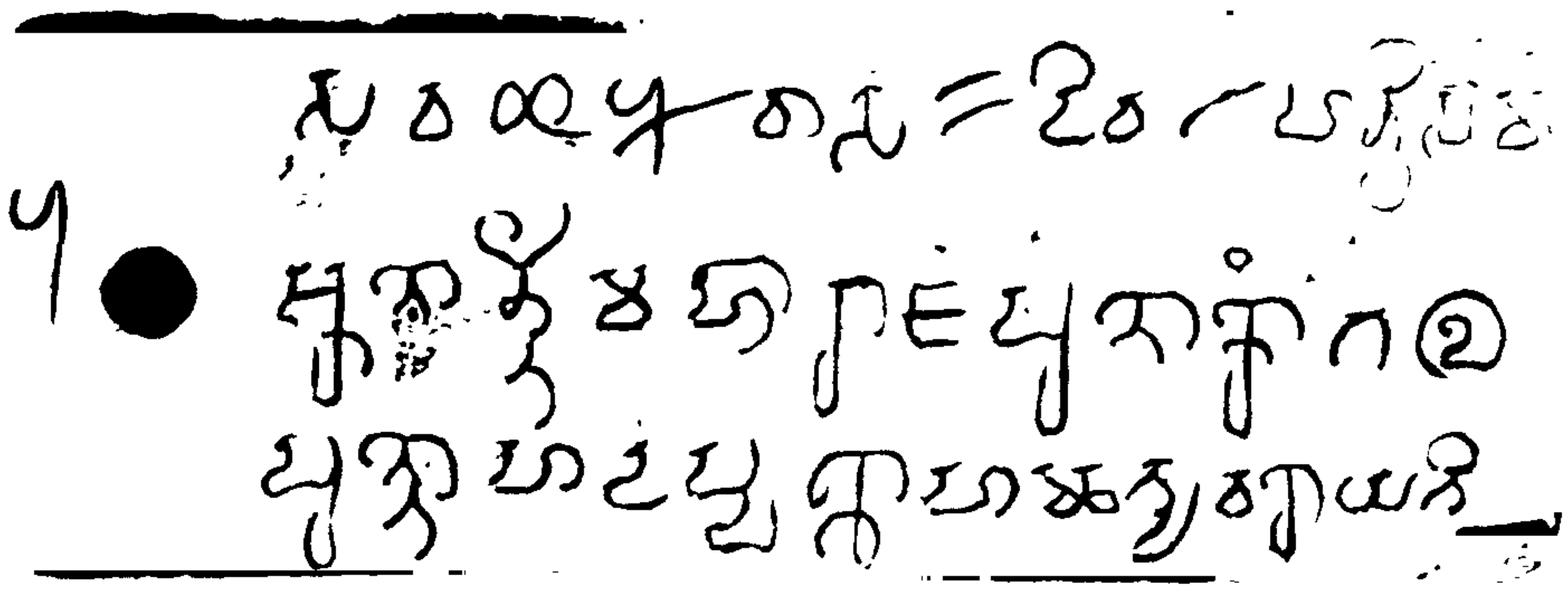
vii,a



vii,b



viii



TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-6) From the victorious Veṅgīpura; by the command of the glorious *Mahārāja* **Nandivarman**, who is favoured by the feet of his venerable father, the *Mutgadas* and other villagers, in the village of Piḍiha, *en masse*, (*as well as*) all the various executive officials,[1] noblemen, and wardens (*bhaḍa-manussā*) are to be informed (*thus*):

(Lines 7-15) "Hereby I, being desirous of increasing the *dharma* (merit), longevity and strength of myself, as also of increasing the fame, strength and happiness[2] of *Bālaka-mahārāja-kumāra* Khaṁdapotta, have given this village of Piḍiha, in accordance with the prescribed rites and formalities pertaining to the *agrahāra-Rathakāra* (*class of gift*), to the *Rathakāra-Chāturvaidya* (the Chaturvedin of the Rathakāra class or caste) who is endowed with the capacity of cursing and of conferring boons, and is engaged in meditation and in the study of the Vedas ordained (*according to rules*) for the various *gotras* and *charaṇas*[3] in accordance with the prescribed rites and formalities pertaining to the *agrahāras* of the Rathakāras.

(Lines 16-30) By me this *agrahāra* has been granted the following immunities:—not to be entered (*by royal officers without permission*); not to be interfered with: not to be dug for salt; not to be interfered with by the district police; not (*to be forced*) to supply water-pots, boiled rice and cots; not to supply grass, leaves, vegetables, flowers, fruits, curds, milk, ghee and butter-milk. With these immunities and others that have been either not written down or even otherwise stated to be included[4], (*to wit*), all classes of immunities, (*you*) shall exempt (*this village*) and (*also*) cause (*it*) to be exempted. Whosoever transgresses this edict or causes trouble and harassment (*to the donees*) shall incur our wrath.

(Lines 31-37) [Two imprecatory verses.]

(Lines 38-40) (*This is dated*) **year 14, 2nd** (*fortnight*) **of the rainy season, 1st day.** Hatthisāmi (Hastisvāmin) is the executor (*of this charter*). Hadappa (?), son of *Mahārāja* Puṇakoṁgala, shall (*cause this edict*) to be protected and preserved.[5]

B.—*Plates of Skandavarman, Year 1*

This is a set of four copper plates which were without a ring and seal when they first reached me. The first and fourth plates are inscribed on their inner sides, while the second and third have writing on both sides. The six inscribed sides of the plates are numbered with numerals like the pages of a modern book. The numbers are incised in the left margin of each plate, just to the left of the hole meant for the seal-ring to pass through. The hole is almost square in shape and measures roughly three-fifths of an inch on each side. It was evidently cut after the engraving on the plates had been executed. The plates measure 7¾ inches in length and 2½ inches in width. They together weigh about 78 *tolas*.

The **alphabet** closely resembles that of the Kanteru plates of Skandavarman[6] and some other charters of the Śālaṅkāyana family. The **language** of the record is Sanskrit.

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[1] [Better 'noblemen and wardens in all the services'. See above, p. 4, note 7.—D.C.S.]

[2] [The reference here is to *śānti* and *svastyayana*, meaning 'good fortune' and 'progress or success'. See above, p. 5, note 2.—D.C.S.]

[3] [The author's translation is defective. He has taken *chāturejja* to be a person whereas it clearly indicates a community as suggested by the reference to *nānā-gotra-charaṇa* in its connection.—D.C.S.]

[4] [The word *chukka* is the same as Hindi *chūk*, 'error, fault, mistake, failing', and *chukka-khalita* may be translated as 'omitted through mistake'.—D.C.S.]

[5] [See above, p. 6, note 9.—D.C.S.]

[6] *Journal of the Telugu Academy*, Vol. XI, pp. 113 ff. and Plates.

The inscription belongs to the Śālaṅkāyana *Mahārāja* **Skandavarman.** It mentions, like the Pedavegi plates of Nandivarman II,[1] the names of three generations of the donor's ancestors. Skandavarman was the son of Hastivarman (II), grandson of Nandivarman and great-grandson of Hastivarman (I). The date of the charter, given in words, is the **first day of the bright fortnight of the month Kārttika,** in the **first year** of the king's augmenting reign. The grant was issued from the city of Veṅgī. It is possible that the donor of the present charter is the same Skandavarman who issued the Kanteru plates.[2]

Mahārāja Skandavarman is described in the present inscription as a Śālaṅkāyana, a worshipper of the holy feet of Lord Chitrarathasvāmin and 'one devoted to the feet of his venerable father'. The Śālaṅkāyanas would appear to have originally been a Brahmanical dynasty. From the figure of the couchant bull on the seals of their charters, they appear to have been worshippers of Śiva. The term *Śālaṅkāyana*, like similar other *gotra* names such as *Bṛihatphalāyana* and *Ānanda* became the appellation of the dynasty. Chitrarathasvāmin, the family deity of the Śālaṅkāyanas, appears to be the sun-god.[3]

An important feature of the inscription under review is the pedigree of the donor. As stated above, the present inscription gives the names of four generations of Śālaṅkāyana rulers, like the Pedavegi plates of Nandivarman II. Here are the two lists for comparison.

Kānukollu Plates

1 Hastivarman (I)
(*aneka-samara-mukha-vikhyāta-karman*)
|
2 Nandivarman (I)
(*sva-pratāp-āpanīt-āhita-varman*)
|
3 Hastivarman (II)
(*chatur-udadhi-taraṅg-āliṅgita-yaśas*)
|
4 Skandavarman

Pedavegi Plates

1 Hastivarman
(*aneka-samar-āvāpta-vijaya*)
|
2 Nandivarman (I)
(*vividha-dharma-pradhāna*)
|
3 Chaṇḍavarman
(*pratāp-opanata-sāmanta*)
|
Nandivarman (II) (*jyeshṭha*) — other sons

Hastivarman (I) and his son Nandivarman (I) are mentioned in both the lists. Nandivarman (I) apparently had two sons, viz. Hastivarman (II) and Chaṇḍavarman. That both of them were crowned kings is borne out by the epithet *Mahārāja* attached to their names. Besides, Chaṇḍavarman's coins have been found. Since the custom was probably to name the eldest grandson after the grandfather, it may be suggested that Hastivarman (II) was the first and Chaṇḍavarman the second son of Nandivarman (I).

Several localities are mentioned in the inscription besides Veṅgī. Kompara, the village granted to the Rathakāra-Chāturvaidya,[4] cannot be satisfactorily identified, although it may be modern Komaṟṟu, a flourishing ancient village that lies about ten miles to the east of Kānukollu, in the Guḍivāḍa Taluk. The locality called Rathakāra is said to have been the residence of the donee.[5]

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[1] *Bhārati*, Vol. I, No. 8, pp. 110-22 and Plates.

[2] Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 42-47 and Plate.

[3] See above, Vol. IX, p. 58, n. 4.

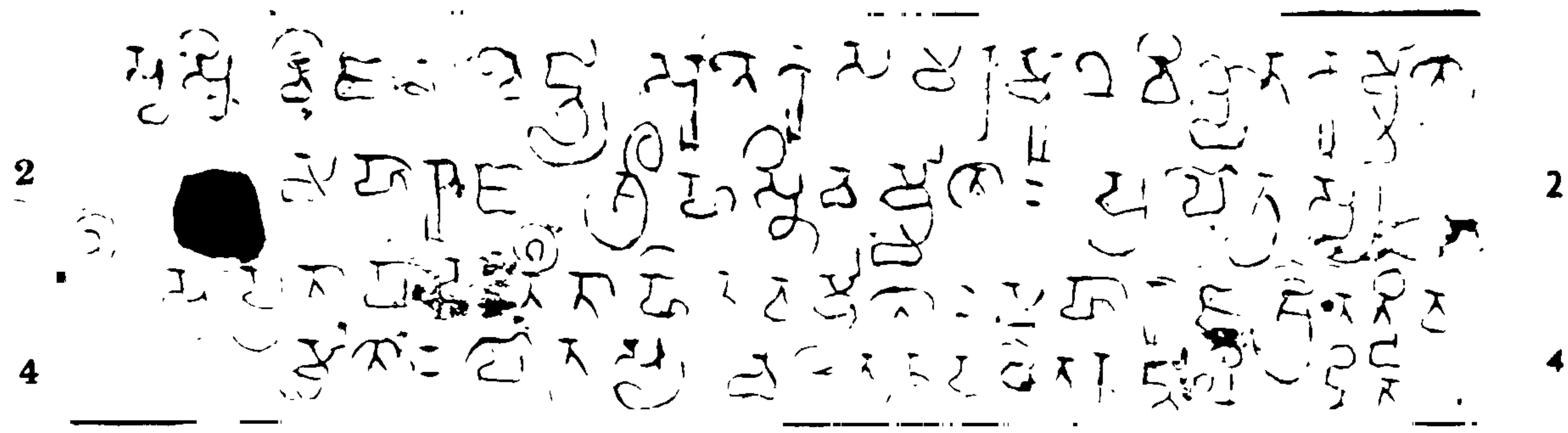
[4] [See below, p. 10, note 4.—D.C.S.]

[5] The personal name of the donee is not given in the inscription. He is simply called *Chāturvaidya*, i.e. *Chaturvedin*. It is difficult to trace any connection between the Rathakāra Chātuvejja of the Prakrit grant and the present donee Chāturvaidya, resident of the village of Rathakāra. Perhaps the Chāturvaidya was a descendant of the Chātuvejja of the previous grant. [See above, p. 4, note 1.—D.C.S.]

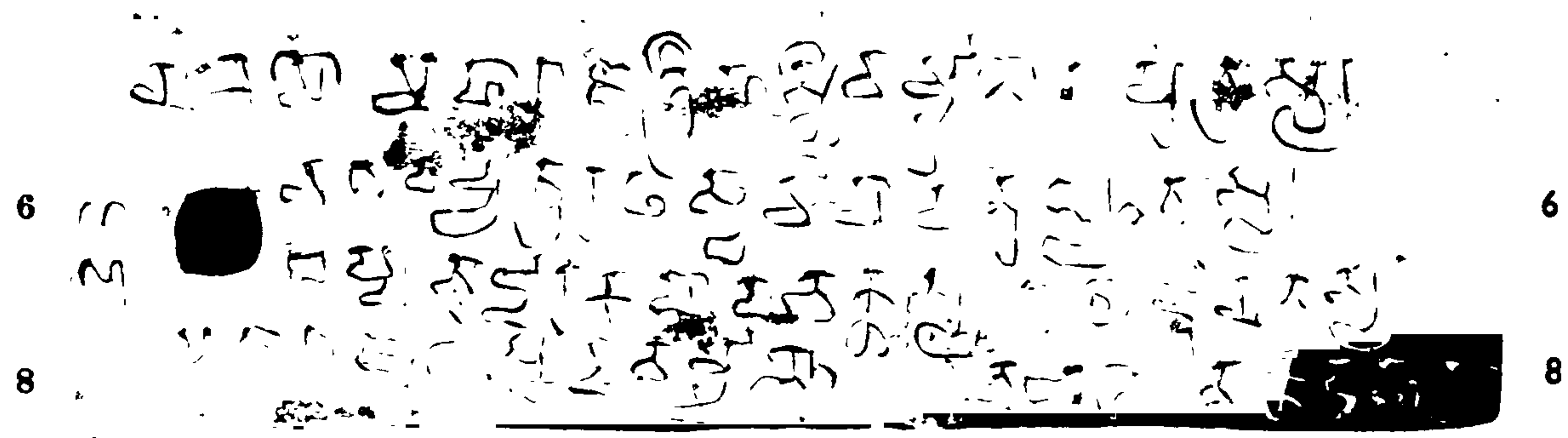
TWO SALANKAYANA CHARTERS FROM KANUKOLLU—PLATE III

B.—Plates of Skandavarman, Year 1

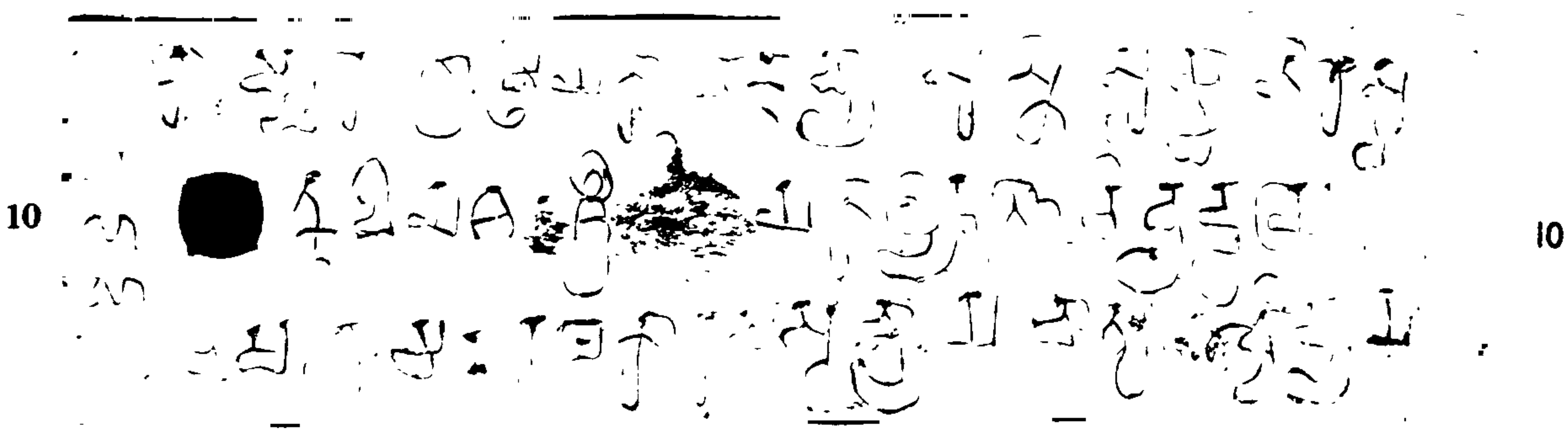
i



ii,a

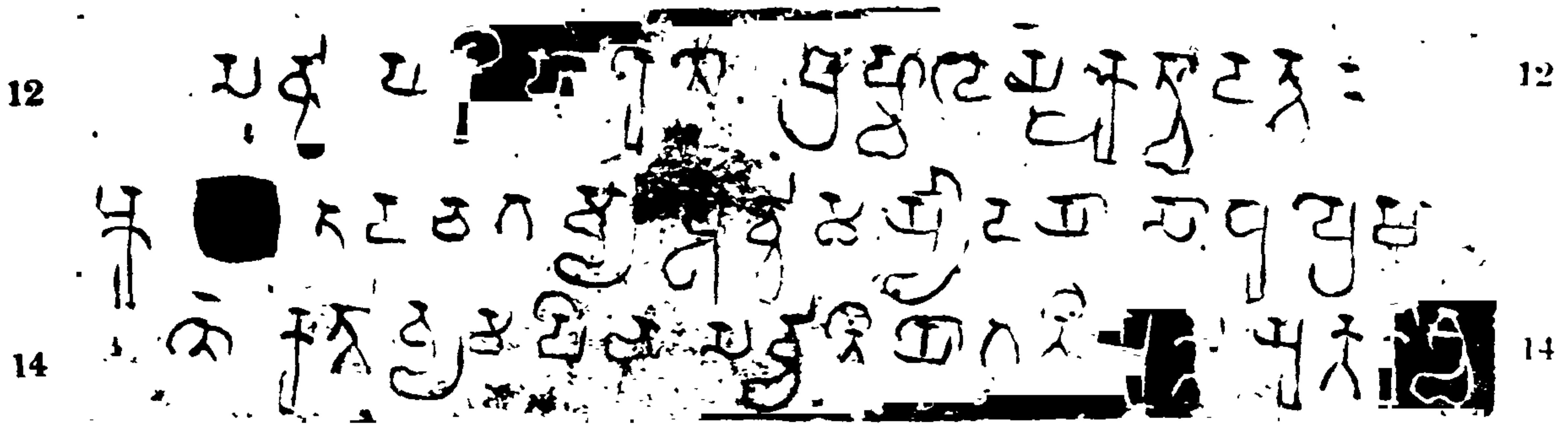


ii,b

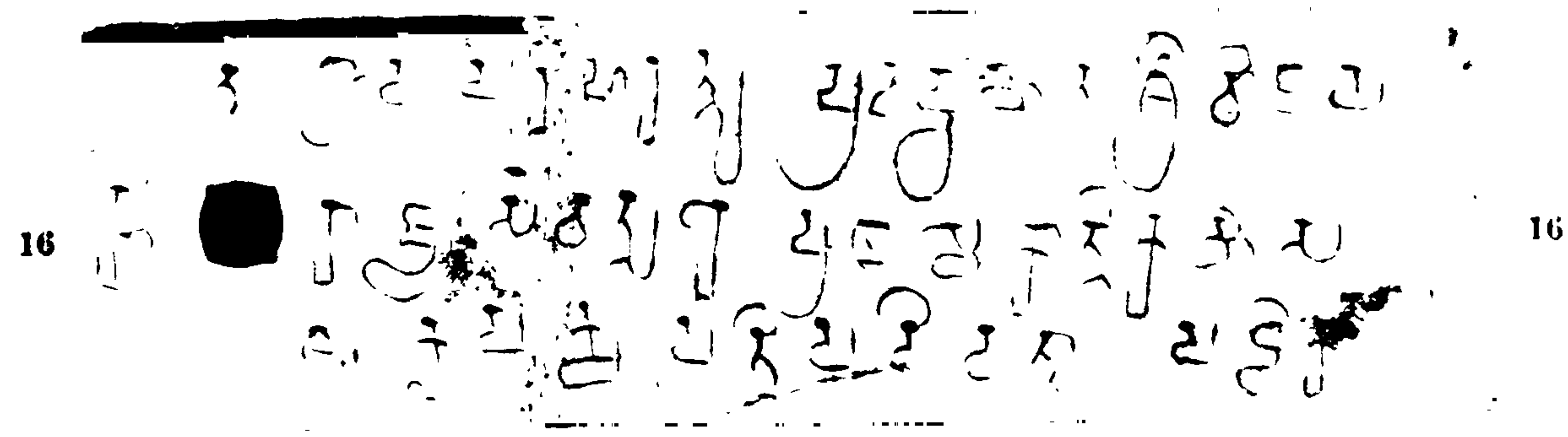


Scale one third

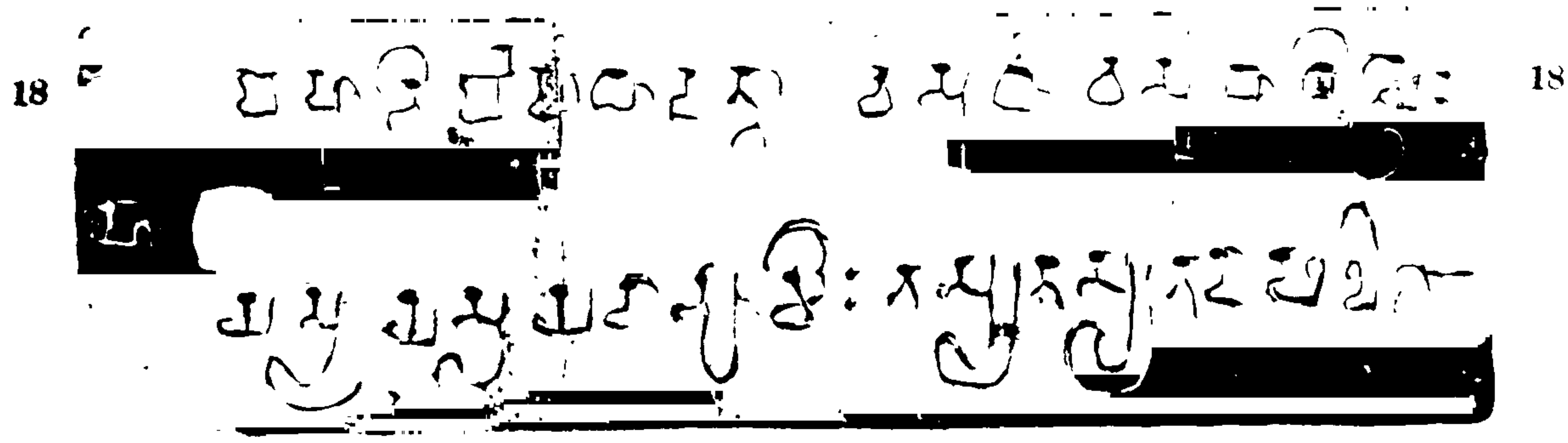
iii,a



iii,b



iv



There is no village of that name known to me. Kompara is stated in the record to have been lying in the district of Kudrāhāra. *Kudrāhāra* and *Gudrāhāra* are early forms of the name of modern Guḍivāḍa. Both of them are Sanskritized forms of the name known from inscriptions found in the Krishna District as Gudrahāra, Gudravāra or Gudrāra and Guḍivāḍa. It may be noted that Kudrāhāra was different from Kūḍūra or Kūḍūrapura, the capital of the Bṛihatphalāyanas.

TEXT[1]

First Plate

1 Svasti [|*] Vijaya-Vengyā aneka-samara-mukha-vikhyāta-karmmaṇaḥ

2 [2]mahārāja-śrī-Hastivarmmaṇaḥ prapautrasya

3 sva-pratāp-ā[pa]nīt-āhita-varmmaṇaḥ mahārāja-śrī-Nandiva-

4 rmmaṇaḥ pautrasya chatur-udadhi-taraṅg-āliṅgita-

Second Plate, First Side

5 yaśaso mahārāja-śrī-Hastivarmmaṇaḥ putrasya

6 [3]bhagavach-Ch[i]trarathasvāmi-pād-ānudyā(dhyā)tasya

7 bappa-bhaṭṭaraka-pāda-bhaktasya Śalaṅkāyanasya

8 mahārāja-śrī-Skandavarmmaṇo vachanena Kudrāhāra-

Second Plate, Second Side

9 Kompare grāmeyakā vaktavyā asti[4] asmābhir=asma-

10 [5]t-kula-yaśaḥ-śrī-[v]i[ja]ya-kalyāṇ-ābhivṛiddhaye

11 esha grāmaḥ Rathakāra-va(vā)stavyāya Chātuḥ(tu)rvvaidyāya

Third Plate, First Side

12 sarvva-parī(ri)hārēṇa brahmadeyaṁ kṛitvā dattaḥ [|*]

13 [6]tad=avagamya pūrvva-maryyādayā sādhu presha-

14 ṇaṁ karttavyam=api cha sarvva-niyoga-niyukt-āyuktakāś=cha

Third Plate, Second Side

15 taṁ grāmaṁ pariharantu [|*] prava[r]ddhamāna-śrī-vijaya-

16 [7]rājya-saṁvatsare prathame Kārttika-māsa-

17 śukla-paksha-pratipadi dattā paṭṭik[ā] [|*]

---

[1] From the original plates.

[2] Against this line, a little lower, near the ring-hole, appears the numeral *1*, indicating page 1 of the charter.

[3] Against this line and the next near the ring-hole, there appears the numeral *2*, indicating page 2 of the charter.

[4] A flaw in the plate here is responsible for giving the letter *a* a rather peculiar look.

[5] Against this line, near the ring-hole, there appears the numeral *3*, indicating page 3 of the charter.

[6] Against this line, near the ring-hole, appears the numeral *4*, indicating page 4 of the charter.

[7] Against this line, near the ring-hole, appears the numeral *5*, indicating page 5 of the charter.

Fourth Plate

18 Bahubhir=bahudhā dattā vasudhā vasudhādhipaiḥ [|*]

19 [1]yasya yasya yadā bhūmiḥ ta(mis=ta)sya tasya tadā phalam ||[2]

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-9) Hail! From the victorious (*city of*) Veṅgī; by order of the illustrious Śālaṅkāyana *Mahārāja* **Skandavarman**,—who meditates on the feet of the holy lord Chitraratha; who is devoted to the feet of his royal father; who is a son of the illustrious *Mahārāja* Hastivarman whose glory was embraced by the waves of (*all*) the four oceans; who is a grandson of the illustrious *Mahārāja* Nandivarman who had completely subjugated his foes by his own prowess,[3] (*and*) who is a great-grandson of the illustrious *Mahārāja* Hastivarman who was well-known through his deeds (*of valour*) in the forefront of many a battle-field,—the villagers at (*the village of*) **Kompara** of (*the district of*) **Kudrāhāra** are to be informed as follows:

(Lines 9-15) "We have given this village, for the increase of fame, fortune, victory and welfare of our family, to the Chāturvaidya,[4] a resident of Rathakāra, having made it a *brahmadeya* and exempting it from all taxes. Having known that, (*you*) should render proper services according to the old custom. Besides, all the officers-in-charge and their subordinates should leave that village alone (*without collecting any kind of tax*)."

(Lines 15-17) (*This*) title-deed has been given on **the first day of the bright fortnight of the month of Kārttika in the first year of** (*our*) flourishing, glorious and victorious reign.

(Lines 18-19) [An imprecatory verse.]

[1] On the left, near the ring-hole, appears the numeral *6*, indicating page 6 of the charter.

[2] The punctuation mark at the end is indicated by a single horizontal stroke which is mixed up with the sign of the mute *m*.

[3] Literally, 'one who had taken away the armours of the enemies by his own prowess'.

[4] [As in the other inscription, the word *chāturvaidya* should better be taken in the sense of the community of the *Chaturvedin* Brāhmaṇas residing at Rathakāra.—D.C.S.]

No. 2—GHUMLI PLATES OF BASHKALADEVA, V. S. 1045

(*1 Plate*)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

The inscription under study belongs to the Āyurvedic Museum at Jāmnagar. It was read by Pandit Navalśaṅkar, the son of Mahāmahōpādhāya Hāthībhāi Śāstrī, but was not published. The late Mr. H. R. Mankad, for sometime Superintendent of Archæology, Government of Saurashtra, Rajkot, is known to have prepared an article on the record, although this also remains unpublished. We owe to Mr. Mankad a few informations about the discovery of the record and the location of some of the villages mentioned in it. It is said that the epigraph was found in the course of digging operations at **Ghūmlī** in the former Navanagar State ; but nothing more is known. Ghūmlī is situated amidst hills in the northern valley of the Abhāparā, a summit of the Baradā range, about 3 miles south of Bhāṇavaḍ in the Hālār District of Kathiawar.

The inscription is written on the inner sides of **two** thin copper plates strung on two copper rings with loose ends. Each plate measures 8¾″ by 8″. The thickness of a rings is ½″ and its circumference 3½″. The edges of the plates were slightly raised with a view to protecting the writing from being damaged by rubbing. There are thirteen lines of writing on each of the plates. The **script** is old Nāgarī and the **language** Sanskrit. Some of the letters have been written in the cursive style (cf. *ś* in *śrēshṭa* and *śrī* in line 4 with the same letter in *Śailajā* in line 2) while many of them are carelessly engraved (cf. a passage in line 6, the intended reading of which is *Vikrama-saṁvat 1045 varshē Vaiśākha-śudi 15*). The letters often exhibit additional marks of the engraver's tool. The letter *b* has been used only in a few cases ; it has usually been indicated by the sign for *v*. There are many **orthographical** errors in the text of the record. The sign of *avagraha* has been used thrice (lines 7, 22 and 24), but wrongly in one of these cases.

The **date** of the charter is given in line 6. It is V. S. 1045, Vaiśākha-śu. 15, Monday. The date corresponds to the **22nd April, 989 A. D.**

The inscription begins with a variety of the *Siddham* symbol which is followed by the *maṅgala* : " May there be well-being, victory and prosperity !" Next follow three stanzas in the *Anushṭubh* metre, the first of which is in adoration of the god Vyōmakēśa (Śiva) while the following two give the genealogy of the king who issued the charter under study. It is said that there was a person named Hiraṇyamukha whose son was the *mahī-pati* or ruling chief named Jālē (or possibly Jyāla or Jāla). The son of Jālē was the powerful Śūra who was the father of the *nṛipa* or ruler Bāshkala, the issuer of the charter. Whether Hiraṇyamukha and Śūra were also rulers like Jālē and Bāshkala is not possible to determine from the language of the verses.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of a village made by *Rāṇaka* Bāshkaladēva surnamed Kuṁkumalōla, for the merit of his parents, in favour of a Brāhmaṇa. Bāshkala, whose capital was at **Bhūtāmbilī** within the **Mahādurga** *adhikaraṇa* in **Jyēshṭu(shṭhu)ka-dēśa,** is stated to have made the grant after taking a bath in the **Yajñavaṭa-tīrtha** at a holy place called **Piṇḍatāraka.** The word *adhikaraṇa* seems to be used here in the sense of an administrative unit probably lying around the *durga* or fortress at Bhutāmbilī where Bāshkala resided. The name of the gift village was Karalī which was situated in Jyēshṭu(shṭhu)ka-dēśa within the Nava-Surāshṭrā *maṇḍala*. The name *Nava-Surāshṭrā* seems to be a mistake for *Nava-Surāshṭra*, although the same form of the name Surāshṭra also occurs several times in the Ghūmlī copper-plate inscriptions[1] of the Saindhava kings of the Jayadratha-vaṁśa. The donee was Dāmōdara, son

[1] Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 185 ff.

of Chaṁḍāita. He is described as an *Adhvaryu-Brāhmaṇa* of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* and as an inhabitant of Aṇahilapura. There is an *akshara*, intended for a contraction, before the names of both Dāmōdara and his father. It is possibly *shrō°*(*śrō°*) standing for *śrōtriya*. The village, extending upto its boundaries, was granted together with its trees and all income pertaining to it, but without such land as had been previously granted in favour of gods and Brāhmaṇas.

Lines 16-20 of the record describe the boundaries of the gift village. They are : (1) in the east—a *ghōṭikā* (obviously a boundary post)[1] planted near a *vaha* (streamlet) in the vicinity of *Varaḍi* contiguous or attached to Chaṁḍāṇāgrāma ; (2) in the south—a *ghōṭikā* planted on the main road contiguous to Chhāhīṁā(apparently pronounced *Chhāhīyā*)-grāma ; (3) in the west—a *ghōṭikā* planted in a *khāḍī* (canal) contiguous to the Paüra-vēlākūla[2] ; (4) in the north—a *ghōṭikā* planted at a place contiguous to *Vahakādā* (possibly a *vaha* or stream called Kādā) adjacent to Dēvagrāma. In the description of the eastern boundary of the gift village, what has been read as *varaḍi* may be a mistake for *charaṁḍi* which in Gujarati means a narrow passage of water. It should, however, be noticed that Varaḍigrāma in Surāshṭra-maṇḍala occurs in an inscription[3] of Chaulukya Bhīma II, dated V. S. 1266, although it has not yet been satisfactorily identified.

The above is followed by the well-known stanza *Bahubhir=vasudhā bhuktā*, etc., in lines 22-24. It is next said that the *dūtaka* (executor of the grant) was the *Pratī°* (i.e. *Pratīhāra*, 'officer in charge of the palace gate') Dhāṁdhala. The document was written by *Pāri° Ṭha°* Āṁchaḍa. The letter *ṭha* is apparently an abbreviation of *Ṭhakkura* used as a title of nobility in the western parts of India. The contraction *Pāri°* seems to stand for *Pārikh*. In Gujarat, Parikh is now usually the cognomen of the banker class ; but it is derived from Sanskrit *Parīkshaka* which is known to have been the designation of a head officer or superintendent, a judge, etc.[4] Reference is next made to the witnesses of the charter, viz. Kailāsa, Kaṭu and others, who are described as *sthāna-mahājana*, meaning the elders of the locality, although it is difficult to determine whether they were members of a Board of Elders. The inscription concludes with the *akshara Śrī* incised in bolder characters which apparently stands for the king's signature in the original document copied on the plates. This practice of representing the royal sign-manual by the *akshara Śrī* is known to have been followed by the rulers of some of the native States of Kathiawar and elsewhere.

Bāshkala who issued the charter under study calls himself a *Rāṇaka*, i.e. a feudatory ruler, without reference to his overlord. It is difficult to identify this overlord of Bāshkala ; but it is not impossible that he acknowledged the suzerainty of the Chaulukya king Mūlarāja who ruled between *circa* 961 and 996 A. D.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it discloses the existence of a new dynasty of rulers in the second half of the tenth century A. D. at Bhūtāmbilī (modern Ghūmlī, the findspot of the record under study) which is known to have been previously the capital of the Saindhava kings of the Jayadratha-vaṁśa. Six copper-plate inscriptions of these earlier rulers of the *nagarī* of Bhūtāmbilikā,[5] as the name is found in those records, have been published above,[6] although their treatment suffers from a number of inaccuracies and an amount of speculation. The latest of the Ghūmlī copper-plate inscriptions of the Saindhava kings belongs to the reign of Jāika II and is

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[1] The post was probably marked with the figure of, or was shaped like, a mare.

[2] For the expression *vēlākūla*, see, *JBRS*. Vol. XL, part i, p. 12.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 112-14.

[4] Cf. Wilson's *Glossary*, s. v. *paṛichhā, parīkshaka* ; above Vol. XXVIII, pp. 718, etc.

[5] It is called Bhūmalikā in an inscription (*An. Rep. Wat. Mus.*, Rajkot, 1921-22, p. 15) of the time of Chaulukya-Vāghēla Visaladēva, dated V. S. 1315, and has been identified with Bhūbhṛitpallī mentioned in the Vanthalī inscription of Chaulukya Sāraṅgadēva, dated V. S. 1346 (*An. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst.*, Vol. V, p. 174). The modern name *Ghūmlī* is a modification of *Bhūmalī* or *Bhūmlī*.

[6] See Vol. XXVI, pp. 185 ff.

dated in the Gupta year 596 which is given in the record both in words in a verse and in numerical figures of the decimal system (not in symbols, as read by the learned editor of the inscription). The date of the said record therefore falls in 915 A. D. while Bāshkaladēva's grant was issued in V. S. 1045 corresponding to 989 A. D. There is therefore a difference of about three quarters of a century between the records of Jāika II and Bāshkala, both issued from the same city. During this period the rule of the Saindhavas of the Jayadratha-vaṁśa was extirpated from Bhūtāmbilī and a new dynasty of rulers was established at the city. Although the name of the dynasty to which Bāshkala belonged is not mentioned in his record, it is hardly possible to regard him as a later member of the Saindhava or Jayadratha dynasty because in that case he would have traced his descent from the earlier rulers of the land. It may be noticed in this connection that our inscription, the style of which is quite different from that of the Saindhava charters, mentions Bāshkala's capital Bhūtāmbilī as situated in Jyēshṭhuka-dēśa which is stated to have formed part of Nava-Surāshtrā(shṭra)-maṇḍala, while the Saindhava Jayadrathavaṁśīs claimed to have been *Bhūtāmbilik-ābhidhāna-nagarī-garīyō-para-Surāshṭrā(shṭra)-maṇḍala-maṇḍana*. It will be seen that the Saindhava kingdom was called Apara-Surāshṭrā(shṭra)-maṇḍala and Bāshkala's kingdom Nava-Surāshṭrā(shṭra)-maṇḍala, although both indicated the district round Bhutāmbilī in the western part of ancient Surāshṭra or Kathiawar. What is, however, more interesting is that a smaller geographical unit round Bhūtāmbilī is called Jyēshṭhukadēśa in our inscription. This name reminds us of the Jeṭhvās who are among the inhabitants of the area even to this day.

According to tradition, Ghūmlī (ancient Bhūtāmbilikā) was the capital of the Jeṭhvā Rājputs, the Rāṇās of Porbandar being their present representatives. The name *Jeṭhvā* has been interpreted by different scholars in various ways. Wilson traced its origin in the name of the Jāṭs while Jackson took it to be a modification of *Yetha* which was regarded as the shortened form of Ye-tha-i-li-to or Epthalite, the ruling class of the white Huns.[1] According to local bardic traditions, *Jeṭhvā* is derived from the name of Jeṭha who was the 95th ruler in the list of the Porbandar kings. After the discovery and study of the six Saindhava grants discovered at Ghūmlī, one scholar suggested that the Jeṭhvās were so called because they represented the senior branch of the Saindhava royal family ; but another scholar was inclinded to believe that the name *Jeṭhvā* is derived from *Jayadratha*, the name of the ancient Saindhava king from whom the early rulers of Ghūmlī claimed descent, through Prakrit *Jairaṭh* and *Jaiaṭh*.[2] All these are no doubt unwarranted speculations as *Jeṭhvā* is certainly the same as *Jyēshṭhuka* occurring in the geographical name Jyēshṭhuka-dēśa found in our inscription. The present day Jeṭhvās must have been known as Jyēshṭhukas in the tenth century. Whether king Bāshkala belonged to their clan is difficult to determine without further evidence, though that seems quite probable under the circumstances. If, however, Bāshkala was a Jyēshṭhuka, the Jeṭhvā Rāṇās of Porbandar may be regarded as his distant descendants. This further points to the untrustworthiness of the bardic traditions as a source of history. It is also possible to suggest that the Jeṭhvās were so called because they were ruling over Jyēshṭhuka-dēśa. But this does not explain the application of the name Jyēshṭhuka to the land in question in the second half of the tenth century.

Among other geographical names mentioned in the inscription, the village of Karalī which was the subject of the grant recorded in the inscription, cannot be traced now. But a bridge at the eastern approach of Porbandar, the famous port of Western Saurashtra on the Arabian Sea, is said to bear the name Karlī-pūl. The village of Karalī may therefore have stood in its neighbourhood. We have seen that the localities called Chaṁdānā-grāma, Chhāhīmā-grāma, Paūra-vēlākūla and Dēva-grāma lay respectively to the east, south, west and north of Karalī. Of these, the western boundary given as Paūra-vēlākula, i.e. the harbour of Paūra, is undoubtedly the

[1] Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 187-88.

[2] Ibid., p. 188.

modern Porbandar (literally, 'the harbour of Pōr=Paüra') lying to the west of the Karlī-pūl near which the gift village of Karalī may be located. Our inscription thus points to the existence of Porbandar as a harbour as early as the tenth century A. D. The villages of Chhāhimā-grāma lying to the south of Karalī and Dēva-grāma lying to its north are respectively the modern Chhāyā 2½ miles to the south of Porbandar and Degām about 6 miles to the north of the harbour. The village of Chaṁdāṇā lying to the east of Karalī seems to have stood near modern Ādityānā about seven miles to the east of Porbandar.

Besides the above, there are some other geographical names in the inscription. They are Aṇahilapura, Piṇḍatāraka and Yajñavaṭa-tīrtha. Of these, Aṇahilapura was the capital of the Chaulukya and Vāghela kings of Gujarat and is now called Pāṭan lying near Kaḍī in north Gujarat. Piṇḍatāraka seems to be the well-known holy place called Piṇḍāraka in the *Mahābhārata*[1] and identified with modern Piṇḍārā on the Gulf of Kutch about seven miles north of Bhāṭiā, a station on the railway line between Jamnagar and Dwarka. There is a *kuṇḍa* near the temple at Piṇḍārā and this may be the Yajñavaṭa-tīrtha mentioned in the inscription.

TEXT[2]

First Plate

1 Siddham[3]|| svasti jayō=bhyudayaś=cha | Pāṁtru(tu) vō Vyōmakēśasya jaṭā-vaṁ(baṁ)-

2 dh-ēṁdu-rasma(śma)yaḥ | bhāṁti yē Śailajā-kaṁṭhē mālatī-mālikā iva |[| 1*]

3 Hiraṇyamukha-nām=ānau[4] tasmāj=Jālē[5] mahīpatiḥ | Śūraḥ sarva-

4 jaga-śrēshṭa[6] tasy=ātmaja-mahā[va]la[7] [|| 2*] Taj-jāta[ḥ*] subhaga[ḥ*] śrīmāṁ(mān) dhīmāṁ-

5 ś=cha Vā(Bā)shkalō nṛipaḥ | yēn=ēdaṁ sakalaṁ viśvaṁ yasa(śa)sā dhavalīkṛittaṁ(tam) [|| 3*]

6 Śrī-nṛpa**Vi[ka]ma[8]-saṁva[t] 1045 var[shē] [Vaiṇā(śā)kha-nnu(śu)]di 15 Sōmē=**

7 'dy=ēha śr[ī]-Jyēshṭu(shṭhu)ka-dēśē Mahād[ur]gr-ādhikaraṇē[9] śrī-Bhūtāṁvi(bi)lyāṁ

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[1] See Dey, *Geographical Dictionary*, s.v. : 'near Golagar in Guzerat, sixteen miles to the east of Dwarka'. The name also reminds us of the holy place called Piṇḍitakā-vaṭa in a Nasik inscription of the second century A. D. (*Select Inscriptions*, p. 161.)

[2] From the original plates and their impressions.

[3] Expressed by symbol.

[4] The intended reading is °*nām=āsau* or °*nām=āsīt*.

[5] The reading may possibly be °*Jyāla-mahīpatiḥ*. It is difficult to say whether °*Jālō mahīpatiḥ* was intended.

[6] Read *jagach-chhrēshṭhas*°.

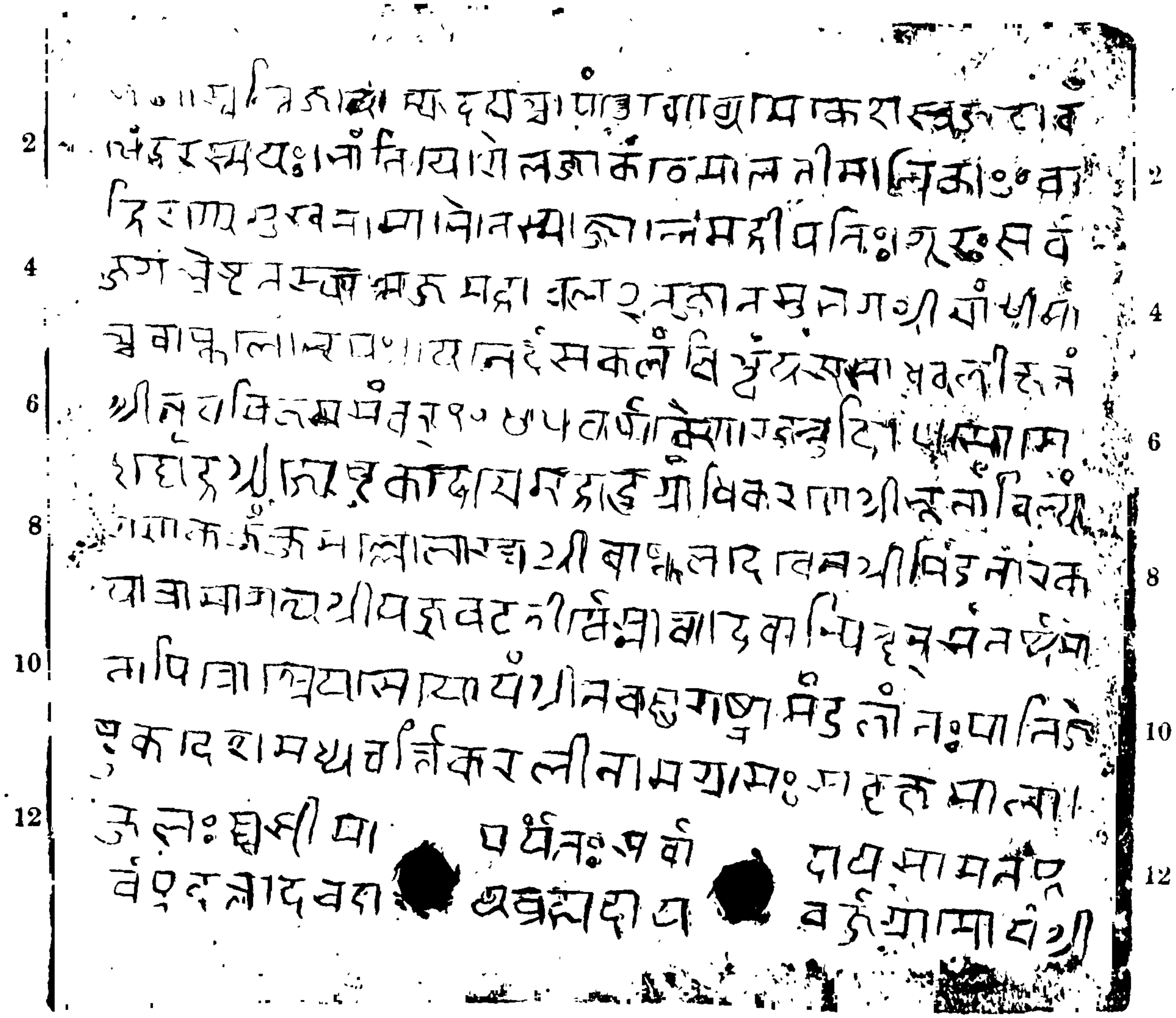
[7] Read °*balaḥ* or better *tasy=ātmajō mahābalaḥ*. After *la* the engraver was going to incise *ś*; but it was abandoned after only the left-hand portion of the *akshara* had been completed. Probably he wanted to engrave °*balaś=taj-jātaḥ* for °*balas=taj=jātaḥ*.

[8] Read *Vikrama*. The *akshara ka* is imperfectly formed.

[9] The intended reading is *Mahādurg-ādhikaraṇē*.

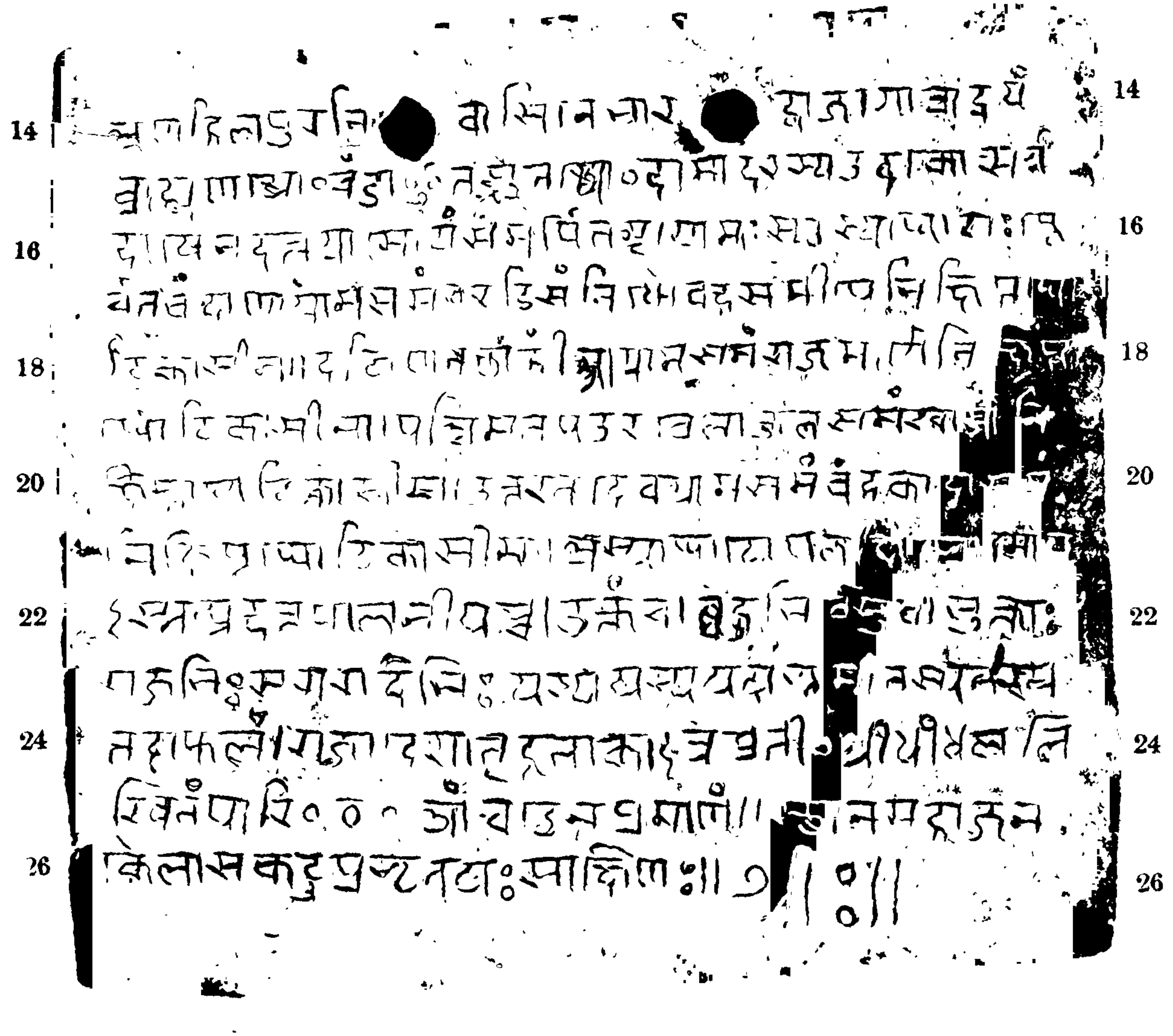
GHUMLI PLATES OF BASHKALADEVA, V. S. 1045

First Plate



Scale three fourths

Second Plate



8 **rāṇaka-Kuṁkumallō(lō)l-ākhya-śrī-Bāshkaladēvēna** śrī-Piṁḍatāraka-

9 **yātrām=āgatya** śrī-Yaj[ñ]avaṭa-tīrthē snātvā dēvān=pitṛīn saṁtarpya mā-

10 **tā-pitrō[ḥ*]** śrēyasē yō=yaṁ śrī-Navā(va)-Surāsh[ṭ]rā(shṭra)-maṁḍal-āṁtaḥpāti-Jē(Jyē)

11 shṭu(shṭhu)ka-dēśa-madhyavartti-Karalī-nāma-grāmaḥ sa-vṛiksha-māl-ā-[1]

12 **kulaḥ** sva-sīmā-paryaṁtaḥ sarv-ādāya-samēta[ḥ*] pū-

13 rva-pradatta-dēvadāya-vrahyadāya[2]-varja-grāmō=yaṁ srī[3]-

Second Plate

14 **Aṇahilapura**[4]-nivāsinē Bhāradvāja-gōtr-ād[dh]arya[5]-

15 Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-shrō(śrō)°[6]-Chaṁḍāita-suta-**shrō**(śrō)°[6]-Dāmā(mō)darasya[7] **udakō-tsarga-**

16 dāyēna[8] **datta-grāmō=yaṁ** samarpita[ś=cha] | grāmaḥsarasy=ā[9]**ghāṭāḥ** | pū-

17 **rvata[ḥ*]** Chaṁdāṇāgrāma-samaṁ[10]-varaḍi-sannidhau vaha-samīpē **nikshipta-ghō-**

18 ṭikā[11] sīmā | dakshiṇata[ḥ*] Chhāhīmāgrāma-samaṁ-rājam[ā]rgē nikshipta-

19 **ghōṭikaḥ(kā)** sīmā | paśchimata[ḥ*] Paüra-vēlākula[12]-**samaṁ-khār[ḍ]yāṁ**[13] ni-

20 **kshipta**-ghōṭikā sīmā | uttarata[ḥ*] Dēvagrāma-samaṁ-Va[14]hakādā-samaṁ-

21 nikshipta-ghōṭikā sīmā | asy=āghāṭ[15]-ōpalakshita-grāmō=yaṁ

22 'smat[16]-pradatta[ḥ*] pālanīyaś=cha | uktaṁ cha | Bva(Ba)hubhir=vasudhā **bhuktāḥ(ktā)**

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[1] There is an unnecessary *daṇḍa* here at the end of the line.

[2] Read *brahmadāya*.

[3] The rule of *Sandhi* has been ignored here.

[4] The letter *la* is not properly formed.

[5] Read °*ādhvaryu*.

[6] This *akshara* seems to be an abbreviation of the word *śrōtriya*.

[7] The intended reading seems to be *Dāmōdarāya*.

[8] Better read °*sargēṇa* or °*sarga-puraḥsarēṇa*.

[9] The intended reading may be *grāmasy=āsy=ā*° or *grāmavarasy=ā*°.

[10] This is either used to mean that the two were contiguous or is a contraction of a word like ***samanta***, indicating the same idea. In inscriptions we have generally *saṁ* or *sambaddha*.

[11] This apparently indicates a post that was planted for indicating the boundary.

[12] Read *vēlākūla* which means 'a harbour'.

[13] The intended reading may be *khāḍyāṁ*, i.e. 'in a *khāḍī* or creek'.

[14] There seems to be an unnecessary *anusvāra* above this *akshara*.

[15] Read *ēt[ē]d-āghāṭ*°.

[16] Read °*yam=asmat*°.

23 rājabhiḥ Sagar-ād[i]bhiḥ [| *] yasya yasya yadā bhūmī tasya tasya

24 ta[d]ā phalaṁ|(lam ||) rāj-ādēśāt dūtakō='tra pratī°[1]-śrī-Dh[āṁ]dhala[ḥ |*] li-

25 khitaṁ pāri°-ṭha°[2]-Āṁchaḍēna pramāṇaṁ(ṇam) || sthāna-mahājana-

26 Kailāsa-Kaṭu-prabhṛitayaḥ sākshiṇaḥ || śrīḥ[3] ||

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[1] This is a contraction of *pratīhāra*.

[2] The second of the two contractions stands for *ṭhakkura* and the first apparently for *pārikh*.

[3] This *akshara* in bigger form symbolically represents the sign-manual of the issuer of the charter.

No. 3—ALALPUR PLATES OF NARASIMHA II, SAKA 1215

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund, and P. Acharya, Bhubaneswar

Pandit Ratnākara Gargavaṭu (ordinarily *Garābaṛu*) of Bhubaneswar (Puri District, Orissa), who died in 1953, was an enthusiastic student of Indian epigraphy in his youth. About the year 1902, when he was engaged in studying the stone inscriptions fixed in the compound wall of the Ananta-Vāsudēva temple at Bhubaneswar, one Rāmadāsa Bābājī informed Pandit Gargavaṭu that he had seen a set of copper plates bearing writing similar to the stone inscriptions with which the Pandit was then engaged. On the Pandit pressing for further information about the plates, the Bābājī came to him after a few days with the news that the Pandit's cousin Harēkṛishṇa Sāmantarāya knew the whereabouts of the copper plates and might be of help in securing them for his examination. When Harēkṛishṇa was approached, he informed the Pandit that the plates were in the possession of Mukunda Sāmantarāya of the village of **Alalpur** (Alarpur of the Survey of India map, sheet No. 73-H/15) lying about four miles east of Bhubaneswar to the left of the Puri road. Pandit Gargavaṭu then saw Mukunda Sāmantarāya and learnt from him that the plates had been found in a stone-box which had been discovered while digging the foundation for a house in the village. The plates were seven in number and were strung together on a ring bearing a seal with the bull emblem. Mukunda Sāmantarāya was found to have put them by the side of his family deity along with which they were being worshipped by him daily. At the Pandit's request Mukunda agreed to lend the plates for the decipherment of the inscription and Pandit Gargavaṭu carried them to his place personally, although they were very heavy.[1] The Pandit then made a serious attempt to decipher the text of the inscription and completed his transcript of the record after some time.[2] At that time Pandit Gargavaṭu was serving as a teacher in the Balasore School. A fellow teacher at the school, named Rādhākṛishṇa Basu, who was a Sanskritist and an M.A., later made some corrections in the Pandit's transcript. Soon afterwards, Pandit Gargavaṭu himself made some further corrections in his transcript with the help of the text of a similar inscription published in the *Viśvakōsha*, s.v. *Gāṅgēya*.[3]

Some time after completing the preparation of the transcript, Pandit Gargavaṭu engaged a *mūliā* (day labourer) to carry the plates from his home at Bhubaneswar to Mukunda Sāmantarāya at Alalpur. Mukunda, however, became full of sorrow and indignation when he found the plates, which he had been worshipping regularly along with his family deity, thus defiled by the touch of a labourer of low caste. Considering them unworthy of veneration any longer, he sold the set to a coppersmith and it was ultimately melted by the latter. The inscription thus lost now exists only in Pandit Gargavaṭu's transcript (with corrections later inserted by Rādhākṛishṇa Basu and himself) from which we are editing it with the Pandit's kind permission.[4] As regards the fairly reliable nature of the transcript, it may be pointed out that there are fortunately cases where the genuineness of the Pandit's reading can be verified. By way of illustration, we may refer to the passage *śēvāyaty-Allālanāthaśaranamaṇē* as read by N. N. Vasu in line 18 on the first side of plate VI of the Kendupatna inscription published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1896, part i, p. 256. Vasu took the word *śēvāyati* to be the same as Bengali *sevāyita* meaning a

[1] Considering the weight of other records of the later Imperial Gaṅga monarchs, it seems that the seven plates together with the seal weighed about one thousand *tolas*.

[2] Below his signature at the end of his transcript, we find the date given as the 16th of November, 1903.

[3] This is the Kendupatna copper-plate inscription (Śaka 1218) of Gaṅga Narasiṁha II published by N. N. Vasu in 1893 in the Bengali Encyclopaedia entitled *Viśvakōsha*, Volume V, pp. 321 ff. See now above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 191 ff.

[4] Pandit Gargavaṭu handed over the small book containing his transcript to Acharya in 1949. It reached Sircar in April, 1950.

person in charge of the worship of a deity in a temple.[1] But an examination of the impressions of the plates published by Vasu clearly shows that the correct reading of the passage is *śē(sē)nāpaty-Allālanāthaśarmmaṇē*. It has to be noticed that the same *Sēnāpati* (general) Allālanāthaśarman is also twice mentioned in the Alalpur inscription under review in lines 213 and 228 where Pandit Gargavaṭu reads the passages, no doubt correctly, as *Allālanātha-sēnāpatayē* and *Allālanātha-sēnāpatinā*. The names of the villages read by the Pandit as Hariōntāgrāma (modern Harianta), Chhatalōgrāma (modern Chhatol), Kuraṅgagrāma (modern Kurang) and Khandhalagrāma (modern Khandol) similarly point to the reliable nature of his transcript. Of course it cannot be said that the Pandit's transcript is absolutely free from misreadings.

The plates are known to have been seven in number. Pandit Gargavaṭu numbers the line in his transcript separately according to the inscribed sides of the plates. This shows, as expected, that the first and seventh plates were inscribed only on the inner sides, while the other plates had writing on both the sides. There were altogether 228 lines of writing. The first and second sides of Plate IV had respectively 17 and 18 lines engraved on them, while the first side of plate V and the inner side of plate VII had respectively 19 and 14 lines. The remaining eight inscribed faces of the copper plates had each twenty lines of writing on them.

The record contains **two dates**. The first of them refers to the time when the grant was actually made by king Narasiṁha II, while the second falls about two years later when the document was written and the plates were engraved. The first date is given as the **expired Śaka year 1215** as well as the king's **nineteenth Aṅka**, **Kumbha-dvitīya, badi 5, Tuesday.** *Kumbha-vitīya* indicates the second day of the solar month of Phālguna. In Śaka 1215, however, the econd day of solar Phālguna fell on Tuesday, the 26th January, 1294 ; but the *tithi* on that date was Māgha badi 14 and not Phālguna badi 5. In that year, Phālguna badi 5 actually fell on Tuesday, the 16th February, which was the 23rd and not the 2nd day of the solar month of Phālguna. The date of our record thus seems to be irregular ; it is either **the 26th of January or the 16th of February in 1294 A.D**. The nineteenth *Aṅka* year of king Narasiṁha II was his sixteenth regnal year (omitting, according to rule, the first, sixth and sixteenth years). This agrees with the fact known from other records that Narasiṁha II ascended the throne in Śaka 1200 (1278 A.D.). The second date of our inscription simply speaks of the king's **twentysecond Aṅka**, i.e. eighteenth regnal year (omitting the first, sixth, sixteenth and twentieth years), which apparently fell in **Śaka 1217.** The grant was made when the king was staying at **Remuṇā-kaṭaka,** i.e. the city of Remuṇā or the royal camp or residence at Remuṇā, which was the place wherefrom the Kendupatna plates of Śaka 1217 (or 1218) were also issued. In the expression *Śrī-charaṇēna vijaya-samayē* used in this connection, *śrī-charaṇa* is an honorific expression to indicate the king and *vijaya* has been used in its Oriya sense of 'stay'.[2] In the same context other records of Narasiṁha II read *vijay-āvasarē*. The *mudala* (i.e. the royal order regarding the grant or its execution) passed through the *Purō-Parīkshaka-Pātra* Trilōchana-jēnā who seems to have been an official of a minister's rank and was the principal inspector attached to some administrative department. The object of the grant was the increase of the king's longevity, health, wealth and majesty. The donee was the *Kōsh-ādhyaksha* (treasurer) Halāyudha who was a Brāhmaṇa of the Vatsa *gōtra* having the Bhārgava, Chyāvana, Āpnuvat, Aurva and Jāmadagnya *pravaras* and was a student of a portion of the Kāṇva branch of the Yajurvēda. The area of the land granted was one hundred *vāṭikās* in five plots scattered in different villages.

The first plot of land comprised the village of **Yanvachāpaṭigrāma** (or Pandha°?) in the **Vāhattari** *khaṇḍa* of the **Kalamvō(mbō)ra** *vishaya*, with the exception of the land belonging to the *śāsana* (land granted by a charter) pertaining to Rāma-pratirāja. The area of the land was

[1] See op. cit., p. 271.

[2] A similar sense of the word is also noticed in Telugu, Kannada and Tamil. It must have been borrowed in Oriya from Telugu.

determined according to the *nala*, i.e. measurement of area, done by Allāla-nāyaka, described as a *śrī-karaṇa*, i.e. a scribe. The western boundary of the village granted was the *daṇḍā* of Paṅgapāla lying to the east of a river, while the eastern boundary was the western *daṇḍā* of Urisō-parakōṇā. The word *daṇḍā* means 'a boundary pillar' and from that 'a boundary line'. It is tempting to equate *parakōṇā* with the well-known *Parganā* meaning a tract of land comprising a number of villages, although Parakōṇā may have also been the name of a locality adjacent to or included in Urisō. The northern boundary of Yanvachāpaṭigrāma (or Pandha°?) was the southern *daṇḍā* of Urisōgrāma, while the southern boundary was the *daṇḍ-ārddha*, i.e. a portion (*arddha*) of the boundary line (*daṇḍā*), of Kuṇḍalēśvaradēva (i.e. the temple area of the deity of that name) of the Śrīrāmapura *śāsana* (i.e. the gift village of that name). The land within these four boundaries measured 24 *vāṭikās*, 19 *mānas* and 5 *guṇṭhas*. Out of this, an area measuring 8 *vāṭikās* and 12 *mānas*, which was covered by the land previously granted to gods and Brāhmaṇas and by the boundaries of a waiting place for ferry as well as *gōhari* and *gōpatha* meaning broad pathways for cattle, etc., was subtracted, leaving a total (*niravakara*) of 16 *vāṭikās*, 7 *mānas* and 5 *guṇṭhas*.

The second plot of the land granted comprised the village called **Kharalagrāma** situated in the **Sāilō** *vishaya*. The southern boundary of this village was the dam or highway (*bandha*) at the northern limit of Kuraṁgagrāma, while its northern boundary was the southern *daṇḍā* of Hariōṅtāgrāma. To its west was the eastern boundary line of Chhatalōgrāma and its eastern limit touched partially the boundary of the tank attached to the *gōlā* (granary) belonging to Khandhalagrāma. The land within these boundaries measured 42 *vāṭikās*. Out of this, the area of 17 *vāṭikās*, 16 *mānas* and 20 *guṇṭhas*, which was covered by the boundaries around the *maṇḍapa* (temple or public building) under the enjoyment of gods and Brāhmaṇas and by *gōhari*, *gōpatha*, tanks, *bhīṭha* (mounds?), etc., was subtracted, leaving a total of 24 *vāṭikās*, 3 *mānas* and 5 *guṇṭhas*. The calculation here makes it clear that 1 *vāṭikā* of land was regarded as equal to 20 *mānas* while 1 *māna* (Oriya *māṇa*) was equal to 25 *guṇṭhas*. The case is the same in Orissa even at the present time.

The third plot of the gift land comprised **Gōlādalōgrāma**, situated in the same **Śāilō** *vishaya*, with the exception of the locality called Lāla-Brāhmapura. The northern boundary of the village touched parts of the boundary line of the Siṁpalō-Vāṅkēśvara *haṭṭa* (market-place) and the southern boundary was the *gōlā-pushkariṇī* (tank attached to the granary) of Hariōntāgrāma. The western limit touched partly the boundary line of Nibhayapura, while the eastern limit was the western embankment of the tank of or at Pālēhā in Rādgalapura (Rāṅga°?). The land measured 70 *vāṭikās*, 13 *mānas* and 15 *guṇṭhas*. Out of this, an area of 33 *vāṭikās*, 5 *mānas* and 1 *guṇṭha*, which was covered by the land such as that around *maṭhas* (colleges) and *maṇḍapas* under the enjoyment of gods and Brāhmaṇas of the locality called Haṭṭapura-karmi-daṇḍā (a certain part of Haṭṭapura) as well as by a *vaidya-daṇḍā* (boundaries of land granted to the local physician), tanks, *jōḍa* (canals), *gōpatha*, etc., was subtracted, leaving the total remainder of 37 *vāṭikās*, 8 *mānas* and 14 *guṇṭhas*.

The fourth plot of the land granted comprised **Sarpadalōgrāma** in the same **Śāilō** *vishaya*. It was bounded in the north by the *gambhīra-vila-vēṇā* (a piece of very low land covered by the *vēṇā* grass) of Gōlādalōgrāma and in the south the southern dyke of the tank of or at Jayagaṅga. Its western boundary was the locality called Malisāhāra-Tālapadiā in the village of Gōlādalō and the eastern limit was the *maṇḍapa* belonging to one Śrīdhara *Viśvāla* (meaning originally 'a village watchman', later stereotyped into a family name) lying to the west of Rādgalapura (or Rāṅga°?). Within these four boundaries the land measured 11 *vāṭikās* and 5 *guṇṭhas*. Out of this, an area measuring 5 *vāṭikās* and covering some tanks in the possession of gods and Brāhmaṇas, was subtracted, leaving a total of 6 *vāṭikās* and 5 *guṇṭhas*.

The fifth plot of land comprised the village called **Vāsidrāma** in the **Sāivīra** *vishaya* with the exception of 3 *vāṭikās*, 4 *mānas* and 10 *guṇṭhas* attached to the homestead land belonging to

the god Bhuvanēśvara worshipped at Dhārapura. The remaining land measured, according to the *samākrānta-nala*, 29 *vāṭikās*, 5 *mānas* and 12 *guṇṭhas*. In Oriya, the word *samākrānta* means 'endowed with boundaries' and *nala* 'measurement of area'. It seems that the recognised area of the piece of land was quoted in this case without fresh measurement. Out of the above area, 13 *vāṭikās* and 15 *mānas*, which covered tanks, *bhīṭhas* and *maṇḍapas* in the occupation of gods and Brāhmaṇas, was subtracted leaving, according to the document under review, a total of 16 *vāṭikās*. There is, however, strictly speaking, a mistake in the calculation, as the remainder was actually 15 *vāṭikās*, 5 *mānas* and 12 *guṇṭhas* and not exactly 16 *vāṭikās*.

The document goes on to say that the total area of the five plots measuring 100 *vāṭikās* was granted as a revenue-free gift together with the right to enjoy both land and water as well as fish and tortoise. The actual total area of the five plots, however, was slightly less than 100 *vāṭikās*. It was 99 *vāṭikās*, 4 *mānas* and 16 *guṇṭhas*, although, if the wrong calculation of the area of the fifth plot as quoted in the document is taken into account it would come up to 99 *vāṭikās*, 19 *mānas* and 4 *guṇṭhas*.

Sēnāpati (general) Allālanātha, who was a Brāhmaṇa of the Pūtimāsha *gōtra* and a student of the Śākala branch of the Ṛigvēda, was the *Śāsanādhikārin*, i.e. the head of the record department who was responsible for writing the *śāsana* or charter. He received, apparently as his perquisite, two *vāṭikās* of land consisting partly of homestead land and partly of land under water. The engraver of the plates, whose name was Pannāḍi-raṇā, similarly received two *vāṭikās* of land, half of which was homestead land, the other half being under water. He was apparently the same as Pannāḍi, mentioned in the Kendupatna plates, and Pannāḍi-mahārāṇā who engraved the Puri plates[1] of Bhānu II, son of the issuer of the present charter. *Raṇā* and *Mahāraṇā* indicate family names among the artisans of Orissa.

A number of rent-paying subjects were also attached to the present gift land which was styled *Allālapura-śāsana*. The later Gaṅga monarchs often gave a particular name to the land granted by a charter. Why the present charter was called Allālapura-śāsana is not clear; but it seems to have been named after the *Śāsanādhikārin Sēnāpati* Allālanātha. The practice of allotting a number of rent-payers to a *śāsana* is also known from other records of the king. The subjects attached to the present charter were: (1) Asātī who was the son of the *guḍika* (manufacturer or seller of sugar) Nārāyaṇa and belonged to the Uchabhāpaḍā *haṭṭa* (market); (2) Mādhī-śrēshṭhin who was the grandson of Bhratī-śrēshṭhin and was a potter of the Yaitrapaḍā *haṭṭa*; (3) Kāliyā who was the gransdon of Gōpāladānu and belonged to the Saragaḍā *navā(va)-haṭṭa*; (4) Pārakha-śrēshṭhin who was the son of Jāgulī-śrēshṭhin and was an oilman of Vōirōā-gōpāpa; (5) Punakara who was the grandson of Pratōsva and a grower or seller of betel leaves attached to the Jaṅkhēra-Jayapura *haṭṭa*; (6) Dharmmu-śrēshṭhin who was the grandson of Kukāmāchaṇḍā and was a relation of the oilman Gabhu-raṇā of Uthalī, and (7) Maikraā, the grandson of Mārttaṇḍa and a goldsmith of the Vijayalakshmīpura *haṭṭa*: he was made a substitute for Uṭjās-ādhyaksha who was the grandson of the goldsmith Visu-mahalāka[2] and belonged to the Vāraṅga *haṭṭa* and who had been attached to the *śāsana* of *Khaḍgagrāhi-Mahāpātra* Yāgānanda of Ghaṭavaṭa; and Uṭjās-ādhyaksha was attached to the present charter.

The last line of the charter says that it was written by the *Śāsanādhikārin* Allālanātha-sēnāpati and that the plates were *udghāṭita* (probably meaning *utkīrṇa* or engraved) by the copper-smith Pannāḍi-raṇā.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the charter, Allālapura is, of course, modern Alalpur near Bhubaneswar. It is, however, difficult to determine as to which of the gift villages has to be

[1] *JRASB*, Letters, Vol. XVII, pp. 19-26; *JBRS*, Vol. XXXVIII, part ii, pp. 225-29.

[2] The word is *mahallāka*, the same as *mahallika* or *mahallaka* meaning 'a guard of the royal harem'. Visu-mahallāka was a goldsmith by caste. The word *adhyaksha* attached to the name of his grandson may suggest that the latter had some executive function in the market to which he belonged.

identified with the present Alalpur. Another interesting fact is that only one of the five localities granted seems to have carried the name applied to the *śāsana*. If the reference to the god Bhuvanēśvara at Dhārapura actually refers to the present Bhubaneswar, originally named, no doubt, after a deity of this name, it may be suggested that the fifth plot of the gift land comprised modern Alalpur near Bhubaneswar. **Rēmuṇā** has been identified with the modern village of the same name situated about 6 miles to the west of Balasore. Paṅgapāla may be identified with the place of that name in Parganā Barpalla in the Cuttack District. Urisō is the same as Urisa, a village within the jurisdiction of the Jagatsingpur Police Station in the same District. The Sāilō *vishaya* may be roughly identified with the Sāilō Pargana in the said District. Sāivīra is still the name of another Parganā in that District. Kalambōra-vishaya, known from several other inscriptions, was apparently the district round the present village of Urisa.

Of the localities mentioned in connection with the second plot of the gift land, the villages Hariōntā, Kurāṅgı, Chhatalō and Khandhala are now called Harianta, Kurang, Chhatol and Kaandol respectively. They are all situtated in the vicinity of one another in the Cuttack District (see Survey of India map, sheet No. 73 H/15). The third plot of land was also situated near Hariōntāgrāma, i.e. modern Harianta. The other places mentioned in the record cannot be satisfactorily identified.

TEXT[1]

Sixth Plate, First Side

178 ....**Śaka-nṛipatēḥ pañchadaś-ādhika-dvādaśa-śa-**

179 **ta-samva(saṁva)tsarēshu gatēshu sva-rājyasy=ōnaviṁśaty-aṅkē**='bhilikhyamānē **Kumbha-dvitīya-kṛishṇa-pañchamyāṁ Maṅgala-**

180 **vārē Rēmuṇā-**kaṭakē Śrīcharaṇēna vijaya-samayē purōparīkshaka-pātra-Trilōchana-jēnā[2]-mudalēna chatu-

181 rdaśa-bhuvan-ādhipat-īty-ādi-virud-āvalī-virājamānō vīra-śrī-**Narasiṁhadēvaḥ** sv-āyur[3]-ārogy-aiśvarya-sāmrā-

182 jya-samṛiddhayē Vatsa-sagōtrāya Bhārgava-Chyāvan-[4]Āyu(pnu)vān-Au(vad-Au)rvva-Jāmadagnya-pravarāya Yajur-vēd-āntargata-

183 Kāṇva[5]-śākh-aika-dēś-ādhyāyinē kōshādhyaksha-**Halāyudhāya** vāṭikā-śataṁ pradān-ārthaṁ

184 **Kalamvōra-vishaya-Vāhattari[6]-khaṇḍa-madhya-Yanvachāpaṭi[7]-grāmaṁ** Rāma[8]-pratirāja-śāsanīyam=va(m=ba)hishkṛitya purō-

185 śrīkaraṇ-Āllāla-nāyaka-nala-pramāṇēna ētad-grāmīya-paśchima-śī(sī)mā nadyāḥ pūrva-(rvē) Paṅgapā-

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[1] From Pandit Ratnākara Gargavatu's Oriya transcript. The 105 introductory verses, also found in other records of the king, covered 177 lines and a part of line 178 which is line 4 on the sixth plate.

[2] Originally read *yēnā*.

[3] Originally read *svaprē°*.

[4] Originally read *vyāva°*.

[5] Originally read *kaṇṭha°*.

[6] Alternatively read *Vāhā*.°

[7] Originally read *Arddhachā°*. An alternative reading is *° grāma-Rāma°*. The reading may be *Pandhachā°*

[8] Alternatively read *Ramapratiraja°*.

186 la-daṇḍām=ādita[2] kṛitvā pūrvva-śi(sī)mā Urisō-parakōṇā[1]-paśchima-daṇḍā-paryantēna uttarataḥ U-

187 risō-grāmīya-dakshiṇa-daṇḍām=ārabhya dakshiṇa-śī(sī)mā Śrīrāmapura-śāsanīya-Kuṇḍalēśvaradēvasya daṇḍ-ārddha-

188 paryyantēna | ēvaṁ chatuḥ-śī(sī)m-āvachhēdēna guṇṭha-pañchak-ōttara-mān-ōnaviṁśaty-adhika-vāṭikā-chaturviṁśa(viṁśa)ti-

189 madhyāt purātana-dēva-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-nadītara-daṇḍā-gau(gō)hari-gōpath-ādibhir=māna-dvādaś-ādhik[2]-āshṭau(shṭa)-vāṭi-

190 kāṁ(kā) va(ba)hishkṛitya sthita-niravakara-pañcha-guṇṭh-ōttara-māna-sapt-ādhika-shōḍaśa-vāṭikā-mitaṁ[3] | **Sāilō-vishaya-**

191 madhya-Khāralōgrāmaṁ[4] [|*] dakshiṇataḥ Kku(Ku)grāṅgagrāmasy=ōttara-parichchēda-va(ba)ndham=adhikṛitya uttara-śī(sī)mā Hariōntā-

192 grāmīya-dakshiṇa-daṇḍā-paryyantēna [|*] paśchimataḥ Chhatalōgrāmasya pūrvva-parichchhēda-daṇḍām=avadhi(dhī)kṛitya pūrvva-śi(sī)mā

193 Khandhalō[5]grāmīya-gōlā-pushkarīṇy-arddha-paryyantēna [||*] ēvaṁ chatuḥ-śī(sī)m-āvachhē(chchhē)dēna vāṭī-dvāchatvāriṁśa(riṁśa)n-madhyā-

194 t purātana-dēva-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-bhōgya-maṇḍapa-daṇḍā-gōhari-gōpatha-pushkariṇī-bhīṭh-ādibhir=guṇṭha-viṁśa(viṁśa)ty-a-

Sixth Plate, Second Side

195 dhika-māna-shōḍaś-ōttara-saptadaśa-vāṭikāṁ[6] va(ba)hishkṛitya[7] vasthita-niravakara-pañcha-guṇṭh-ōttara-māna-tray-ādhika-chatu-

196 rviṁśati-vāṭikā-parimitaṁ(tam) || tath=aitad-vishaya-madhya-**Gōlādalō-grāmaṁ** Lāla[8]-Vrā(Brā)hmapuram=va(raṁ ba)hishkṛitya uttarataḥ

197 Siṁpalō-Vāṅkēśvara-haṭṭasya parichhē(chchhē)da-daṇḍ-ārddham=āditaḥ kṛitvā dakshiṇa-śī(sī)mā Hariōnta-grāmīya-gōlā-pushka-

198 riṇī-paryyantēna [|*] paśchimataḥ Nibhayapura-parichhē(chchhē)da-daṇḍ-ārddham=adhikṛitya pūrvva[9]-śī(sī)mā Rādgalapurīya[10]-Pālēhā-pushka-

199 riṇī-paśchima-va(ba)ndha-paryyantēna [|*] ēvaṁ chatuḥ-śī(sī)m-āvachhē(chhē)dēna guṇṭha-pañchadaśa-māna-trayōdaś-ādhika-saptati-vāṭikā-

200 madhyāt Haṭṭapura-karmmi-daṇḍa[11]-vāsi-purātana-dēva-Vrā(Brā)hṇa(hma)ṇa-bhōgya-maṭha maṇḍapa-vaidya-daṇḍā-pushkariṇī-jōḍa-gōpath-ādi-

[1] Alternatively read *Urisaparakēṇā.*

[2] Originally read °*dhikō*°

[3] Originally read *midaṁ.* Read °*mitam* |

[4] Originally read *Khāva*°.

[5] Originally read *Khareva*°.

[6] Read *vāṭikā* which was originally read.

[7] Read °*krity-ava*° which was originally read.

[8] Originally read *Lalē*°

[9] Originally read *pu*°.

[10] The reading may be *Rāṅga*°.

[11] Originally read *karmma*°. The intended reading seems to have been °*daṇḍā.*

201 bhir=guṇṭh-aik-ādhika-pañcha-mān-ōttara-trayastriṁśad[1]-vāṭikāṁ(kā) va(ba)hiskhṛity=āvasthita-niravakara-guṇṭha-chaturddaś-āshṭa-mān-ādhika-

202 saptatriṁśad-vāṭikā-parimitaṁ(tam) || tath=aitad-vishaya-madhya-**Sarpadalōgrāmaṁ-(mam)** [|*] uttarataḥ Gōlādalōgrāmīya-gambbīra-vila-

203 vēṇām=āditaḥ kṛitvā dakshiṇa-śī(sī)mā Jayagaṅga-pushkariṇī-dakshiṇa-va(ba)ndha-paryyantēna | paśchimataḥ Gō-

204 lādalōgrāmasya Malisāhāra-Tālapadiām=āditaḥ kṛitvā pūrva-śī(sī)mā Rādga(ṅga?)-lapura-

205 paśchima-Śrīdharaviśvāla-maṇḍapa-paryyantēna [|*] ēvaṁ chatuḥ-śī(sī)m-āvachhē(chchhē)-dēna pañcha-guṇṭh-ā-

206 dhik-aikādaśa-vāṭikā-madhyāt purātana-dēva-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-bhōgya-pushkariṇy-ādibhiḥ pa-

207 ñcha-vāṭikāṁ(kā) va(ba)hishkṛity=āvasthita-niravakara-pañcha-guṇṭh-ōpēta-vāṭikā-shaṭ-[2] parimitaṁ(tam |) **Sāivīra-vishaya**-madhya-

208 **Vāsidrām**-ākhyaṁ grāmaṁ Dhārapura-Bhuvanēśvara-dēvānām=vā(nāṁ vā)stu-samva-(mba)ndha(ddha)-daśa-guṇṭha-māna-chatushṭay-ādhika-vāṭī-trayaṁ

209 va(ba)hishkṛitya samākrānta-nalēna guṇṭha-dvādaśa-pañcha-mān-ōttar-ōna-triṁśad-vāṭikā-madhyāt=pushkariṇī-daṇḍā-bhīṭha[3]-purāta-

210 na-dēva-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-bhōgya-maṇḍap-ādibhiḥ pañchadaśa-mān-ādhika-trayōdaśa-vāṭi-kāṁ(kā) va(ba)hishkṛitya shōḍaśa-vāṭikā-pa-

211 rimitaṁ(tam) [|*] ēvaṁ grāma-pañchakēna milita-vāṭikā-śataṁ sa-jala-sthala-matsya-kachha(chchha)pa-sahitam=ā-chandr-ārkkam=akarī-

212 kṛitya prādāt[4] ||[5] || Atra śāsanē Pu(Pū)timāsha-gōtrāya Ri(Ṛi)gvēd-āntargata-Śākala-śākh-ādhyāyinē śāsan-ā-

213 dhikāriṇē Allālanātha-sēnāpatayē vāstu-sahita-jala-kshētra[6]-vāṭikā-dvayaṁ(yam) || ētat-tāmvra(mra)-lēkhaka-Ya-

214 nnāḍi[7]-raṇā-nāmnē vāstv-arddhaka-[sa*]hita-jala-kshētra-vāṭik=aikā || asya **Allālapura**-śāsanasy=āṁgatayā

Seventh Plate, First Side

215 Uchabhāpaḍā[8]-haṭṭīya-guḍika-Na(Nā)rāyaṇasya sutō=sātī-nāmā || O || Yaitrapaḍā-haṭṭīya-kumbhakāra-Bhratī[9]-śrēshṭhī(shṭhi)-

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[1] Originally read *triṁśa-vā°*.

[2] Originally read *shaṭa*.

[3] Originally read *īṭha*.

[4] Originally read *pradā°*.

[5] There is an ornamental flower design between the double *daṇḍas*.

[6] Originally read *vētra*.

[7] Originally read *Paraḍi*. The reading may be *Pannāḷi°*.

[8] Originally read *°yabhā*.

[9] Originally read *Bhadrī*; other alternative suggestions are *Bhabhī* and *Bhastī*.

216 **kasya naptā Mādhī-sē(śrē)shṭhī(shṭhi)-nāmā** Saragaḍā-navā(va)-haṭṭīya-Gopāladānu[1]-**naptā** Kāliyā-saṁjñakaḥ[2] || Vōiroā-Gō-

217 pāpa-tailika-Jāgulī-śrēshṭhikasya śu(su)taḥ Pārakha-sēshṭhī(śrēshṭhi)-nāmā || Jaṅkhēra-Jayapura-haṭṭīya-tāmva(mbu)lika[3]-Pratōsvasya

218 **naptā Punakara-nāmā** || Uthalī-tailika-Gabhu-raṇā-i(ṇ-ē)shṭa-kutumvī(mbī)ya-Kukā-māchaṇḍā-naptā[4] Dharmmu-śrēshṭhikaḥ || Vijayalakshmīpu-

219 ra-haṭṭīya-svarṇṇakara-Mārttaṇḍa[5]-nāmnō naptāraṁ Maikraā-nāmānaṁ Ghaṭavaṭīya-khaḍgagrāhi[6]-mahāpātra-Yāgānanda-śāsanē li-

220 **khitasya** Vāraṅga-haṭṭīya-suvarṇṇakāra-Visu-mahalākasya napta(ptu)r=Utjās-ādhyakshasya parivarttanaṁ datvā(ttvā) gṛihīta-U(t-Ō)tjās-ādhyakshā(ksha)-nāmā || [7] ||

221-27 **(The usual** imprecatory and benedictory stanzas)

228 Svasti **śrī**-vīra-**Narasiṁhadēvasya dvāviṁśaty-aṅkē** śāsan-ādhikāri[ṇā*] **Alālanātha**-sēnāpatinā **likhitam=idaṁ(dam)** || udghāṭitaṁ tāmvra(mra)**kāra-Yannāḍi-raṇ**[8]**-ākhyēn=ēti** || 0 ||

[1] Originally read °*danulu.*

[2] Originally read °*pāsa ayokaḥ.*

[3] Originally read *ambarika.*

[4] Originally read *nashṭhā dhē.*

[5] Originally read *Mārttandō.*

[6] Originally read °*grāhī.*

[7] There is an ornamental flower design between the double *daṇḍas*

[8] Originally read *Yannabhi*°. The reading may be ***Pann ai***°

No. 4—THREE PARAMARA INSCRIPTIONS FROM MALWA

(*1 Plate*)

K. N. SASTRI, NEW DELHI

Of the three inscriptions[1] under review, the first is from the Mahākālēśvara temple at **Ujjain**, the second is on a stone pillar in the Bhōjaśālā (now Kamālmaulā Mosque) at **Dhār** while the third lies in a shrine at Un in Madhya Bharat. Their common characteristic is that each of them contains an alphabetical-cum-grammatical chart (*bandha*) and a verse alluding to the *Varṇa-nāga-kṛipāṇikā-bandha* of the king Udayāditya.[2]

A. Mahākālēśvara Temple Inscription

This inscription is a *praśasti*, the object of which presumably was to record either the construction or the restoration of a Śiva temple at **Ujjain**. It survives in two fragments. One of them bears 36 closely written lines engraved on a stone slab built in a niche in the upper storey of the Mahākālēśvara temple. The other fragment comprises 28 lines of text and an alphabetical chart which are inscribed on a stone slab now fixed in a small *chhatrī* in the same temple on the ground floor. Though it is difficult to be absolutely certain about their relationship, yet their mutual resemblance in style and subject matter tends to support the view that the two fragments were parts of one and the same inscription.[3]

The first fragment is 17″ broad by 21½″ high and appears to be badly worn off on the surface. The writing on the second fragment, excluding the chart, measures 14″ broad and 17″ high and is in a far better state of preservation and quite distinct, though, here too, some letters are missing due to the peeling off of the surface. The characters are beautifully executed and belong to the so-called Kuṭila type of the Nāgarī script current in Northern and Western India in the 10th and 11th centuries A. D. They closely resemble those of the Khajuraho inscription of V. S. 1011[4] and the Udaypur *praśasti*.[5] The **language** is Sanskrit. Barring the alphabetical chart (*bandha*), the rest of the extant portion of the inscription is in verse. *B* is denoted by the sign for *v*, and the palatal sibilant by its dental counterpart in some cases.

The composer of this *praśasti* was well-versed in rhetorics and possessed a fine imagination. The first fragment contains nineteen verses of which the first sixteen are devoted to the eulogy of Śiva and the description of the Arbuda mountain. This is followed by an allusion to the sacrificial offering of the sage Vasishṭha whose cow, Surabhi, was snatched away by Viśvāmitra. Herein the poet displays his mastery in the use of allegories, similes and other poetic embellishments which go to make a good *kāvya*. Owing to an unfortunate gap between verses 19 and 79, the text dealing with the origin of the Paramāra family and the genealogy of its members appears to have been lost. This may be inferred from the occurrence of similar passages in the Paramāra *praśastis* in other inscriptions, such as the Udaypur *praśasti* referred to above. The genealogical account might have been brought down to Naravarman, the donor of the present record.

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[1] The estampages of the epigraphs were kindly supplied to me by the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.

[2] These inscriptions have been briefly noticed by Mr. K. K. Lele in the *Paramāras of Dhar and Malwa*, pp. 29-30; see also *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey*, Western Circle, 1912-13, pp. 21 and 55, Nos. 2598 and 2599 (Mahākālēśvara temple inscription); 1904-05, p. 8, No. 2081, and 1912-13, pp. 21 and 55, No. 2601 (Dhār inscription); 1919-20, p. 25, No. 3011 (Un inscription). Mr. Lele attributes the composition of the epigraphs to the Paramāra king Naravarman.

[3] [It is likely that the two fragments form the beginning and end of two different inscriptions.—Ed.]

[4] Above, Vol. I, Plate facing p. 124.

[5] Ibid., Plate facing p. 234.

The next point to be considered is whether the author of this *praśasti* was Udayāditya or his son Naravarman.[1] In verse 86, Udayāditya and Naravarman have been styled 'kings' (*mahībhujōḥ*). Had the former been the author of the *praśasti*, the association of his son with him would have been in the capacity not of 'king', but of *Rājakumāra* or *Yuvarāja*, in which case the latter could not have been styled 'king'[2]. It therefore follows that it was Naravarman who incised the *praśasti* during his reign to commemorate either the erection or the restoration of a temple of Śiva, and associated his father's name with his own as an expression of honour and filial love. Moreover, as another act of his deep devotion and reverence to Udayāditya, Naravarman appears to have dedicated to him the chart, described as the badge of Udayāditya to be worn by the kings and the poets alike, according to another stanza (verse 85) which also occurs in the other two inscriptions. In any case, it is quite clear that Udayāditya and Naravarman, being father and son, could not have ruled the same kingdom contemporarily. This becomes all the more incredible since Udayāditya was succeeded not by his younger son Naravarman but by his elder son Lakshmadēva as king of Mālwa. He was long dead when Naravarman ascended the throne.

Though, on account of the fragmentary condition of the epigraph the date is lost, yet it can be placed within the reign of Naravarman, i.e. in 1094-1133 A.D.[2] As indicated by the concluding portion of the record (verses 79 to 84) eulogising Mahākāla, the *praśasti* was presumably dedicated to that deity; but it remains obscure whether it recorded the erection or merely the restoration of a temple for the god. It may, however, be observed that the Mahākāla-jyōtirliṅga at Avanti (Ujjain) is one of the twelve *Jyōtirliṅgas* located in different parts of India, about which references are found in some of the *Purāṇas* and other works of Sanskrit literature.[3] It is therefore conceivable that a temple of Mahākāla existed here and that it was renovated or extended from time to time by the Paramāra kings including Naravarmadēva.

In lines 18-19 of the text, are enumerated the letters of the Sanskrit alphabet arranged classwise, each group being followed by a numeral indicating the number of letters in it. The figure 51 at the end shows the total number of letters in the two lines. Thus line 18 contains the 14 vowels and 4 *Ayōgavāhas*, while line 19 contains the 25 *Sparśas*, 4 *Antasthas* and 4 *Ūshmas*. The total of the two lines is thus 51. Line 20 begins with five long vowels from *ā* to *ḷṛī*, followed by the fourteen *Māhēśvara-sūtras* which occupy lines 21 and 22. Their total number 47, arrived at by leaving out the *it* consonant at the end of each *sūtra* and counting *ha* only once, is finally given at the end of line 22. The sub-totals are indicated after each group of letters. The above table is followed by three concluding stanzas (verses 85-87). Verse 85 dedicates the *Varṇa-nāga-kṛipāṇikā-bandha* to king Udayāditya with the injunction that the *bandha* was placed as a badge on the chest of the poets and the kings alike. Verse 86 says that the sword of the kings, Udayāditya and Naravarman, the votaries of Mahēśa, was ever ready for the protection of the four castes and of learning. Verse 87 states that this alphabetical Snake-Scimitar Chart of Udayāditya, [together with] the string of [poetic] gems, was composed by the 'friend of the talented poets' (*sukavibandhunā*).[4] This epithet presumably refers to king Naravarman himself who is supposed to have been the composer of this *praśasti*. Out of the three verses referred to above, the first is found in all the three inscriptions, the first and the second in the Ujjain and Dhār inscriptions, while the third is exclusive to the Ujjain *praśasti*.

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[1] [See note 4 below.—Ed.]

[2] [The epithet *mahībhuj* may be justified even if Naravarman was the governor of a district of his father's kingdom. The importance given to Udayāditya suggests that it was composed during his rule (1059-87 A. D.) possibly about the close of it.—Ed.]

[3] Cf. *Śiva Purāṇa*, IV (Kōṭirudra-saṁhitā), Adhyāyá I, verses 21-23.

[4] The expression *sukavi-bandhunā* is susceptible of the alternative interpretation 'by the talented poet Bandhu' if allowance is made for the indulgence of the poet to call himself 'a talented poet'. [This seems to be the better of the two interpretations of the stanza. The poet Bandhu was probably a protégé of Naravarman when he was the governor of some territory during Udayāditya's rule.—Ed.]

By the side of and below lines 18-28 is engraved the *bandha*, mentioned as *Varṇa-nāga-kṛipāṇikā* in verse 85. As this expression connotes, the *bandha* is roughly a combination of a snake and a scimitar or dagger. The head of the snake is apparently represented by the broad barbed blade of the dagger, and its coiled body after forming a sort of hilt of the dagger shoots up making a serpentine loop representing the tail. In the broad head of the dagger and its two barbs are inserted the 14 vowels from *a* to *au*, and in the thinner part below it are *ha, ya, va, ra* and *la*. Lower still, in the rhomboid portion of the hilt, which is divided into 25 squares, are placed the 25 *Sparśas* from *ka* to *ma*, arranged according to their *vargas*. The triangular portion at the bottom contains in its right arm the 4 *Ūshmas* and at the base the 4 *Ayōgavāhas*, viz. the *Upadhmānīya, Jihvāmūlīya, Anusvāra* and *Visarga*. The letters in the left arm of the triangle, being badly damaged in all the three inscriptions, are mostly illegible. However, to judge from the faint survivals of some of them in the Dhār inscription, of which *ō* at the bottom is somewhat clear, this arm probably contained *ksha, tra, jña* and *ōm*, with which the present day Dēvanāgarī alphabet ends.[1] The loop representing the tail of the snake is divided into 39 compartments, 21 of which are occupied by the noun terminations of the seven cases, viz., *su, au, as, am, au, as*, etc., and the remaining 18 by the verb inflexions of the two *padas*, viz., *ti, tas, anti, si, thas, tha*, etc., and *tē, ātē, antē, sē, āthē, dhvē*, etc. The starting point of the above two sets of terminations is the top of the loop, from where they proceed downwards in the left and the right hand arms respectively. It is noteworthy that the arrangement of alphabet given in the chart generally follows the lines of the 14 *Māhēśvara-sūtras* of Pāṇini's *Ashṭādhyāyī*. Thus *ha* is given twice, one before the 4 *Antasthas*, and again at the end along with the 4 *Ūshmas*, as is the case in the above aphorisms. The arrangement of the 25 *Sparśas*, if read vertically from top to bottom, though not strictly in the order of the *sūtras*, is approximately the same so far as their respective *sthāna* and *prayatna* are concerned.

The above *bandha*, containing as it does, the 14 *Māhēśvara-sūtras* and the 39 *sup* and *tiṅ* terminations, sets forth in a nutshell the basic elements and the first essentials of Sanskrit grammar which is entirely based on them. Again, as a sound knowledge of the *Śabda-śāstra*, which is synonymous with *Vyākaraṇa*, is indispensable for the proper understanding of the *Artha-śāstra*, the chart obviously stands for the entire Sanskrit literature and the learning it represents. According to a Puranic legend, Mahēśvara is the originator of all literature, philosophy, etc., and he, in the beginning of the creation, propounded to the four saints, Sanaka, Sanandana, etc., the fourteen *sūtras*, which are the germs of all knowledge and *Śabda-brahma*, and are therefore known as *Māhēśvara sūtras*. The word *varṇa* in its duplicate sense applying to the poets was thus obviously used by the author in its wider significance of 'learning'.

TEXT[2]

[Metres : verses 79 to 84 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verses 85 to 87 *Anushṭubh*.]

1 – – –न्द्रसदृक्षशक्तिरशनारम्यं वियद्वेदिकं ज्योतिर्ल्लिङ्ग-

2 मनादिसिद्धनिवि(बि)डध्यानप्रसूनार्च्चितम् । नासाग्रार्प्पितचक्षुष[:*]

3 कतिपये पश्यन्ति यद्योगिनस्तद्भूयादणिमादिदिव्यफल-

4 दं रूपं सतां [शाम्भवम्][3] ॥७९॥ नित्यं व्यापकमेकमुज्ज्वलचलं ज्योति: स्फुरद्रत्नव-

[1] I may also suggest that this arm of the triangle might have contained the 4 *Yamas*. It is worth noting that the total number of letters of the Sanskrit alphabet given in the chart is 51, whereas, according to Pāṇini, it is 63 or 64. The latter includes the 21 vowels, 25 *Sparśas*, 4 *Antasthas*, 4 *Ūshmas*, 4 *Yamas*, 4 *Ayōgavāhas* and the *duhspṛishṭa* and *pluta lṛi-kāra*, the last of them being but optional.

[2] From impressions. [On account of the unsatisfactory nature of the impressions of the first fragment, its text is not quoted here.—Ed.]

[3] The *aksharas*, being worn out here, are restored conjecturally.

5 द्योगोन्मीलितमीलितेक्षणपुटाः पस्य(श्य)न्ति पातंजलाः । सांद्रै[र्व्यो]मकदम्ब(म्ब)—

6 कुसुमैरभ्यर्च्चितं चिन्तितं तद्भूयादपुनर्हं(र्भ)वाय परमं रूपं सतां शाम्भवम् ॥८०॥ [नाम्भः][1]

7 क्लेदयति प्रकम्पयति न व्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डहर्ता मरुन्नाग्निः प्लुष्यति नावृणोति [च नभः][1]

8 क्षोणीं(णी) न चाक्रामति । योगाभ्यासवसा(शा)द्विमुक्तविषयां(या)सज्ज्ञान्यदन्तर्ब्बि-निल्लीना-[2]

9 न्त[ः*]करणां(णं) हृदि स्फुरतु तज्ज्योतिः सतां शाम्भवम् ॥८१॥ वैराग्याति-शयाद्द्वितीया(य)

10 सतताभ्यासप्रसूतिर्गुरुवृ(र्वृ)त्तीनां मनसो निरोध उदितो योगः स योगीश्व-

11 रैः । यस्मि(स्मिन्) संश्न(स्न)पितेर्च्चिते परिचिते ध्याते नते संस्तुते स्पृष्टे दृष्ट उपार्ज्जितेस्तु

12 पुरजित्स व्र(ब्र)ह्मभूयाय वः ॥८२॥ क्रीडाकुण्डलितोरगेश्वरतनूका[रा*]धिरूढो-

13 म्व(म्ब)रानुस्वारं कलयन्नकाररुचिराकारः कृपार्द्रः प्रभुः । विष्णोर्विश्वतनोरवन्तिनग-

14 रीहृपु(त्पु)ण्डरीके वसन्नो(न्नों)काराक्षरमूर्त्तिरस्यतु महाकालोन्तकालं सताम् ॥८३॥ भुज्य-

15 न्ते भुवनानि सप्त वसुधा साम्भोनिधिर्द्धीयते कल्पान्तेपि न नश्यते न कुपितान्मृत्यो-

16 रपि त्रस्यते । ध्यायद्भिर्यदपास्तकर्म्मनिगडैर्धात्रापि न प्रार्थ्यते तद्वः स्वान्तमलंकरो-

17 तु चरणाम्भोजद्वयं सा(शा)म्भवम् ॥८४॥

18 अ आ इ ई उ ऊ ऋ ॠ ऌ ॡ ए ऐ ओ औ १४ :
२ × ᳵ २

19 क ख ग घ ङ ५ च छ ज झ ञ ५
ट ठ ड ढ ण ५ त थ द ध न ५
प फ ब भ म ५ य र ल व ४
स(श) ष स ह ५१

20 आ ई ऊ ॠ ॡ अ इ उ ण(ण्) [ऋ*] ऌ क(क्) १०
ए ओ ङ(ङ्) ऐ औ च(च्) ह य व र ट् ल ण(ण्) ञ

21 म ङ [ण*] न म(म्) झ भ ञ(ञ्) घ ढ ध [ष्] ज प (ब) ग ड द श(श्)
२० । ३४ ख फ छ ठ थ च ट त क(व्)

22 क प य् श ष स र(र्) १३ हल(ल्) ३३ । ४७ ॥

23 उदयादित्यदेवस्य वर्ण्णनागकृपाणिका ।

24 कवीनां च नृपाणां च वेषो वक्षसि रोपितः ॥[८५॥*]

25 ए[के]यमुदयादित्यनरवर्म्ममहीभुजोः ।

26 [महे]शस्वामि[नोर्व्वर्ण्णस्थित्यै सिद्धासिपुथि(त्रि)का] ॥ [८६॥*]

27 [उदया]दित्यनामाङ्कवर्ण्णनागकृपाणिका ।

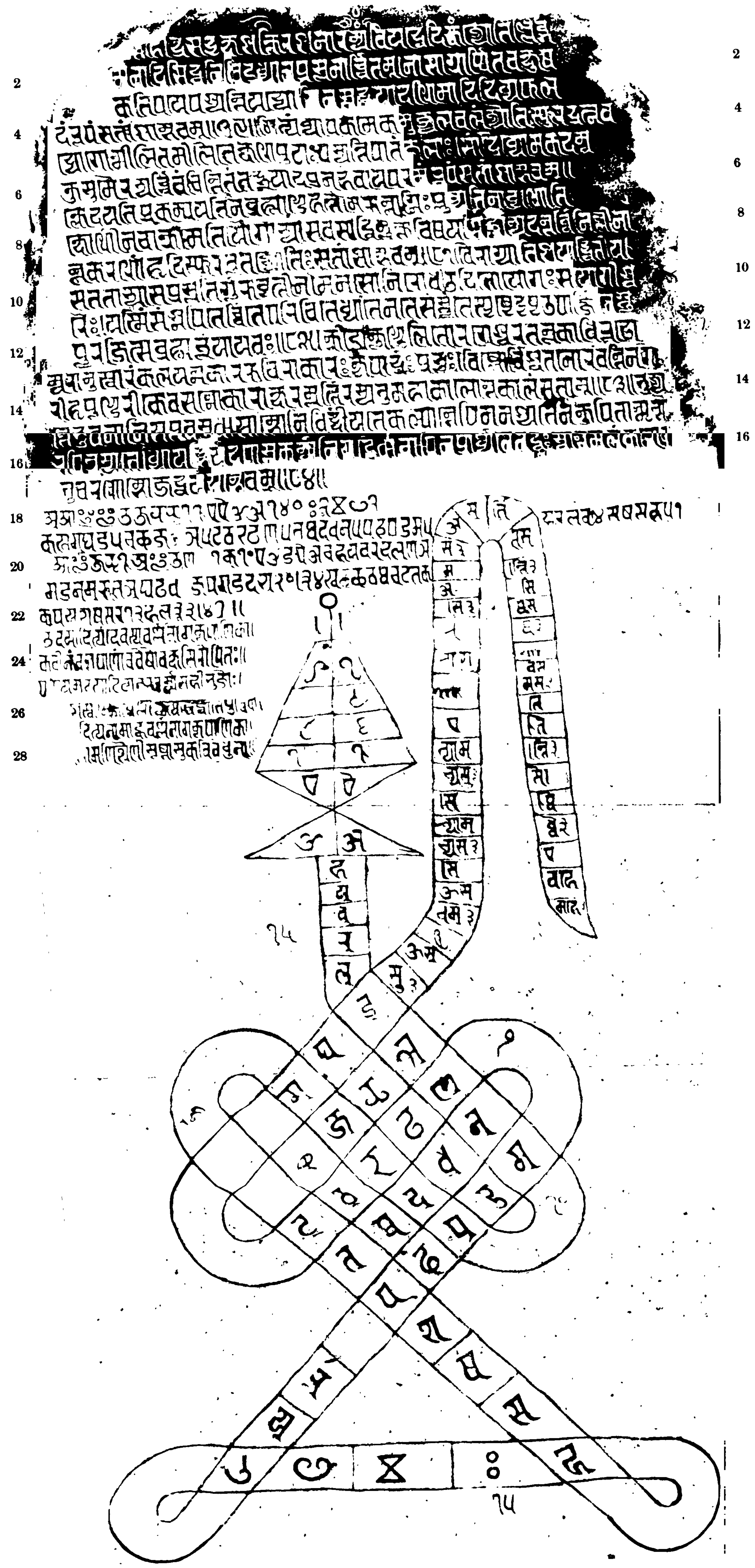
28 [पद्यमुक्ता]मणिश्रेणी सृष्टा सुकविवं(बं)धुना ॥[८७॥*]

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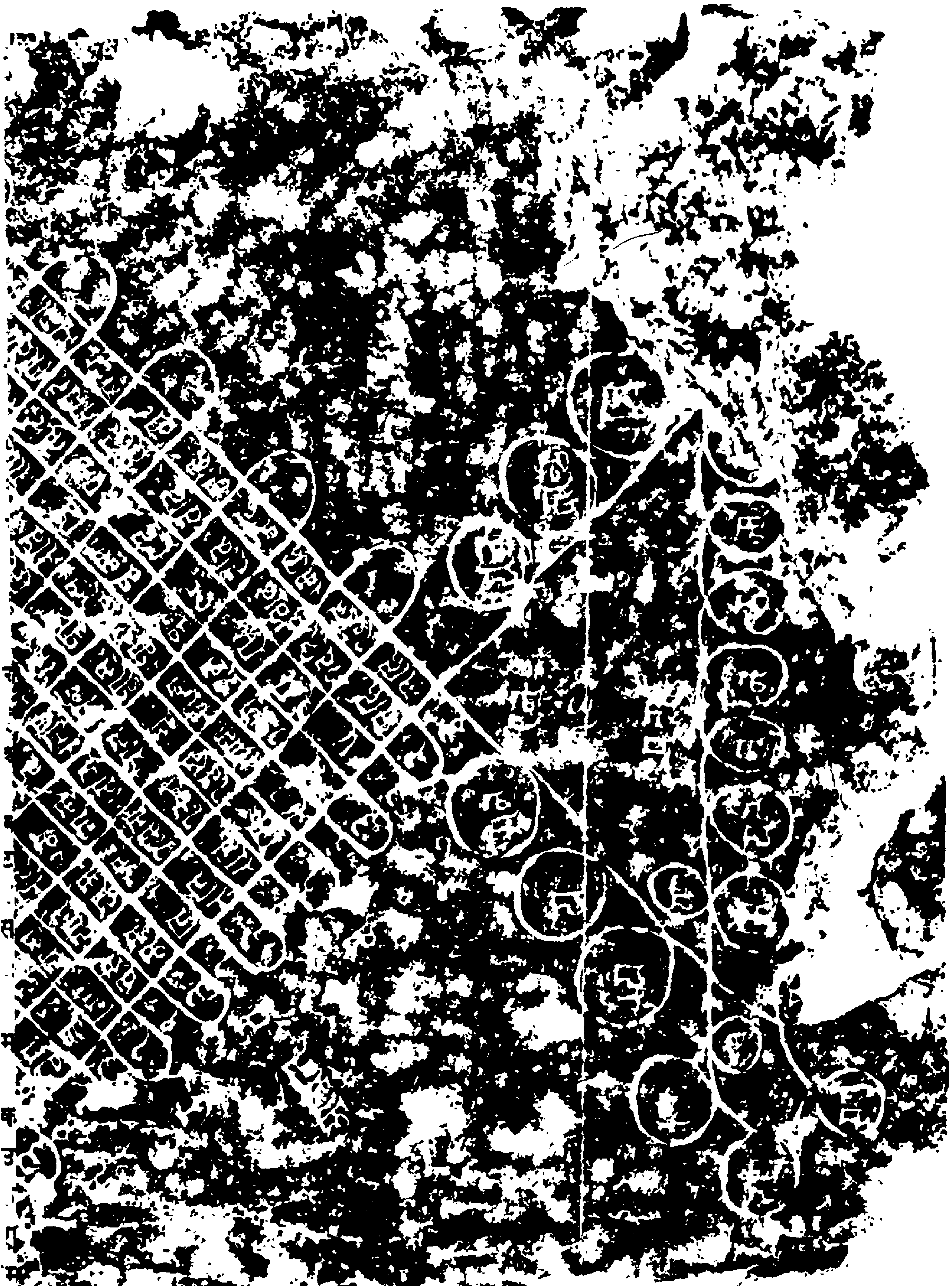
[1] This is only a conjectural restoration.

[2] Read °r=vvilīn-ā°.

A. Mahakalesvara Temple Inscription



Scale: One-half



B. Dhār Inscription

This consists of two parts which are engraved on two separate pillars in the Bhōjaśālā (now Kamalmaulā Mosque) at **Dhār.** Though lying apart from each other, they are allied inasmuch as they deal with the same subject of grammatical terminology. Judging from the two opening verses in Part I, which are identical with verses 85 and 86 of the Ujjain *praśasti* edited above, this inscription can be attributed to Naravarman. The alphabetical chart in Part II is identical with its counterparts in the Ujjain and Un inscriptions.

The inscription in Part I measures 29″ high and 15″ broad and, in addition to the two identical verses referred to above, contains a new chart (*bandha*) exhibiting 180 verbal terminations (*tiṅ-vibhaktis*) of the ten *lakāras* together with 16 *dhātu-pratyayas*. The *bandha* consists of the top, the middle and the bottom portions. In the top section, the inscription is very indistinct except for the initial word *atha*, but it has been conjecturally restored as *atha tiṅ-vibhakti-bandhaḥ.*[1] The middle section is a square standing vertically on one of its angles and is divided into 180 compartments by drawing nine parallel lines one way and seventeen the other way across. The space between each pair of parallel lines is alternately closed by means of projecting loops at either end along the four sides of the square, turning the sets of parallel lines into two running spirals from end to end. Inset in the five loops and the five intervening open spaces between them, in the upper left hand arm of the square, are, respectively, the initial letters of the terms denoting the different senses in which the ten *lakāras* are used. Thus in their serial order the letters *va, sa, bi(vi), hya, a, pa, sva(śva), ā, bha* and *kri* respectively stand for *vartamāna, sambhāvana, vidhi, hyastana-atīta, atīta-sāmānya, parōksha, śvastana-bhavishyat, āśis, bhavishyat* and *kriyātipatti* or *kriyātikrama,* indicating thereby the ten *lakāras*, viz., *laṭ, vidhi-liṅ, lōṭ, laṅ, luṅ, liṭ, luṭ, āśīr-liṅ, lṛiṭ* and *lṛiṅ*. It must be noted that the order of the *lakāras* given here is more in accordance with the Chāndra than with the Pāṇinīya school of grammarians. In the former, they are in the order of *laṭ, vidhi-liṅ, lōṭ, laṅ, liṭ, āśīr-liṅ, luṭ, lṛiṭ, lṛiṅ* and *luṅ*, while in the latter the order is *laṭ, liṭ, luṭ, lṛiṭ, lōṭ, vidhi-liṅ, āśir-liṅ, laṅ, luṅ* and *lṛiṅ.*[2] Arranged under each *lakāra* are 18 verbal terminations half of which are *Parasmaipadī* and half *Ātmanēpadī*, denoted by the abbreviations *Parasmai* and *Ātmanē* at the beginning of each division outside the lower left hand side of the square. Each *pada* is subdivided into three parts indicated by the *aksharas pra, ma* and *u*, meaning respectively the *Prathama, Madhyama* and *Uttama Purushas* (i.e. the third, second and first persons), and the three terminations of each person are continuously numbered by putting the figures 1, 2 and 3 in the loops and the open spaces along this side of the square. In the nine loops and the nine intervening open spaces along the opposite side of the square, is repeated the figure 10 eighteen times, recording the total number of terminations in the row opposite it. Against every third line stands the figure 30 showing the total number of the three rows, against every ninth line is the bigger total 90, and finally the figure 180 at the end of the vertical row of numerals indicates the grand total number of terminations in the whole square.

The last section is triangular with looped corners and shows along its three arms enclosed by circlets the *dhātu-pratyayas*, the number of which is stated inside the triangle to be 16. It is, however, difficult to find the actual number of all the *pratyayas* to correspond with the given figure. Their actual number including those enclosed in the circles and one inside the triangle comes to 19. But as the right hand loop of the triangle, which is now missing, must also have contained

[1] [This restoration is doubtful, as the reading appears to be *atha* ...... *dhātuḥ.*—Ed.]

[2] In the *Chāndra Vyākaraṇa*, the *lakāras* are arranged according to their *Sārvadhātuka* and *Ārdhadhātuka* divisions. Thus the first four *lakāras*, viz., *laṭ, vidhi-liṅ, lōṭ* and *laṅ*, belong to the former division, and the remaining six to the latter. In the Pāṇinīya system they are arranged according to their *ṭit* and *ṅit* distinctions. The four *lakāras* given in the chart are in the same order as in the *Siddhāntachandrikā*, while, among the *Ārdhadhātuka lakāras*, the sequence is slightly confused; but that does not affect the two main divisions referred to above.

at least three more, the total number of all the *pratyayas* would approximate to 22. I, however, think that what the author meant by the term *pratyaya* are the *tiṅ-pratyayas* comprising the ten conjugational characteristics (*vikaraṇas*) and the twelve *sanādi-pratyayas*.[1] These, leaving out their duplicates, are given along the three arms of the triangle. In the seven circlets along the base of the triangle are enclosed *a*, *yan*, *nu*, *na*, *u*, *nā* and *ay*, the *vikaraṇas* of *dhātus* respectively belonging to the *Bhvādi*, *Divādi*, *Svādi*, *Rudhādi*, *Tanādi*, *Kryādi* and *Churādi* conjugations. The *Adādi*, *Juhōtyādi* and *Tudādi* are not included as the *vikaraṇas* of the former two are dropped *in toto* and that of the third is identical with that of the *Bhvādi*. On the two arms of the triangle are *san*, *ya*, *ay*, *iyaṅ*, *kāmya* and *āya*, the characteristics of the *sanādyanta* verbs. The second of them (*ya*) stands for *kyach*, *kyaṅ*, *kyash*, *yaṅ* and *yak*, which, when shorn of superfluous parts, are reduced to *ya*. The third (*ay*) stands for the simplified form of *ṇiṅ* and *ṇich*. *Kvip* is evidently not taken into account as it is totally dropped after a verb. Thus of the twelve or ten *sanādi-pratyayas* only six are included in the chart. There are three more *pratyayas*, viz. *ich*, *yaṇ* and *in*.[2] The first is enclosed in the loop at the left hand corner while the other two are inside the triangle. I am unable to find out their nature and function in relation to verbs ; but, if they are added to the 13 *pratyayas* referred to above, the total number 16 is completed. Of the three circlets round the loop, the middle one is inscribed with the word *kṛidanta* or *kṛidartha* and probably refers to the two *kṛit-pratyayas* in the adjoining circles, which are *aṇ* and *snu*. Both, being *kṛit-pratyayas*, were probably not included in the total, and, for the same reason, those in the right hand loop, which is now missing, were also not taken into account.

C. Un Inscription

This inscription is in three parts. Part I comprising five pieces contains the *Varṇa-nāga-kṛipāṇikā-bandha* which is identical with that found in the other two inscriptions already dealt with. This is inscribed on the wall to the proper left of a shrine door at Un. Part II is engraved on a wall of the Chaubara Dēra No. 1, facing south, and contains in five lines the letters of the Sanskrit alphabet. Part III, whose exact position in the temple is not given, bears the stanza noticed previously in connection with inscription A (verse 85).

The stone slab bearing this inscription appears to be of coarse grain with the surface extremely corroded, rendering the letters very faint and blurred. In style the characters are similar to those on the other two allied inscriptions, but in this case they are larger, averaging about an inch in size. Consequently, the chart covers a larger space measuring about 40" high by 26" broad. The pentagonal top of the dagger and the upper part of the serpentine loop are extremely blurred and the portions of the alphabet and the grammatical terminology inscribed therein are lost. But the same can be restored with certainty from the identical charts on the other two inscriptions. Close to the left hand barb of the blade is a rough figure of a fish or conch shell (*śaṅkha*), which is a peculiar feature of this inscription.

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[1] According to the Pāṇinīya system, the *sanādi-pratyayas* are twelve as given below:—

san-kyach-kāmyach-kyaṅ-kyashō=th=āchāra-kvib-ṇij-yaṅau tathā |
yagāya īyaṅ ṇiṅ ch=ēti dvādaś=āmī san-ādayaḥ ||

According to the Chāndra system, they are known as *yanādi* and are ten as follows:—

yaṅ sakāmyā iyan ch=ēti yagāya-ñiñiṅas=tathā |
āchārē kvib=athō yaś=cha jñēyā daśa yaṅ-ādayaḥ ||

[2] It is difficult to say if the first two *pratyayas* (*ich* and *yaṇ*) are the same as mentioned in Pāṇini's aphorisms *ehlēich* and *huśnuvōḥ sārvadhātukē*. The third (*in*) could be *ṇini* ; but as it is a *kṛit-pratyaya* it would be difficult to include it among the *tiṅ-pratyayas*.

No. 5—SENAKAPAT INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF SIVAGUPTA BALARJUNA

(1 Plate)

M. G. Dikshit, Saugor, and D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

The stone bearing the inscription under publication was found in the house of a Brāhmaṇa resident of **Sēnakapāṭ**, a village in the forest area on the right bank of the Mahānadī, about two miles to the south of Sirpur (ancient Śrīpura, capital of Dakshiṇa-Kōsala) in the Raipur District of Madhya Pradesh. The inscribed stone is reported to have been brought from the ruins in the western part of the village, which contains two big Śiva-liṅgas, each about 2½ feet in height, apparently marking the sites of two temples. To which one of these temples the inscription originally belonged cannot be determined. The stone is now preserved in the Museum attached to the Saugor University.

The inscription is incised on a large well-dressed slab of Vindhyan sandstone, rectangular in shape and reddish buff in colour. It is about 30 inches in length, 18 inches in height and 3 inches in thickness. The slab is broken into two unequal sections which, however, dovetail into each other quite well. A letter or two which are damaged in most of the lines of writing can be fairly satisfactorily made out in almost all cases. Only a few such *aksharas* have to be restored with the help of the context. On the whole, the preservation of the record is not unsatisfactory. The inscription consists of 23 lines of writing which is divided into two sections. The first of these sections runs from the beginning to line 17 and the second from line 18 to the end (line 23).

The **characters** belong to the Northern Alphabet of the seventh or eighth century A. D. and closely resemble those of other contemporary stone inscriptions discovered in the neighbourhood, particularly the inscriptions[1] of the time of the king during whose reign the present epigraph was also engraved. The record employs the initial vowels *a* (lines 7, 10, 11, 21), *ā* (lines 10, 18, 20, 21), *i* (lines 2, 6, 8, 9, 12, 15), *u* (lines 1, 23) and *ṛi* (line 23). In some cases, there is little difference between the signs of medial *u* and subscript *n* (cf. *sūnu* and °*nnati* in line 23). The medial sign of *ē* is differently made sometimes as a *śirō-mātrā*, but sometimes as a *pṛishṭha-mātra* (cf. *udvēllaṅ*° in line 1, *ānuyānē* in line 2, etc.). The letter *n* has two forms (cf. *samānaṁ* and *niśchalaṁ* in line 12), one of which resembles in some cases a form of *r* (cf. *ripu* in lines 2-3, *bhara-nirbhara* in line 11) and in a few cases also of *t* (cf. *pravisṛitai*° in line 11, *nirvṛiti-dhanaṁ* in line 21). The letter *b* has been indicated by the sign of *v*. The conjunct *ry* exhibits both its earlier and later forms (cf. °*r=yasya* in line 12 and °*r=yāgasya* in line 18). For the final form of some consonants, cf. *samyak* in line 16 and °*mān* in line 23. The first and second halves of stanzas are marked respectively by a single and double *daṇḍa*, of which the former as well as the left side member of the latter has a small projection in the middle towards the left.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. With the exception of the introductory *maṅgala*, the whole record is written in verse. There are altogether 30 stanzas in various metres. As regards **orthography**, it may be noted that final *m* at the end of the second and fourth feet of verses has invariably been changed to *anusvāra*. Before *ś*, the *anusvāra* has been changed to *ṅ* (cf. *śītāṅśu* in line 3, etc.). The inscription bears **no date**. But the king, during whose

[1] For the Sirpur Lakshmaṇa temple inscription, see above, Vol. XI, pp. 190 ff. and Plate. For another Sirpur stone inscription of the same reign, see Cunningham's *A. S. Rep.*, Vol. XVII, Plate XVIII A, and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 197 f. The same king's copper-plate grants, however, exhibit characters of the box-headed type. Cf. the Mallar (above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 113 ff.), Bardula (ibid., Vol. XXVII, pp. 287 ff.) and Lodhia (ibid., pp. 319 ff.) plates.

reign it was incised, seems to have ruled about the **first half of the seventh century,** although there is difference of opinion among scholars on this point.[1]

The **object** of the inscription is to eulogise the construction of a Śiva temple and its dedication in favour of a Śaiva ascetic together with some plots of land. It begins with the *Siddham* symbol followed by the *maṅgala* : *namaḥ Śivāya.* Verse 1 constitutes a *maṅgala* in praise of the god Bhava (Śiva) and verse 2 of his consort the goddess Pārvatī. The next stanza (verse 3) introduces the reigning monarch **Śivagupta** described as a member of **Śītāṁśu-vaṁśa** (i.e. the lunar dynasty) and a devotee of the god Śiva. This king, sometimes called Mahā-Śivagupta, belonged to the royal family, usually called the Pāṇḍu-vaṁśa of South Kosala, and is well-known from several inscriptions of his time. Verse 4 mentions the king by his second name **Bālārjuna** and represents him as an incarnation of Vishṇu. It is interesting to note that the Śaiva notion of Vishṇu's subservience to Śiva has been cleverly put forward in this stanza. In this connection we have further to note that Śivagupta Bālārjuna enjoyed the epithet *paramamāhēśvara* and had the Śaivite emblem of the bull on his seal while the seal of his ancestor (grandfather's brother) Tīvara (*circa* 565-80 A.D.)[2], who was a *paramavaishṇava,* bore the Vaishṇava emblem of Garuḍa.[3]

Verses 5-12 introduce the person, the description of some of whose pious activities is the object of the record. Verse 5 speaks of a Brāhmaṇa named Śivarakshita who enjoyed the status of a *Rājan* and seems to have been the governor of a tract called **Navyāsī-vishaya.** Dēvarakshita, son of the said Śivarakshita, is mentioned in verse 6 which further says that the former was a trusted friend of king **Nannarāja.** This king appears to be none other than Śivagupta Bālārjuna's great-grandfather bearing that name.[4] The following stanza (verse 7) states how Dēvarakshita obtained, apparently from king Nannarāja, the governorship of the Vindhyan territory (*Vindhya-dhūr-dharatva*) as far as the banks of the river Varadā (*Varadā-taṭa-parihata*) and how he became well-known as Yaśōbhāṇḍāgāra (literally, ' a store-house of fame '). The description of Dēvarakshita is continued in verse 8 which says how no change for the worse was noticeable in him even when he had received, from the same ' king of kings ' named Nannarāja, a number of *vishayas* or districts either as a fief or for governing them. Verse 9 introduces Dēvarakshita's son Durgarakshita who is the hero of the eulogy contained in the inscription under study. The following two stanzas (verses 10-11) state that Durgarakshita was the bee at the feet, i.e. a servant, of king Bālārjuna and that he was a great devotee of Paramēśvara or Śambhu, i.e. the god Śiva. Verse 12 recounts the good qualities of Durgarakshita, his munificence in particular. Verse 13 states how he constructed a temple of Śambhu (Śiva), while the next stanza (verse 14) refers to a row of flags on wooden posts probably set up around it. According to verse 15, two *hala* measures of black-soil land in the village called **Guḍaśarkaraka** were granted in favour of the god Madanārāti (Śiva) by means of a charter. This plot of land seems to be mentioned as the *tala-pāṭaka* of the temple in verse 26 below. The exact area of a *hala* of land is difficult to determine ; but it seems to have originally indicated an area that can be cultivated by a single plough annually. The temple mentioned here apparently stood at modern Sēnakapāṭ. The following three stanzas (verses 16-18) introduce a Śaiva ascetic to whom the said temple was made

[1] See Bhandarkar's List, p. 230, note 1 ; above, Vol. X, p. 184 ; *New History of the Indian People,* Vol. VI, p. 91 ; *IHQ,* Vol. XXI, p. 62 ; *Bul. DCRI,* Vol. VIII, p. 55.

[2] *New History of the Indian People,* op. cit., p. 70.

[3] *The Classical Age* (*The History and Culture of the Indian People,* Vol. III), pp. 220-22.

[4] There was another Nannarāja who was a feudatory and son-in-law of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī king Tīvara, son of Nanna (above, Vol. VII, pp. 104 ff.). But Dēvarakshita's overlord must have been a much bigger ruler. After the present article was sent to the press, we have heard of the discovery of a grant of Tīvara's son Nannarāja II who, however, may have ruled for a short period and may not have been as powerful a ruler as his grandfather Nannarāja I. A small red-stone seal of one Nannarāja was discovered at Sirpur in February 1956 ; but his identify is uncertain.

over by Durgarakshita. Verse 16 speaks of the ascetic Sadyaḥśivāchārya hailing from the penance-grove entitled Āmardaka. Another ascetic named Sadāśivāchārya, who was probably the spiritual successor of Sadyaḥśivāchārya, is mentioned in verse 17 and his description continues in the following stanza (verse 18). Verse 19 states that Durgarakshita made over the Śiva temple built by him in favour of Sadāśivāchārya and his spiritual successors for enjoying and protecting it as long as the moon would endure. It is stated in verse 20 that the Śaiva ascetic also received the grant of four *hala* measures of black-soil land in a village called **Kōḍāsīmā**. According to the next two stanzas (verse 21-22), two other plots of black-soil land each measuring two *halas* were similarly granted in his favour respectively in the village of Viyāṇaka and in a locality called **Lāṭa** in **Śrīparṇikāgrāma**.

The second part of the inscription begins with verse 22 in line 18. This stanza and the following one (verse 23) say that the Śaiva ascetics had to arrange for a sacrificial ceremony (*yāga*) as well as for the initiation of people into the Śaiva faith (*dīkshā*) which is capable of securing spiritual emancipation, the exposition of the Śaiva doctrine (*samayasya vyākhyā*) and the running of a free feeding establishment (*annasya sattram*) every year during the full-moon day of the months of Āshāḍha, Kārttika and Māgha. Verse 24 states that the ascetics would have to stay at the place (i.e. in the temple) and that they should not lend money for the sake of interest (*vṛidhyartham=artham=asṛijadbhiḥ*). The next two stanzas (verses 25-26) record the boundary of the *tala-pāṭaka*, possibly land attached to a temple for its maintenance at the time of its consecration. *Tala-pāṭaka* seems to be the same as *tala-vāṭaka* of some records[1] and *tala-vṛitti* of Kannaḍa inscriptions.[2] To the north of the *tala-pāṭaka* lay a pit and to its south the Śivasamudra, probably a tank. The eastern and western boundaries were formed by two roads. Verse 27 says that intelligent people should note the insecurity of life and protect the good work done by others, while the next stanza (verse 28) contains the prayer that the temple of Bhava (Śiva) may last till the end of creation.

The last two stanzas (verses 29-30) of the inscription give the names of the author of the eulogy and the engraver of the record. The author of the *praśasti* was Sumaṅgala, who was the son of Tāradatta and apparently a servant or friend of Durgarakshita, while the engraver of the inscription was Vāsugaṇa, son of the *sūtradhṛit* (i.e. *sūtradhāra*) Ṛishigaṇa. The poet Sumaṅgala is known to have been the author of some other inscriptions of the time of Śivagupta Bālārjuna.[3] Ṛishigaṇa is also known from another inscription.[4]

There are two points of considerable importance in the inscription under study. The first of these is that, while the Brāhmaṇa Dēvarakshita is represented as a contemporary of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī king Nannarāja, the former's son Durgarakshita is stated to have been a servant of the latter's great-grandson Śivagupta Bālārjuna. Nannarāja's son was Chandragupta and grandson Harshagupta who was the father of Śivagupta Bālārjuna. It therefore seems that the reign of no less than four generations of the above Pāṇḍuvaṁśī kings roughly corresponded to the two generations of their subordinates. Śivagupta Bālārjuna issued his Lodhia plates in the 57th year of his reign.[5] He therefore had a very long reign and must have ascended the throne at a quite young age. These facts suggest that the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī rulers who flourished between Nannarāja and Śivagupta Bālārjuna, viz. (1) Tīvara and (2) Chandragupta, sons of Nannarāja, and (3) Harshagupta, son of Chandragupta, had very short reigns. The latest known date of Tīvara is his

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[1] For speculations regarding the meaning of the expression, cf. above, Vol. XXI, p. 83; *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 343-44; *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 216-17.

[2] See *SII*, Vol. XI, part i, No. 116, line 29.

[3] Hiralal's List, 2nd edition, p. 98; cf. also p. 99. The recently discovered Sirpur inscription of the time of Śivagupta Bālārjuna was also composed by Sumaṅgala.

[4] Hiralal, loc. cit.

[5] Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 319 ff.

ninth regnal year[1]; but very little is known about Chandragupta and Harshagupta, none of whose records has so far been discovered. Whether they actually ascended the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī throne and ruled for very short periods or ruled parts of South Kosala as viceroys of Tīvara is not definitely known. The contemporaneity of Nannarāja and Dēvarakshita as well as of the former's great-grandson and the latter's son suggests that Śivagupta Bālārjuna ascended the throne shortly, if not immediately, after Tīvara's death.[2]

Another interesting point is that Dēvarakshita, a subordinate of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī king Nannarāja of South Kosala, is stated to have been ruling over the Vindhyan region as far as the banks of the Varadā, i.e. the modern Wardha which is a tributary of the Godavari. This seems to support the suggestion, based on the evidence of the Bhāndak inscription, that Nannarāja's dominions included the area about the Chanda District of Madhya Pradesh. An inscription from Bhāndak situated on the bank of the Wardha in the Chanda District describes Nannarāja as having 'conquered the earth' and his younger brother Bhavadēva, also called Raṇakēsarin and Chintādurga, who was probably one of Nanna's military governors in the Chanda region, as having restored a derelict Buddhist temple originally built by Sūryaghōsha, an ancient king of that area.[3] Prof. V. V. Mirashi, however, believed that the Chanda District was rather far removed from the dominions of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs of South Kosala in the Chhattisgarh area and tried to prove that the Bhāndak inscription, now in the Nagpur Museum, did not originally belong to that place but came from Arang near Sirpur.[4] In support of this view, Mirashi cited the evidence of a certain Vinayakrao Aurangabadkar, who was an employee of Jenkins, Resident of Nagpur, and is reported to have seen an inscription of Bhavadēva affixed to a temple at Arang. Unfortunately, even if an inscription of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs existed at Arang, its identification with the Bhāndak epigraph cannot be established. It is doubtful if any importance can at all be attached to the alleged testimony of Aurangabadkar about the Arang inscription especially when the evidence of Cunningham and Stevenson seems to point to Bhāndak as the provenance of the record.[5] The evidence of the present record showing that Nannarāja's dominions included certain areas on the banks of the Varadā now renders Mirashi's speculation absolutely unnecessary.

The inscription mentions several geographical names. The temple, to which the inscription refers and to which it must have been fixed, was built at the present village of Sēnakapāṭ, and the pieces of land, granted in favour of the temple as well as to the Śaiva ascetics to whom it was made over, appear to have lain not far away from the temple. The plots of gift land were situated each in the villages of Guḍaśarkaraka, Kōḍāsīmā, Viyāṇaka and Lāṭa in Śrīparṇikā. In the neighbourhood of Sirpur there are several villages called Sāṅkrā, a name having some resemblance to Guḍaśarkaraka of our inscription. But while Guḍaśarkaraka seems to have been situated on or near the site of modern Sēnakapāṭ, the nearest village called Sāṅkrā lies about 13 miles due west of Sirpur. About 2 miles further to the south-west there is a village called Korāsī which may be the same as Kōḍāsīmā mentioned in our record. The Navyāsī *vishaya*, Vindhya and Varadā are mentioned in the *praśasti* portion. We are not in a position to locate Navyāsī although it may have been an area within or near about South Kosala. Whether *Navyāsī* has anything to do with Sanskrit *navāśīti* in the sense of an administrative unit consisting of 89 villages can hardly be determined. Another geographical name in this part is the penance-grove called Āmardaka, where the Śaiva ascetic Sadyaḥśivāchārya originally resided. Āmardaka, which is the name of Kāla-Bhairava, a form of Śiva, was probably derived from the locality where the Bhairava

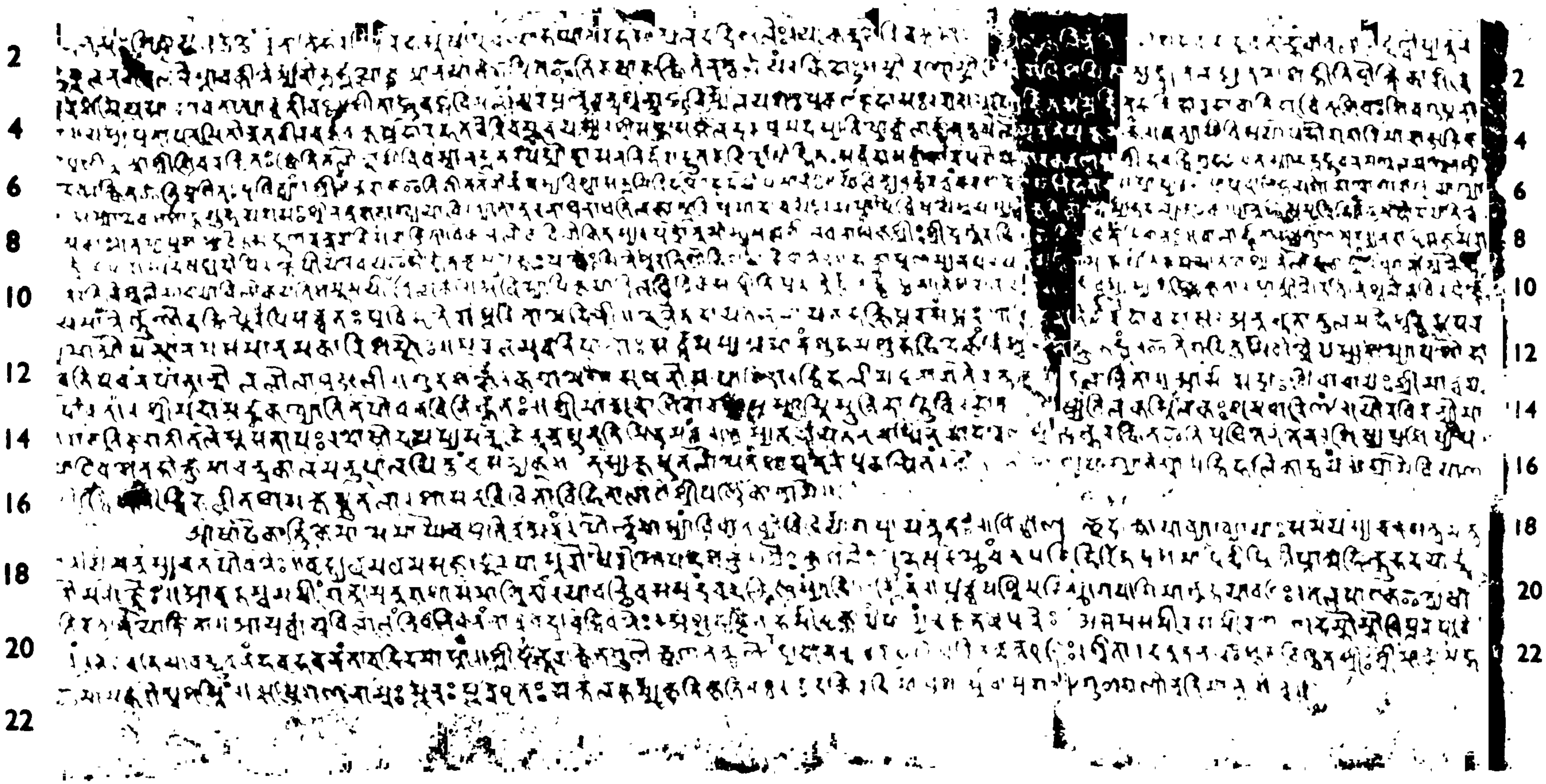
[1] Ibid., Vol. VII, pp. 104 ff.

[2] After the recent discovery of a grant of Tīvara's son Nannarāja II, it is difficult to be definite on this point as his identification with Nannarāja mentioned in the present record cannot be ruled out.

[3] Cf. *The Classical Age* (*The History and Culture of the Indian People*, III), p. 221.

[4] Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 116-17; Vol. XXVI, p. 227.

[5] *Arch. S. Rep.*, Vol. IX, p. 127; *JBBRAS*, Vol. I, p. 151.



Scale: One-third

was worshipped. A sect of Śaiva ascetics, associated with the same locality, is known from the Haddala (Saurashtra) plates[1] of Śaka 836. Apparently the same place is mentioned as Āmardaka-tīrtha in the Rajorgarh (Alwar District, Rajasthan) inscription[2] of V. S. 1016. The name of a Śaiva ascetic is given as Āmardakatīrthanātha in a record[3] from Ranod (old Gwalior State, Madhya Bharat). It is not possible to determine the exact location of Āmardaka in the present state of insufficient information.

TEXT[4]

[Metres: verses 1, 3-4, 6, 9-11, 13, 19, 24, 29 *Vasantatilakā*; verse 2 *Sragdharā*; verses 5, 8, 12 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; verses 7, 18, 21, 27-28, 30 *Āryā*: verse 14 *Mālinī*; verses 15-17, 20 22-23, 25-26 *Anushṭubh*.]

1 Siddham[5] namaḥ Sivāya || Udvēllan-ātibhara-nirbhara-hasta-shaṇḍa-chaṇḍ-ābhighāta-rabhas-ōtpala(ta)d-adri-jālaiḥ | yaḥ kandukair=iva kṛit-ātula-[t]āla-kēlir=nnṛittē va(ba)-bhau sa bhavabhid=bhavatād=Bhavō vaḥ || [1*] Nirddagdhō=py=attra nē-

2 [ttra-jva]lana[ka-va]lanais=tāvakīnair=Mmanōbhūr=bhūyō janm-ān[u]yā[n]ē gamita iti rushā rūkshitēna tvay=ēyaṁ(yam) | kiṁ bhōḥ Śambhō raṇ-āmbhōni[dhi]m=adhi[śa]yitā tya-jjyatē lajjyatē nō Śṛiṅg=īti prōktikārī ri-

3 pur=aśami yayā s=āvatāt=Pārvvatī vaḥ || [2*] Śītāṅśu-vaṅśa[6]-vimal-āmva(mba)ra-pūrṇṇa chandraś=chandr-āṅśu(ndr-āṁśu)-nirmmala-yaśaḥ-prakaṭ-āṭṭahāsaḥ | rāj=āsty=u[pā]-rjjita-samūrjjita-bhakti-bhāra-bhāv-ātibhāvita-Śivaḥ Śivagupta-nā-

4 mā || [3*] Yasya pratāpa-namit-ōnnata-vīra-chakra-chakra-prahāra-hata-vairi-chamū-cha-yasya | Śrī-saṅga-saṅgalad-uru-pramadasya Vishṇōr=Vvā(r=Bbā)lārjjunatvam=alam=unnati-yuktam=uktaṁ(ktam) || [4*] [Na]vyā[sī]-vishay-ōpabhōga-garimā rājā dvija-

5 nm-āgraṇīr=nnāmnā śrī-Śivarakshitaḥ kshitital-ōdbhāsī Vivasvān=abhūta(bhūt) | padm-ōdbhāsana-nirbhar-ādbhuta-ruchir=ddōsh-ōjjhitaḥ sarvvadā sarvv-ākāra-par-ōpakāra-karaṇa-vyagrībhavad-vigrahaḥ || [5*] Tasmād=abhūd-bhuvana-maṇḍala-maṇḍana-śrī|(śrīḥ)

6 śrī-Dēvarakshita iti prathitaḥ pṛithivyaṁ(vyām) | śrī-Nannarāja iti gīta-tanōr=nnṛipasya viśvāsa-bhūmir=iha yō hṛiday-ōpamānaḥ || [6*] Yō Vindhya-dhūr-ddhṛi(ddha)ratvaṁ Vara[dā]-taṭa-parihatāṁ(taṁ) cha samprāpya | samprāptavān=iha Yaśōbhāṇḍāgār-ākhyayā khyā-

7 tiṁ(tim) || [7*] Asmād=ēva śaśāṅka śubhra-yaśasaḥ śrī-Nannarāj-ākhyayā vikhyātān=nara-nātha-nātha-tilakād=bhūri-prasād-ōdayaiḥ | samprāptair=vvishayaiś=cha yasya vikṛi-tir=nn=ālp=āpy=abhūd=alpakāḥ kampantē [h]i samṛiddhi[bhir=nna] tu mah-audāry-ātidhai-

8 [ry-ā]tmakāḥ || [8*] Tasya praśasya-vikasad-guṇa-ratna-rāji-samrājit-āvikala-lōka-vilō-kitasya | putr-ōttamō=sty=amala-śīla-dhan-ādhika-śrīḥ śrī-Durggarakshi[ta] iti prath-ābhidhānaḥ || [9*] Vā(Bā)lārjjun-ākhya-guṇa-mukhya-narādhirāja-samrā-

9 jad-aṅhri-kamal-āspada-shaṭpadō=pi | kshēpīya ēva ya ih=ōjjhita-kṛishṇa-pakshaḥ pa-[ksh]aiḥ sitaiś=charati [s]ōbhi-śubh-ābhidhānaiḥ || [10*] Bhaktyā praṇamya [na] paraṁ Paramēśvarasya rūpaṁ nirūpayati vēśmani lō[chanābhyāṁ(bhyām)] | dhyān-ātma-kai[ś]=cha

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[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 190.

[2] Above, Vol. III, p. 266.

[3] Ibid., Vol. I, p. 352.

[4] From impressions.

[5] Expressed by symbol.

[6] Read *Śītāṁśu-vaṁśa*.

10 nayanair=atiniśchalair=yō varyō vilōkayati Śambhumayīṁ trilōkīṁ(kīm) || [11*] **Arthibhyō=pi** kṛi[p]ānvilav[dh]i[1]-vikasat-prīti-pradattair=ddhanair=ddha[ny]ēn=ātiśayēna [y]ē-[na] mahatī dharmmasya vṛiddhiḥ kṛitā | ātmīyair=atiniśchalair=aviralair=jjē-

11 gīyamānair=ggunair=akshiptair=api sarvvataḥ pravisṛitair=āpūritā mēdinī || [12*] [T]ēn= aitad=āyatanam=āyata-bhakti-pūra-saṁpūraṇ-ā[t]ibhara-nirbhara-bhāva-bhājā | **anta-rggat-ātula-Mahēśvara-rūpa-ra-**

12 **myam=ātm-ōpamānam=asamānam=akāri Śambhōḥ** || [13*] Prachalam=avanipālāḥ **sarvva-m=asmat-samānaṁ** śubham=aśubhabhid=ēkaṁ niścha[laṁ] **tat=kuruddhvaṁ(dhvam)** | **iti gaditum=iv=ōchchair=yasya śamy-ōpaśōbhā**

13 bhavati pavana-pā[t-ā]ndōla-lōlā dhvaj-ālī || [14*] **Guḍaśarkaraka-grāmē** [śā]sanēn=ōpapā-[d]itā | dvi-halī Madanārātēr=attra kṛi[shṇa]-tal-ānvitā || [15*] Āsīt=Sadyaḥśivāchāryaḥ **śrīmān=varya-**

14 **s=tapōvatāṁ(tām)** | śrīmad-Āmarddaka-khyāti-tapōvana-vinirggataḥ || [16*] Śrīmān= **Sadāśivāch[āryas]**=tasy=āsti stutibhāg=bhuvi | bhrātṛi praśishya-tilakas=tilakaḥ **śama-dhāriṇāṁ(ṇām)** || [17*] Yō ravir=anyō mā-

15 **nyō** rājati jagatītalē=sta-saṁtāpaḥ | dōsh-ōday[ē]=py=amandaṁ bhindann=ajñāna-timi-**ram=alaṁ(lam)** || [18*] [Ta]syai(smai) tad=āyatanam=arppitam=ādarēṇa **śrī-Durgga-rakshita** iti prathitēna tēna | śishya-praśishya-pa-

16 ripāṭi-vaśēna bhōktum=ā-chandra-kālam=anupālayituṁ cha samyak || [19*] Tasya **kṛishṇa-tal-ōpētaṁ** śāsanēna prakalpitaṁ(tam) | **Kōḍāsīm-ākhyayā** khyātē grāmē dvi-halikā-dvayaṁ(yam) || [20*] Grāmē **Viyāṇa-**

17 **k-ākhyē** dvi[hal]ī dvihalī tathā sa-kṛishṇa-talā | śāsana-vidhinā vihitā **Lāṭē Śrīparṇṇikā-grāmē** || [21*][2]

18 [3]**Āshāḍhē** Kārttikē māsē Māghē cha prativatsaraṁ(ram) | Paurṇṇamāsyāṁ vidhātavyō **vidhir=yāgasya yatnataḥ** || [22*] Nirvvāṇa-[da]ksha-dīkshāyā vyākhyāyāḥ **samayasya cha** | **sattram=attra**

19 **vidhānīyam=annasya** cha tapōdhanaiḥ || [23*] Vṛiddhyartham=artham=asṛijadbhir=apāsta-rōshair=īś-ōpadēśa-kuśalaiḥ kuśalaiḥ śubhēshu | sthēyaṁ tapasvibhir=iha praśam-āpti-dīpti-dīpt-ātmabhir=gguru-day-ārddra-

20 **manō-manōjñaiḥ** || [24*] Ā[chcha]rumva[4]-mayīṁ garttām=uttar-āśā-samāśritāṁ(tām) | yāvach=Chhivasamudraṁ cha dakshiṇasyāṁ diśi sthiraṁ(ram) || [25*] **Pūrvva-pa-śchima**-[d]igbhāga-bhāgi-mārgga-dvay-āvadhiḥ | talapāṭaka ity=eshā

21 **sthitir=at[t]ra** niyōjitā || [26*] Āyur=vvāyu-vilōlaṁ ni[r]vṛiti-dhanaṁ ch=āvavu(bu)ddhya vu(bu)ddhi-dhanaiḥ | aśubha-chchhich=chhubham=īdṛik-kāmaṁ pālyaṁ cha **kṛitam= aparaiḥ** [||] [27*] Asama-samīra-samīraṇa-[ra]ṇad-ambhō-mbhōdhi-pūra-pari-

22 **pūrṇṇaṁ(rṇṇam)** | na bhavati yāvad=bhuvanaṁ Bhava-bhavanaṁ tāvad=idam=āstāṁ-(stām) || [28*] Śrī-Durggarakshita-guṇ-ēkshaṇa-tatkshaṇ-ōdyad-ānanda-pūra-paripūrita-chitta-vṛi[tt]iḥ | śrī-Tāradatta-tanayaḥ śruta-viśruta-śrīḥ śrīmān=S[u]maṅga-

23 **la** imām=akarōt=praśastiṁ(stim) || [29*] Ṛishigaṇa-nāmnaḥ sūnuḥ sūtradhṛitaḥ **sakala-karmma-kṛiti-kṛitinaḥ** | udakirad=imāṁ praśastiṁ Vāsuga[ṇō] **guṇa-gaṇ-ōnnatimān** || [30*] ||[5]

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[1] The intended reading may be *kṛipā-vilabdhi* used in the sense of 'the bestowing of kindness'.

[2] The writing ends about the middle of the line, the rest of which remains blank.

[3] Space for about six *aksharas* remains blank at the beginning of this line.

[4] The reading of the *akshara* within brackets as well as the meaning of the word is uncertain.

[5] Between the double *daṇḍas* there is a symbol resembling the *akshara tha*. Cf. *Naishadhacharita*, XVI, 98, and above Vol. XXX, p. 218 and note 2.

No. 6—MANGALLU GRANT OF AMMA II

(3 *Plates*)

V. RANGACHARYA, MADRAS

These copper plates were, it is said, dug up somewhere in the Nandigama Taluk, Krishna District, and kept as a treasure-trove by the Sub-Collector of Bezwada, by whom they were sent to the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy. The record is registered as No. 1 of Appendix A in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1917. A summary of its contents has been published at pp. 117-18 (para. 24) of the same Report.[1] I edit the record here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, who placed inked impressions of the plates at my disposal.

The Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy describes the plates thus: "They are **five** plates with high rims, measuring 9⅛″×4⅛″, and are strung on a ring which had not been cut when the plates reached me. The edges of the ring are deeply set in an ornamental base supporting a circular **seal** whose rim all round is shaped like a lotus creeper with a full-blown lotus proceeding from one of its ends and represented flat on the surface of the seal. To the proper right of this lotus is an elephant-goad (*aṅkuśa*), and above these symbols is the legend *Śrī-Tribhuvanāṁkuśa* in Chālukyan characters. Above the legend is the running boar facing the proper left, flanked by the sun and the moon and two *chauris*."

The inscription consisting of 67 lines is engraved on the inner side of the first plate and on both the sides of the other four plates. The writing is on the whole well preserved; but there is difficulty in deciphering it in several places on account of defects in the plates, the mistakes and erasures of the engraver, and the corrupt language of the composition itself. The **script** is of the usual Vēṅgī type of the tenth century A.D. The *jihvāmūlīya* is found in line 61; the initial *a* in lines 27, 40, 56; *ā* in line 67; *ī* in line 60 and *u* in line 59. The *Anusvāra* is marked sometimes at the top of the letter, but more often after it (e.g. line 42). Medial *ē* is usually marked on the top of an *akshara* as in *sē* in *sēnāpati* (line 33), but sometimes below as in *lē* in *kauśalēna* (line 41). Examples of final *t* are found in lines 21 and 47. Final *n* occurs in lines 17, 20, etc. The letter *ṟ* occurs in line 41, and *ḻ* in line 18. A consonant with *rēpha* is invariably doubled as in *brahmacharyya* in line 52, etc. The **language** is Sanskrit except in regard to the names of places forming the boundaries, which are in Telugu. The composition is in prose, interspersed with a few verses in the *Anushṭubh* and other metres, which are not free from flaws. The expression is faulty in many places and even obscure at times. There is not much to say about **orthography**. In *śauchan=dayā* in line 53, the *anusvāra* is changed into class nasal.

The document opens with a verse in praise of Vishṇu and the usual *praśasti* of the Eastern Chālukyas. Lines 7 to 21 give a list of 21 kings from Kubja Vishṇuvardhana to Yuddhamalla II, allotting to some of them the number of regnal years differing from other records. This portion also throws some light on the war between the main line and the collateral line of Yuddhamalla. In line 21 a verse begins abruptly in the middle of the prose passage and states that Bhīma III, son of Vijayāditya IV, destroyed the Yuddhamalla branch and ruled for twelve years. This is followed by another verse which states that Bhīma was succeeded by his son **Ammarāja II** (Vijayāditya VI) and that he, after a rule of eleven years, proceeded to the Kaliṅga country on account of the anger of Kṛishṇa (Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III) and that, in consequence of this, his half-brother (*dvaimātura*), **Dānārṇava**, came to rule over the land after obtaining it

[1] [The information furnished by this record has been utilised by subsequent writers on the subject; cf. Ganguly, *The Eastern Cālukyas* (1937), pp. 86 ff.; Venkataramanayya, *The Eastern Cāḷukyas of Vēṅgī* (1950), pp. 31 ff. etc.—Ed.]

from Vallabha (i.e. the Rāshṭrakūṭa king). The next two verses dwell upon Dānārṇava's virtues as a ruler. In the middle of line 30 begins the prose passage dealing with the actual donation.

The charter records the gift, at the instance of a feudatory chief named Kākatya Guṇḍyana, of the village of **Māṅgallu** in favour of a Brāhmaṇa named Dommana. It is addressed by king **Ammarāja II** (Vijayāditya VI) to the householders headed by the Rāshṭrakūṭas of the Nātavāḍi district and the *Mantrin, Purōhita, Sēnāpati, Yuvarāja* and other members of the eighteen *tīrthas*.[1] Kākatya Guṇḍyana is described as born in the family of *Sāmanta* Voḍḍi. Judging from the description, *Sāmanta* Voḍḍi appears to have been an eminent chief of an early generation. His descendant, Guṇḍiya-rāshṭrakūṭa, seems to have rendered great service to a Chālukya king. His son Ēṛiya-rāshṭrakūṭa was a fire to the forest of enemies and an expert in the management of horses. His son by Vandyanāmbā was the above Guṇḍyana, at whose request the grant was made.

The grantee, Dommana, was the grandson of Chiddamayya of the Kutsa *gōtra*, who is described as the foremost of scholars and a resident of the village of Vēlāpaṟṟu. He was the son, by Māchemāmbā, of Śrīdhara who proved true to his name by his devotion to the lotus-feet of the god Śrīdhara (i.e. Vishṇu). Dommana pursued the path of the virtuous, enjoined in the *Śruti* and the *Purāṇas*, and was loved by good people. For the merit of Kākatya Guṇḍyana and with a view to secure his favour, Dommana observed the *Karpaṭīvrata* which included early bath, continence, truthfulness and other vows.[2] In return for this, Dommana was rewarded with the village of Māṅgallu, which was made a tax-free *agrahāra*, on the occasion of the Uttarāyaṇa of a particular year which is not specified. The boundaries of the village are then specified. As the order was addressed to the people of Nātavāḍi-vishaya (lines 31-32), it is obvious that the gift village was situated in that *vishaya*.

The record throws some light on the civil wars between the main branch and the Yuddhamalla line from the time of Vijayāditya V onwards. It is a known fact that this monarch ruled for only a fortnight in 925 A.D.,[3] and that he was ejected by Tāḷapa (Tāḍapa, Tāḷapa, Tārapa), the son of Yuddhamalla I of the collateral line. According to some inscriptions, Bēta (Vijayāditya V) was anointed as a mere child, being invested with a *kaṇṭhikā*.[4] The Maliyapūṇḍi[5], Vēmalūrpāḍu[6] and Kaluchumbaṟṟu[7] grants clearly mention the tender age of Vijayāditya V when he was deposed by Tāḷapa. Another version[8] records his being attacked and imprisoned by Tāḷapa. That Bēta did not die young is, however, clear from the fact[9] that he was the progenitor of a line of chiefs who, centuries later, ruled in the Vēṅgī country. We can explain these conflicting views by assuming that Bēta came to the throne when he was a child, that advantage was taken of this by Tāḷapa to depose and imprison him, and that he was a prisoner perhaps in the years which followed, and in which Tāḷapa, Vikramāditya II (926 A.D.), Bhīma II (926-27 A.D.), Yuddhamalla II (927-34 A.D.) and Chālukya Bhīma III (usually called Bhīma II, 934-45 A.D.) struggled and ruled respectively for one month, one year or eleven months, eight months, seven years, and twelve years.

[1] For the eighteen *tīrthas*, see the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, I. 12; cf. K. P. Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, Part II pp. 133-34.

[2] The *Śabdaratnāvalī* describes a *karpaṭin* as a *bhikshu* and as *malina-jīrṇa-vastra-khaṇḍa-dhārin*.

[3] [The dates given in this article for the reigns of the Eastern Chālukya princes generally follow Fleet's chronological scheme.—Ed.]

[4] For the significance of the *kaṇṭhikā* as a juvenile ornament, see above, Vol. V, p. 138, n. 2.

[5] Above, Vol. IX, pp. 47 ff.

[6] Ibid., Vol. XVIII, pp. 226 ff.

[7] Ibid., Vol. VII, p.186, text line 28.

[8] Cf. the Gundalagolanu grant (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 248).

[9] Above, Vol. VI, pp. 226-42. It is a record of Mallappa III from Pithapuram. According to Kielhorn, it is dated the 16th June, 1202 A.D.

If Bēta was a child at the beginning of this period, he would have been about twentytwo years of age at the time of the death of Bhīma III in 945 A.D. He does not seem to have been favoured by circumstances to come to the throne of his uncle, Bhīma III, in the face of his cousin Amma II (Vijayāditya VI, 945-70 A.D.). It is probable that Bēta died within the first twelve years (945-57 A.D.) of the reign of Amma II ; for, had he lived in 957 A.D., he would naturally have become the regent of the kingdom instead of Dānārṇava who, as we understand from the present record, was in charge of it on account of the misfortune that fell upon his half-brother Amma II. This seems to be the only way in which we can explain Bēta's accession in 925 A.D., his deposition as a child, and his leaving a line of descendants. The present record, which miscalls him Bhēka, does not refer to his tender age at his accession.

The inscription gives some more details about the civil war between the two lines (lines 19-21). It says that, after Vikramāditya II had vanquished Tāḷapa I and ruled for a year, the land was usurped for seven years by the forces of the *Sāmantas* (feudatories), *Śabaras*, *Vallabha* (i.e. Rāshṭrakūṭa Govinda IV) and others and that, in the midst of this chaos, Mallapa (i.e. Yuddhamalla II) established himself as the ruler. The Bezwada pillar inscription[1] says that the new king called himself Rājasalki, Rājāśraya and Satyatriṇētra. In some records, Yuddhamalla II is mentioned immediately after Tāḷapa. This is perhaps due to the reluctance on the part of the Yuddhamalla line to recognise the main line. Similarly, the name of Yuddhamalla II is left out in some records,[2] though he ruled for seven years. This again is possibly due to the reluctance on the part of the main line to recognise the rival junior line. Partisan records are intentionally defective and omit the names of the victorious rivals.

In 933-34 A.D. Yuddhamalla II was overthrown by Chālukya Bhīma III, an achievement which made the admirers of the court hail him as 'the purifier of the east' and as 'the expeller of the darkness in the form of the Rāshṭrakūṭa troops'. Yuddhamalla who seems to have depended on the Rāshṭrakūṭas, apparently died fighting, and his two sons, Bāḍapa and Tāḷapa (Tāḷa II Vishṇuvardhana), had to flee to the Rāshṭrakūṭa court. It was to the great credit of Chālukya Bhīma that he behaved like a true pacifier. From the records of Amma II we infer that Bhīma consolidated the state not only by removing the enemies of peace, but also by his consideration for the vanquished and his levy of moderate taxation. He ruled for twelve years.

In 945 A.D. Amma II (Vijayāditya VI), the son of Chālukya Bhīma III by Lokāmbikā, came to the throne. His accession took place in Śaka 867, Mārgaśīrsha ba. 13, Friday, corresponding to the 5th December 945 A.D.[3] He was then twelve years of age, and he had been crowned four years earlier.[4] Amma II is stated to have been born with a tissue round his neck which resembled a *kaṇṭhikā* (ornament for the neck), and crowned at the express request of all people.[5] This seems to indicate that, though but a boy, Amma II was chosen as king in preference to his half-brother Dānārṇava who was the elder of the two. We can explain this choice of the younger brother on the plausible ground that Dānārṇava's mother, Aṅkidēvī, was inferior in rank to Lōkāmbikā. As for Dānārṇava, he seems to have acquiesced to the arrangement and even carried on the administration in his brother's name.

The present record says that, after ruling for eleven years (945-956 A.D.), Amma II proceeded to the Kaliṅga country on account of the anger of Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III.[6] We know that, by 957-58 A.D., the Rāshṭrakūṭa king occupied a large part of the Chōḷa territory in the south and

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[1] Above, Vol. XV, p. 157.

[2] E. g., the Pāganavaram plates (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 213).

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 15 ; Kielhorn's List, No. 562.

[4] Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 226 ff.

[5] *A. R. Ep.*, 1917-18, C. P. No. 5.

[6] The expression *Krishṇa-kōpāt* has been interpreted as ' in wrath against Kṛishṇa' (see *A. R. Ep.*, 1917, p. 117). But it is better to translate it as 'on account of Kṛishṇa's anger'.

was engaged in extensive operations[1] in the north and defied the Gurjara-Pratīhāras of Kanauj and the rulers of Chēdi, Vidarbha, Vaṅga and Kaliṅga. His campaign against Vēṅgī was part of this comprehensive design. It has been suggested[2] that Yuddhamalla's sons were refugees at his court and suppliants for his favour against Amma II. It is very probable that, incited by Yuddhamalla's sons, possibly by the Kaliṅga rulers, and by his own insatiable ambition, Kṛishṇa III invaded Vēṅgī in or a little before 956 A.D. Amma II had either to go against him on an offensive campaign into Kaliṅga, or, what is equally possible, he was defeated by the aggressor and even taken as a prisoner to his camp. A scrutiny of the known facts seems to support the theory that Amma II was, for the moment, more a victim than retaliator of Kṛishṇa's anger.

The present record next states that Amma's half-brother, Dānārṇava obtained the country from Vallabha, i.e. Kṛishṇa III, and ruled the kingdom according to Manu's principles.[3] It does not say how Dānārṇava acquired the kingdom from the Rāshṭrakūṭa ruler. But from the fact that Dānārṇava carried on the administration and made the present grant in the name of his brother, it is obvious that he was not a rival to the latter. As has been already suggested, Kṛishṇa III might have held Amma II as a prisoner for the time being and allowed his half-brother, either for the sake of diplomacy or owing to the pressure of arms, to rule in his name. It was while Dānārṇava was the regent for Amma II that this grant was issued.

It is difficult to say how long Dānārṇava administered the kingdom for the sake of his brother, and when the latter resumed his direct rule. All the records of the dynasty agree that Amma's rule lasted for 25 years and therefore he died in 970 A.D. Dānārṇava obviously succeeded him then as the sole sovereign and ruled for three years (970-73 A.D.).

As regards the gift village of Māṅgallu, it has been suggested that it was either Māgallu or Maṅgollu in the Nandigama Taluk, Krishna District.[4] Koṇḍūru forming its northern boundary seems to be the modern village of the same name in the same Taluk. Nandigāma was a strategic area which played a big part in histroy. Through the area west of the Koṇḍapalli range and between Bezwada and Sattenapalle passed the highway from the coast to Hyderabad and it formed the heart of the Nātavāḍi country. This area, which abounds in pre-historic remains and Buddhistic associations, became in later times a stronghold of Purāṇic Hinduism and the fighting ground between the Kannaḍa and Telugu kings. The Nātavāḍi feudatories had close relations with either of the two parties.

TEXT[5]

[Meters : verses 1, 3, 12-22 *Anushṭubh* ; verse 2 *Āryāgīti* ; verse 4 *Sragdharā* ; verse 5 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verses 6, 10-11 *Upēndravajrā* ; verse 7 *Āryā* ; verse 8 *Vasantatilaka* ; verse 9 *Indravajrā* ; verse 23 *Śālinī*.]

First Plate

1 Śrīkāntāy=Ābjanābhāya namō bhū(bhu)vana-rakshiṇē | Vikram-ā[dhaḥ[6]]kṛit-ātyugra-Balayē varadā-

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[1] Above, Vol. IV, p. 289.

[2] *JAHRS*, Vol. III, p. 170. But Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao misreads the events and says that Kṛishṇa III died in the invasion of Vēṅgī in 956 A.D.

[3] In *A. R. Ep.*, 1917, p. 118, the expression under reference appears to have been read as *'anunayāt* and translated, ' with his (brother's) consent' ; but the original is clearly *avati Manu-nayāt*.

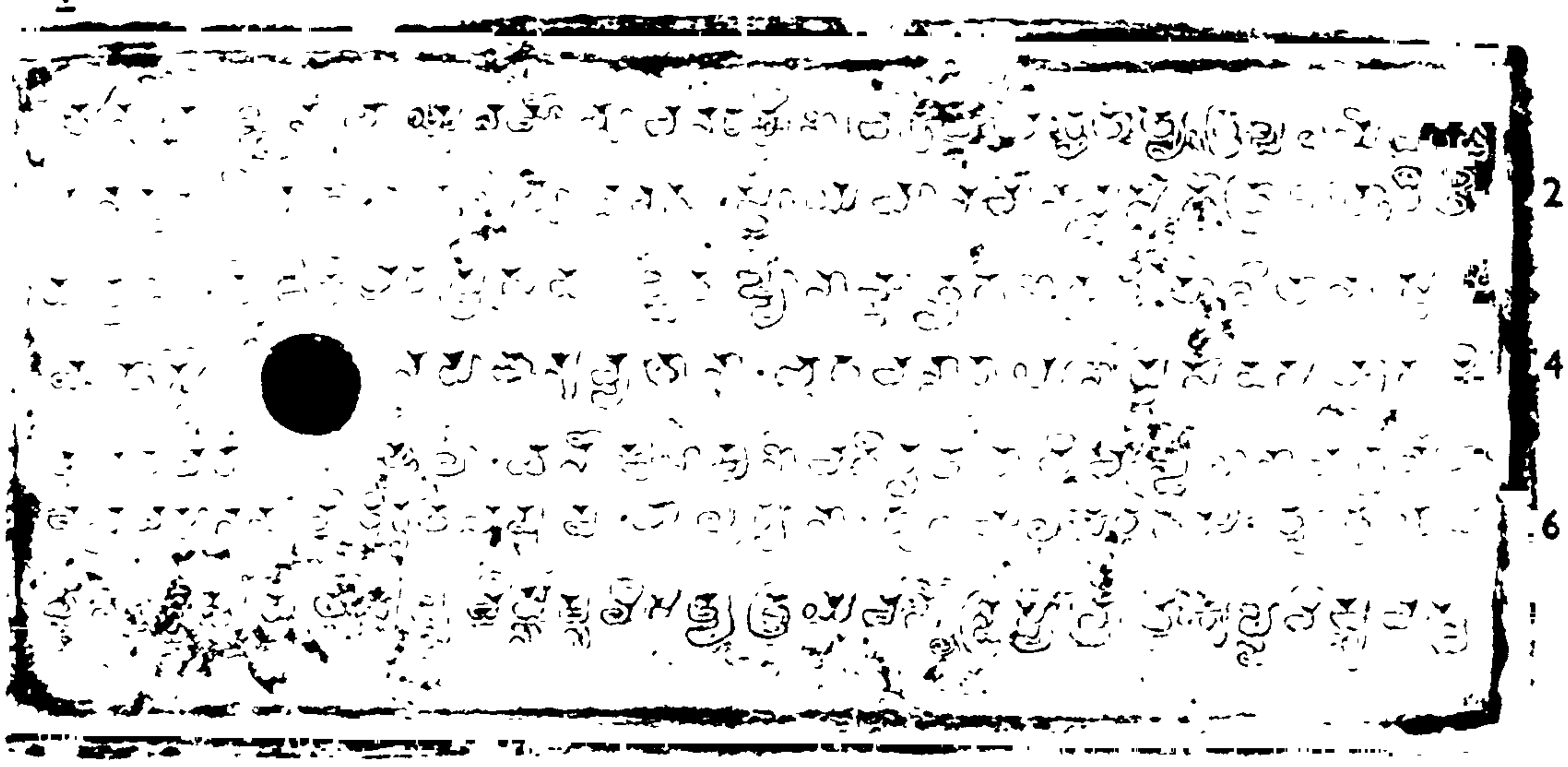
[4] *A R. Ep.*, 1917, p. 118. [Munnā-nadī stated to be situated SW of the village granted is evidently Muniyēru of the modern maps. The village granted would therefore appear to be Māgallu and not Maṅgollu since the former lies close to the river on its east as indicated in the inscription while the latter lies about 10 miles west of the river.—Ed.]

[5] From impressions.

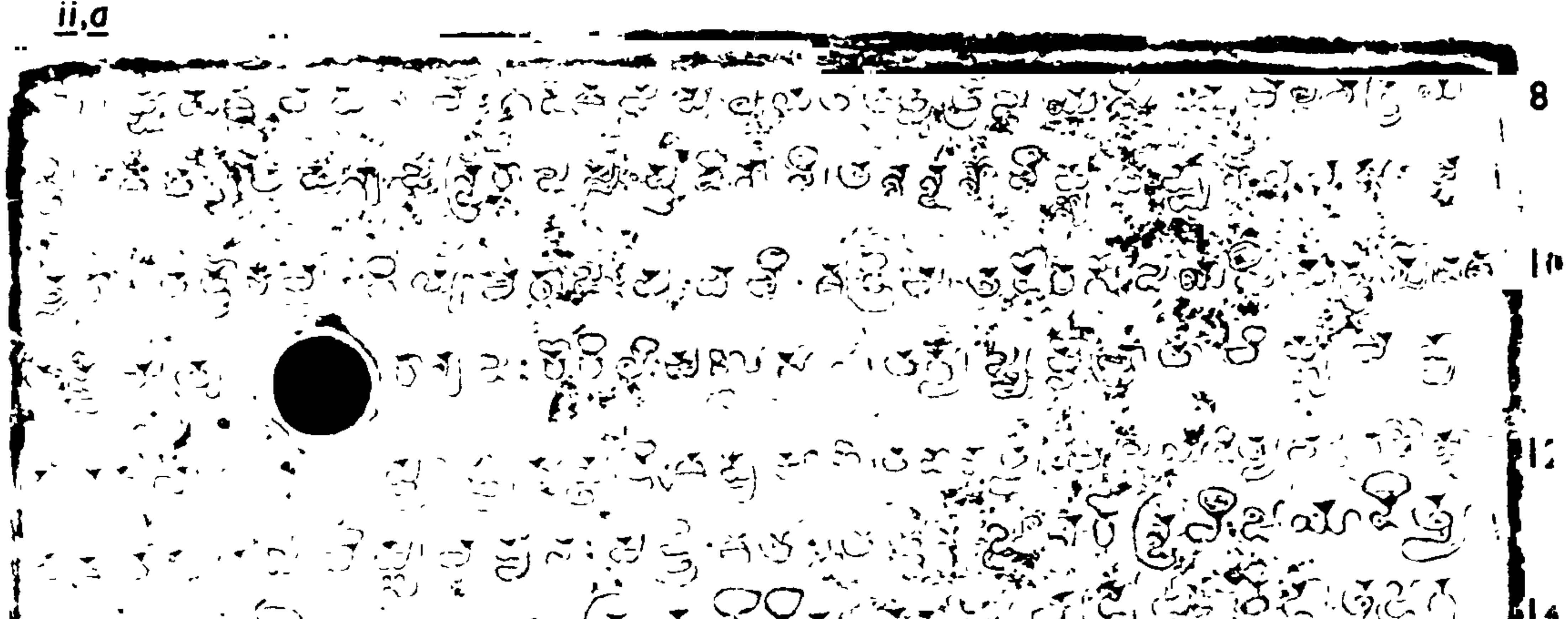
[6] Here and elsewhere the letter *dha* resembles *va*.

MANGALLU GRANT OF AMMA II—PLATE I

i

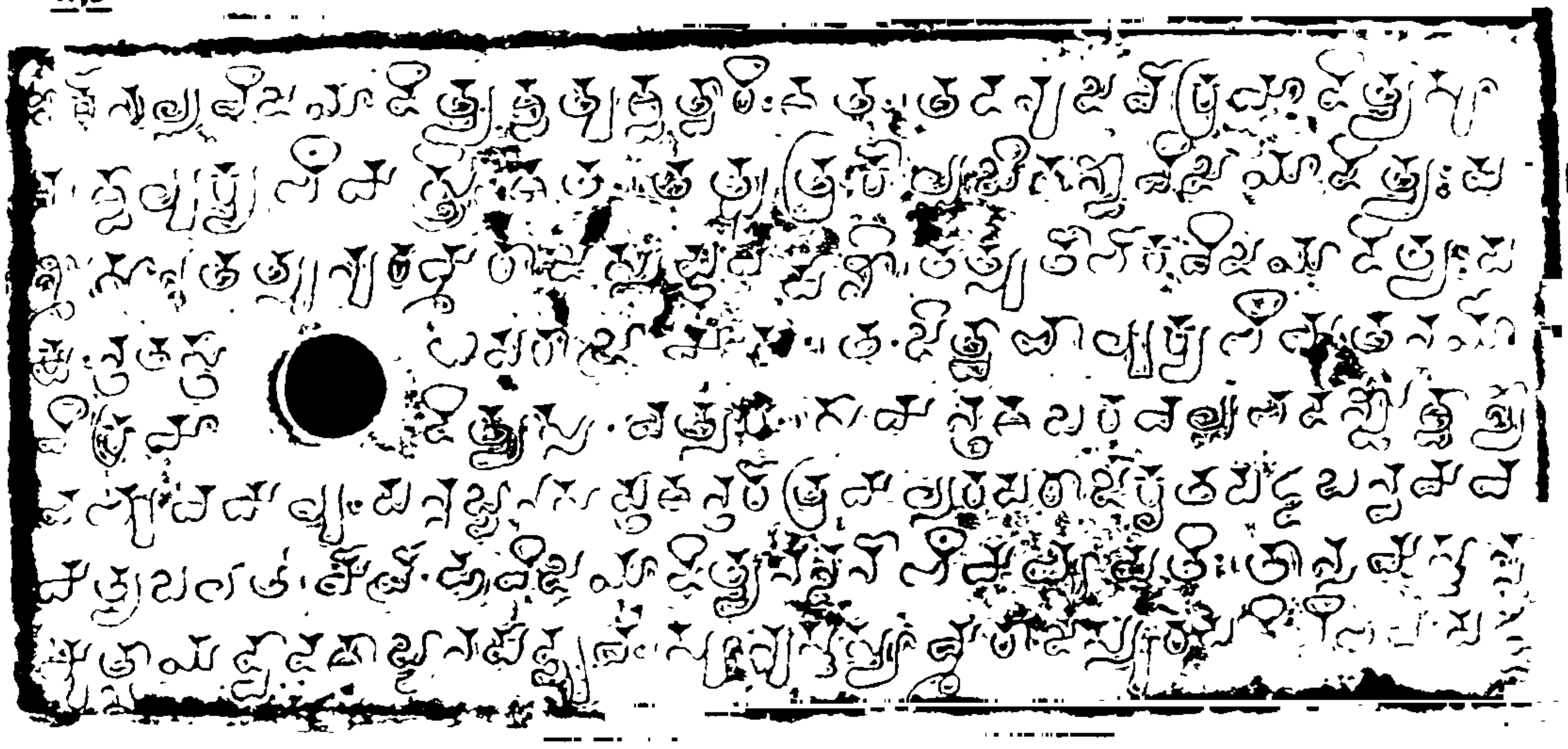


ii,a

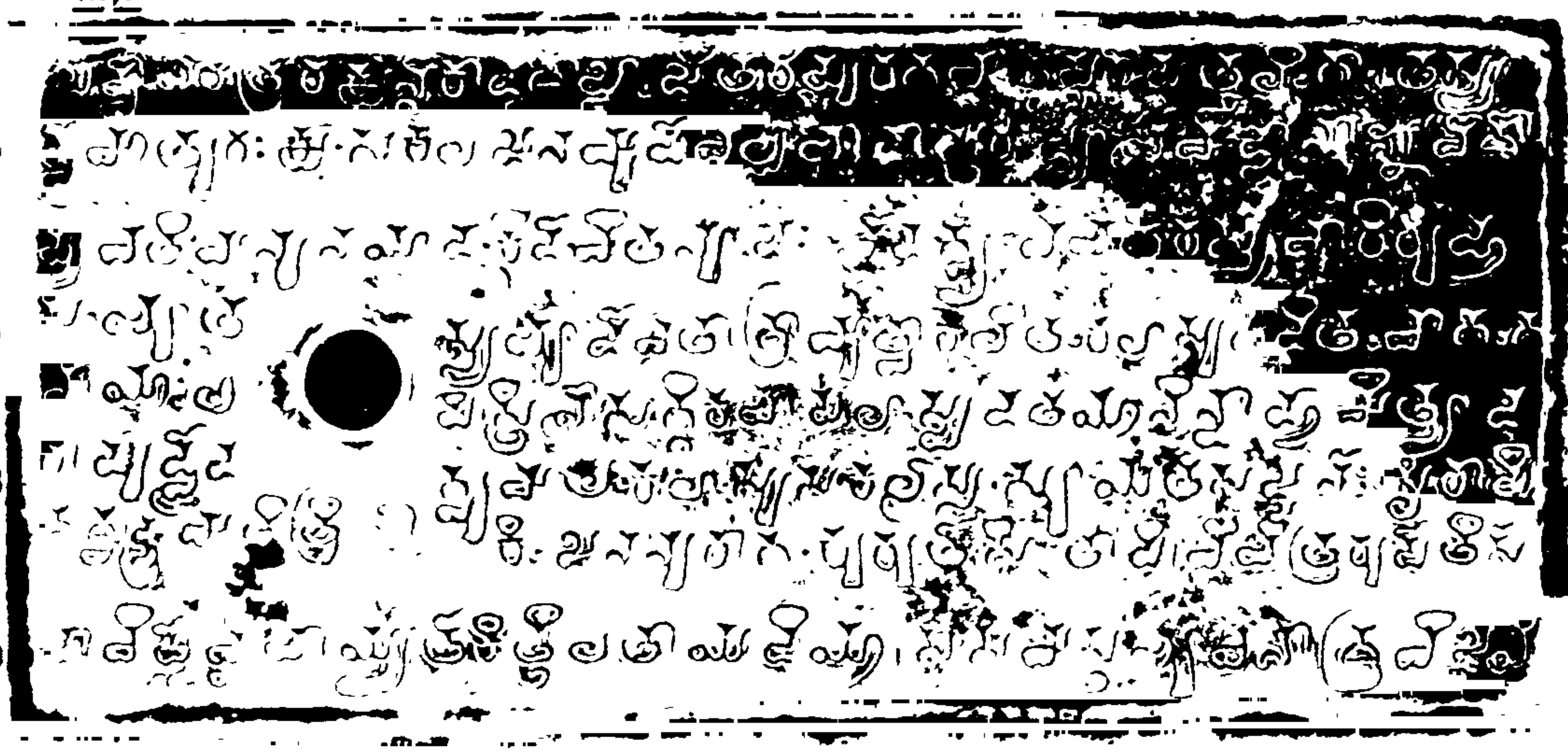


Scale two third

ii,b



iii,a



2 yinē |[| 1*] Svasti [|*] Śri(Śrī)matāṁ sakala-bhū(bhu)vana-saṁstūyamāna-Ma(Mā)navya-sagōtrāṇā[ṁ*] Hāri(rī)ti(tī)-

3 putrāṇāṁ Kauśiki(kī)-vara-prasa(sā)da-labdha-rājyānām=Mātṛigaṇa-paripālitānāṁ sva(svā)-mi-

4 Mahāsēna-pād-ānu[dhyā]tānāṁ bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-prasāda-samyā(mā)sādi-

5 ta-vara-Varāha-lāṁcha(chha)n-ēkshaṇa-kshaṇa-vaśi(śī)kṛit-ārāti-maṇḍalānām=Aśvamēdh-ā-

6 vabhṛitha-snāna-pavitri(trī)kṛita-vapushāṁ Chālukyānāṁ kulam=alaṁkariga(shṇō)s=Saṁ-(s= Sa)tyāśraya-va-

7 llabh-ēndrasya [pratā Kubja-Vishṇushūvi-Satyāśraya-valla[1]bh-ēndrasya][2] bhrātā Kubja-Vishṇuvaddha(rddha)-

Second Plate, First Side

8 nō|(nō=)shṭādaśa-varshāṇi Vēṁgīdēśam=a[pa(pā)]layat | Tat-putrō Jayasiṁha-vallabhas=traya-

9 striṁśataṁ(tam) | Tad-anu[j-Ē]ndrarājas=sapta-dināni | Tan=nandanō Vishṇuvarddhanō nava-saṁ[va]-

10 tsarā[n] | Tat=tōkam=Maṁgi-yuvarājaḥ paṁcha-viṁśakrima(tim) | Tad-aurasō Jayasiṁhas=trayōdaśa [|]

11 Tad-vaima(d-dvaimā)tur-ānujaḥ Kōkiliḥ shaṇ-māsān | Tasya jya(jyē)shṭhō bhrātā Vishṇu-vaddha(rddha)-

12 ddha[3]nas=tam=upyā(tpā)tya sapta-triṁśad-vashā(rshā)ṇi | Tadā(d-a)patyaṁ Vijayāditya-bhaṭṭa(ṭṭā)rakō=shṭā-

13 daśa | Tad-ātmajō Vishṇuvarddhanaḥ shaṭ-triṁśataṁ(tam) | Tat-tanujō narēndra-Vijayā-ditya[ḥ*]

14 ashṭa-chatvāriṁśataṁ(tam) | Tat-putraṁ(traḥ) Kali-Vishṇuvarddhanō=dhy-ardha-[varshaṁ]-(rsham) [|*] [Ta]d-ātmajō Gu-

Second Plate, Second Side

15 ṇakkēnalla-Vijayādityaś=chatuśchatvāriṁśataṁ(tam) | Tad-anuja-Vē(Vi)kramāditya-sū-

16 nuś=Chālukya-Bhīmas=triṁśataṁ(tam) | Tat-putraḥ Kōllabigaṇḍa-Vijayādityaḥ sha-

17 ṇ-māsān [|*] Tat-su(t-sū)nur=Ammarājas=sapta-varshāṇi | Tat-sutō Bhēka[4]-Vijayādityaḥ pa-

18 kshaṁ(ksham) [|*] Nta(Ta)tas=Tāḷaparājō māsaṁ(sam) | Taṁ jitvā Chālukya-Bhīma-tanayō

19 Vikramādityas=saṁvatsaraṁ(ram) [|] Sāmanta-Śabara-Vallabha-daṇḍāś=ch=ānyē

20 cha bhuvam=aluṁpann=abdān [|*] sapt=āsa[3]ntarē=tra Mallara[3]pa-rāja-kṛita(taṁ) paṭṭaban-dham=ava-

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[1] The letter *lla* is written below the line between *bhē* and *ndra*.

[2] The portion enclosed within the brackets here was engraved erroneously.

[3] This *akshara* is redundant.

[4] *Bhēka* is apparently a mistake for *Bēta*.

21 matya balāt |[| 2*] Mēḷaiṁha[1]-Vijayāditya-nandanō Bhīma-bhūpatiḥ | tān=samastān=sa-

22 mutkhāya dvādaś-ābdān=apād=bhuvaṁ(vam) |[| 3*] Sūnus=tasy=Āmmarājas=surapati-vibhavaḥ paṭṭa-

Third Plate, First Side

23 baddhō dharitri(trīṁ) rakshann=ēkādaś=ābdāṁ(bdān) jita-ripur=agama[t=Kṛi]shṇa-kōpāt=Kaliṁgāṁ(gān) | tasya

24 dvaimāturaḥ kshāṁ(kshmāṁ) sakala-jana-mudē Vallabhād=āpta-rājyō Bhaimō Ddā(Dā)nārṇṇav-ēśō=

25 py=avati Manu-nayād=Aṁkidēvī-tanūjaḥ [|| 4*] Vaidagdhyaṁ Vacha(chō)[dha]ra(va)sya Vāriruha-

26 saṁbhūtasya Bhū-dēvatā grāmyā(mya?)tv-ākalitaṁ kalāsu gaditaṁ vāg-aṁga-

27 nāyāḥ(yā) api | strī-naisaggi(rggi)ka-chāpal-āspadatayā nindārham=ity=āda-

28 rā[d=u]dvaidagdhyam=alaṁ kalāsu sakalais=saṁstūyatē sajjanaiḥ |[|[2] 5*] Sthir=āpi

29 śaśvad=bhramati trilōkīṁ jana(n-ā)nurāgaṁ kurutē sit=āpi | vichitra-rūp=ēti se(sa)-

30 dā vi[śi*]shṭair=vvichāryatē kīrtti-latā yadīyā |[| 6*] Sa samasta-bhuvan-āśraya-śrī[3]-Vijayā-

Third Plate, Second Side

31 ditya-mahārāja-para[mē]śvara-paramabhaṭṭārakaḥ parama-brahmaṇyō Nāta-

32 vāḍi-vishaya-nivāsinō Rāshṭrakūṭa-pramukhān=kuṭuṁbinas=samāhūya ma-

33 ntri-purōhita-sēnāpati-yuva[rā]j-ādy-ashṭādaśa-tīē[4]rth-ādhyaksham=ittham=ā-

34 ja(jñā)payati | Śrī-saṁbhūti-nimittē mū[5](mu)ktāphala-purā(ru)sha-ratna-saṁyuktaṁ(ktam) |

35 Sāma[nta]-Vōḍḍi-saṁjñaṁ [ku]lam=āsīj=jalanidhi-pratimaṁ(mam) |[| 7*] Tad-vaṁśavāri-

36 nidhi-vṛiddhikakaḥ(raḥ) kaṛ-āsi-niddā(rddā)ri-chāṭa-bala-vi(vī)[ra-bhaṭ-ā]ndhakāraḥ | āsīt=śa(ch=chha)[śāṁ]-

37 ka ga(i)va Guṇḍiya-rāshṭrakūṭas=saṁtpū(pū)jya sat-pa[tha]-gati-pravaṇa(ṇaḥ) svaḥ(sva)-vṛittaḥ [|| 8*] Śrīmach-Chā-

38 lukya[kubhalukya][6]-vaṁś-ōdita-bhūmipāla-śrīdvāra-madhy-ānugataṁ praviśya [|*] nanu

39 vipa[d*]-dvāramama viśāmi tyakshashṭa-vāṭaṁ gata-Vallabh-ēśaṁ(śam)[7] [|9*] Samasta-saty-ādi-gu-

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[1] This appears to be a mistake for *Mēlāṁbā*.

[2] The composition of this verse is faulty.

[3] The *aksharas ya-śrī*, which were apparently omitted through oversight, have been engraved in smaller siez below the line.

[4] The *akshara* is redundant.

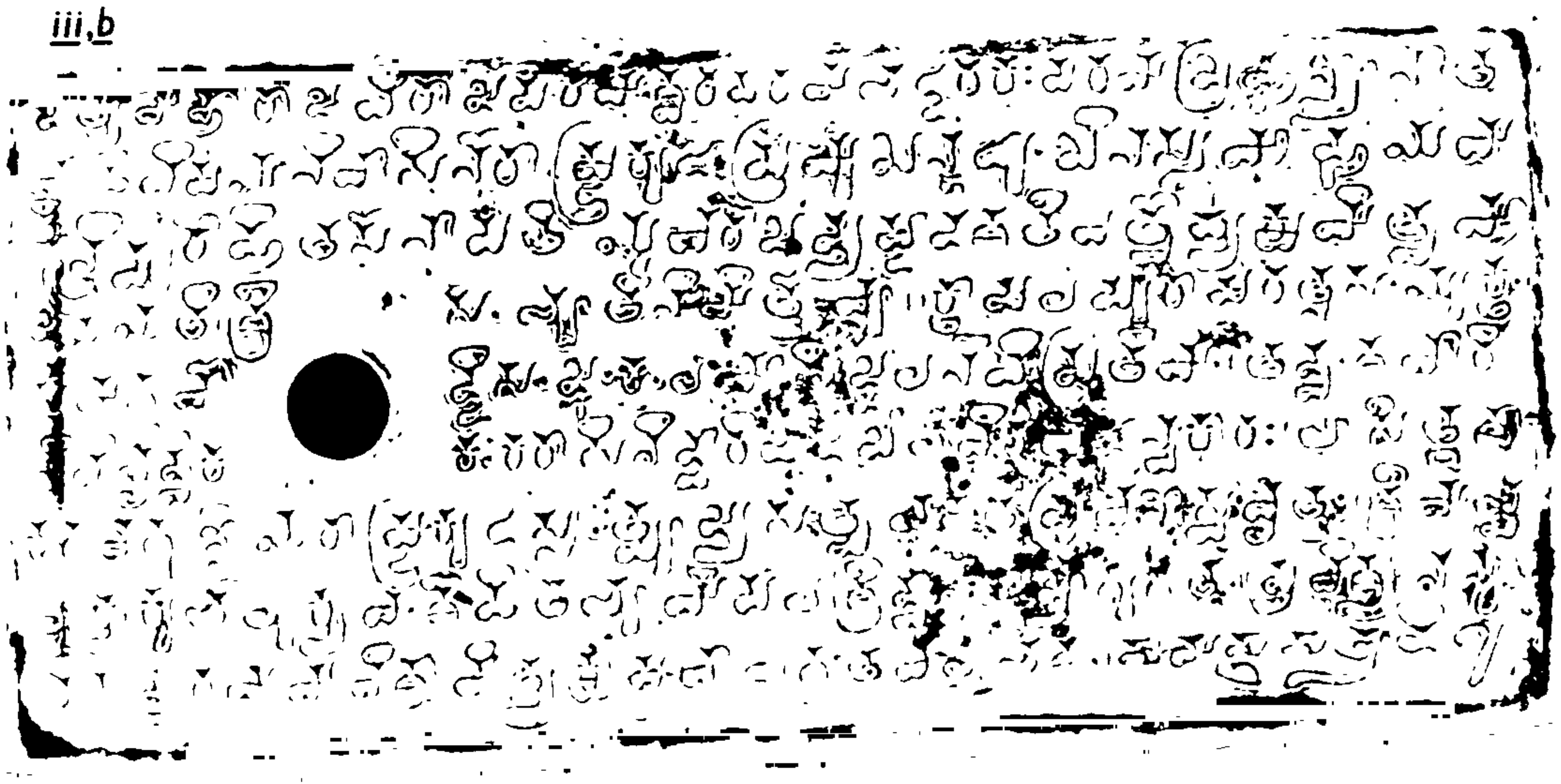
[5] This letter is followed by two *daṇḍas* which are superfluous.

[6] The letters enclosed within the brackets were engraved erroneously.

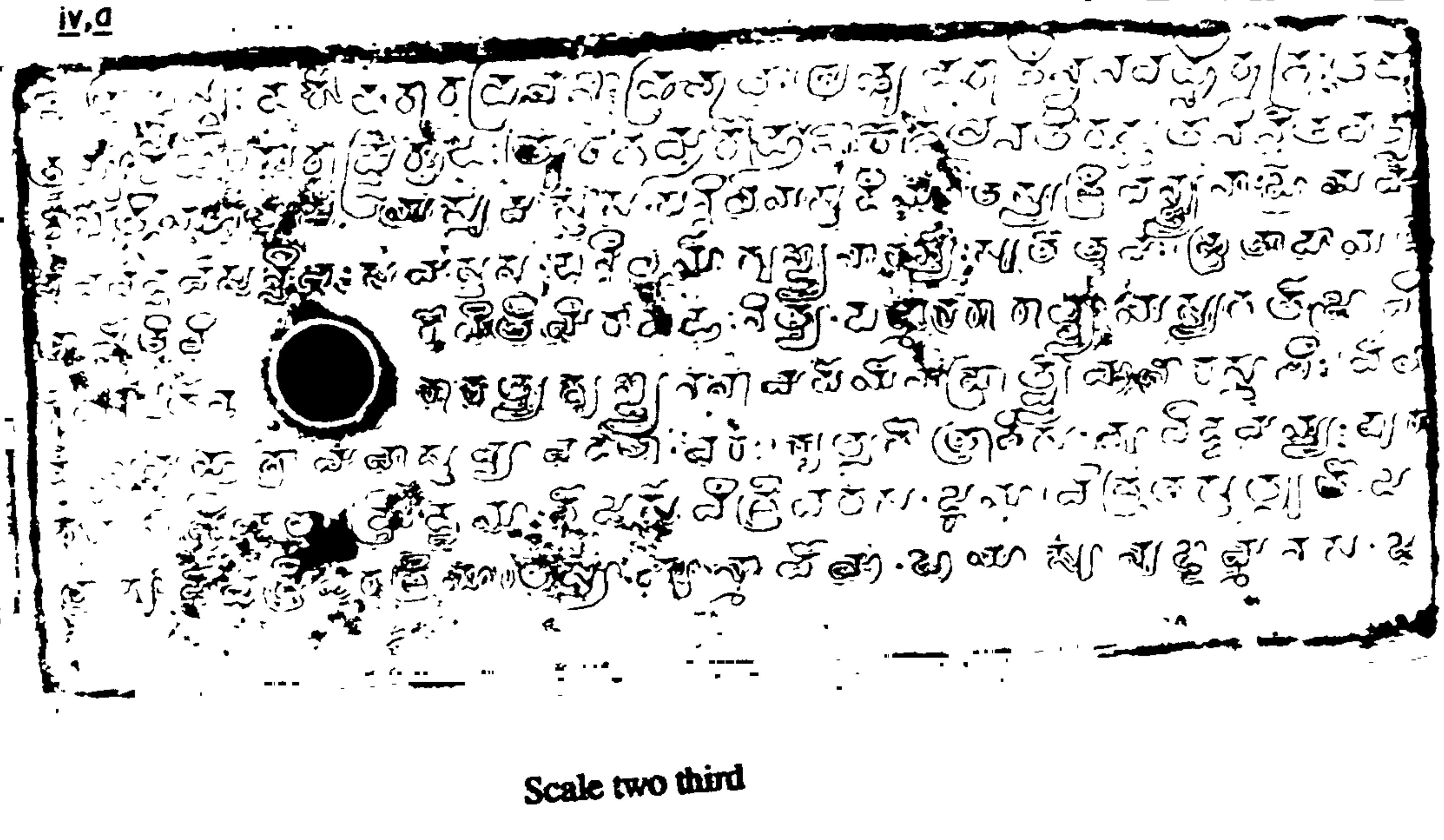
[7] [This verse is metrically faulty and its sense obscure. If we omit *śrīmat* in the beginning of the first *pāda*, substitute *n-ānyō* and °*m=aham* for *nanu* and *mama* in the third *pāda*, and emend °*mityakshashṭa* into °*m=ity=akshashṭa* in the last *pāda*, it may yield some sense.—Ed.]

MANGALLU GRANT OF AMMA II—PLATE II

iii,b



iv,a

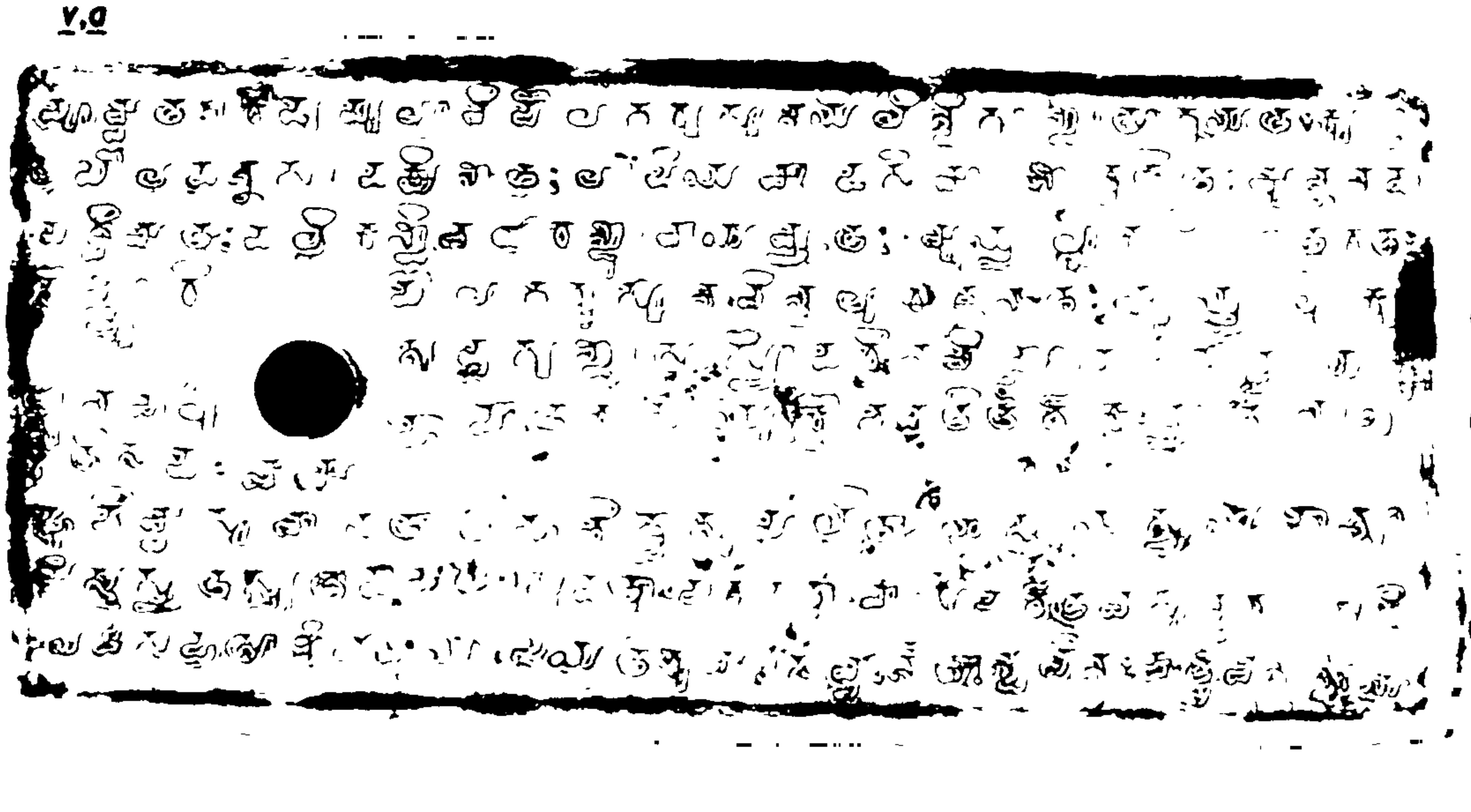


Scale two third

iv,b



v,a



Fourth Plate, First Side

40 ṇa-prapannaḥ parōpakāra-pravaṇa-prabhāvaḥ | abhūd=arāt-īndhana-vahnir=ugraḥ ta(gras-ta)-d-ā-

41 tmabhūr=Ēṛiya-rāshṭrakūṭaḥ |[| 10*] Tū(Tu)raṁgam-ārōhaṇa-kō(kau)śalēna tiraskṛta(skṛi)t-āninditа-Vatsa-[1]

42 tō Bētiya-nāmapē(dhē)yas=samasta-saṁpan-nilayas=tadīya[ḥ] [|| 11*] Tasya śrī-Va[ndva]-nāṁbā[yā]m=a-

43 bhavava[2]d=Bhava-sannibhaḥ [|*] samasta-saṁpan-nilayō Guṇḍyan-ā[ta[3]]khyaḥ sut-ōttamaḥ [|| 12*] Pratāpāyya [chi]-

44 tām=ēti virōdhi-timir-āpahaḥ [|*] nityaṁ padmākar-ārādhyō yasya ga[3] tējō-vi-

45 rōchanaḥ |[| 13*] Tēna Kākatya-Guṇḍyana-nāmadbēyēnā(na) prārtthyamānair=asmābhiḥ | Vēlā-

46 paṟṟu-mahāgrāma-vāstavyā(vyō) vadatāṁ varaḥ | Kutsa-gōtr-ābhisaṁbhū[tō*] Chiddama-yyaḥ pur=ā-

47 bhavat [|| 14*] Śrīdhar-āṁghri-dvay-āṁbhōja-sēvī Śrīdhara-saṁjñayā | viśrutas=tat-sutō jā-

48 tyā bhūdēva[ḥ*] Śrīdhara-śriyā |[| 15*] Tasy=ābhūn=Māchemāṁbāyāṁ sūnur=Ddōmmana-saṁja(jña)-

Fourth Plate, Second Side

49 kaḥ [|*] samasta-śu(gu)[ṇa]-saṁpannē(nna)s=sat-sādhu-jana-vatsalaḥ [|| 16*] [Śru]ti-[smṛiti*]-sadāchāra-pra(pu)rō(rā)ṇ-ō-

50 dita-vartmani | durāpē(pō)=nyajasa[1]nair=nnityaṁ yasy=āchāvi[2]raḥ pravarttati(tē) [|| 17*] Kākarttya(tya)-Gu-

51 ṇḍyanaṁ vīram=uddiśy=āba[ḥ*]ppā(pa)ti-prabhaṁ(bham) | yēna kappa(rppa)ṭam=āba[ddhaṁ] tā(ta)t-prasād-ābhi-

52 kāṁkshiṇā |[| 18*] Prāta[s*]-snānaṁ bra(pra)tidinaṁ brā(bra)hmacharyya[m=a]khaṇḍi-taṁ(tam) | gaty-ādi yē-

53 n=ācharitaṁ kappa(rppra)tī-vratam=ādarāt [|| 19*] Satyaṁ śauchan=dayā dānam=anushṭā(shṭhā)nam=u-

54 dāra-dhīḥ ||(|) kshāntis=saujanyam=ity-ādi yad-upajñam=iha Kalau [|| 20*] Tasme dōtmāna-nāmnē[4]

55 **Māṁgallu-nāma-grāmas**=savva(rvva)-kara-parihārēṇa udaka-pūrvvam-uttarāyaṇa-ni-

56 mittaṁ agrahārīkṛity=ātta[5][cha]smābhir=datta ga(i)ti viditam=astu vaḥ [|*] Asy=āvadha-yaḥ

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[1] [The composition of this stanza is imperfect and some words appear to have been omitted here while engraving. However, it can be restored as °*Vatsarājaḥ sutō=bharad=Bē*°.—Ed.]

[2] This letter is redundant.

[3] This letter, which looks like *ta*, is engraved redundantly.

[4] [The intended reading may be *tasmāy=ātmanō nāmnā*.—Ed.]

[5] This and the following *akshara*, which is not properly shaped, are redundant.

Fifth Plate, First Side

57 pūrvvataḥ|(taḥ) Kōḍupulūvi(ri) polagarusuna Yilindiguṇṭa | Āgnēyataḥ Kuṟṟa-

58 labōla pannasa | Dakshiṇataḥ Laṁjayamāḍa sīmā | Nairṛiti(tya)taḥ Munna-nadi(dī) |

59 Paśchimataḥ Pallikaṇṭī-bhaṭāraṇḍu | Vāyavyataḥ muyyalukāṭṭu | Uttarataḥ

60 Koṇḍṟūri pōlagarusuna chintalu [|*] Īśa(śā)nataḥ muyyaluku-

61 ṭṭuna pūlagudlaguṇṭa | Asy=ōpari na [kēna*]chid=bādhā kartta[vyā] [|*] yaḥ=ka-

62 rōti sa paṁcha-mahāpātaka-saṁyuktō bhavati [|*] Tath=ōktaṁ Vyāsēna | Bā-

63 hubhir=vvasudhā dattā bahubhiś=ch=āsu(nu)pālitā | yasya yasya yadā bhū-

64 mis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) |[| 21*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harēta vasundharāṁ(rām) | shashṭi-

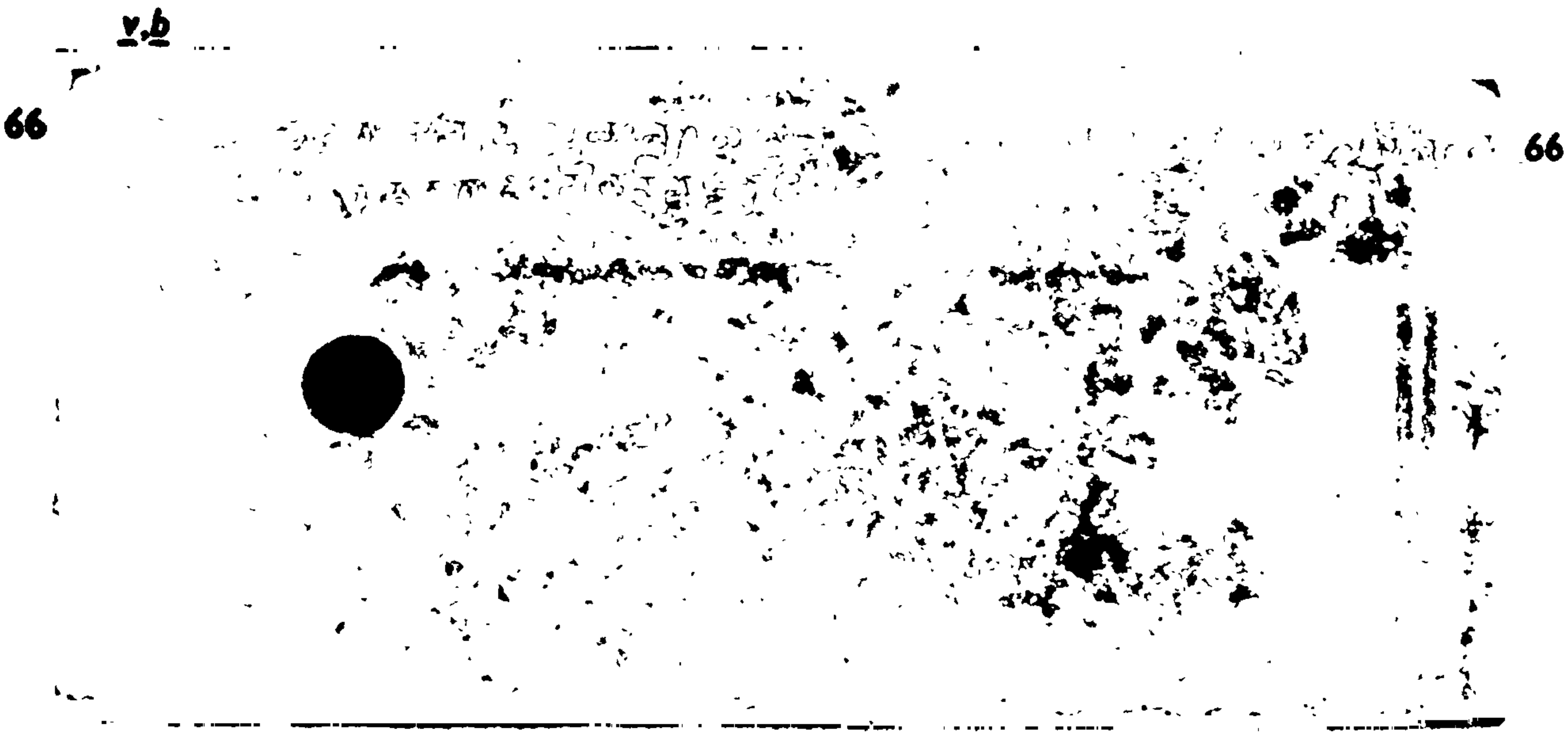
65 [va]rsha-sahasrāṇi vi[shṭā](shṭhā)yāṁ jāyatē kṛimiḥ |[| 22*] Sarvvān=ētān=bā(n=bhā)-vinaḥ pārthivēndrān=bhūyō

Fifth Plate, Second Side

66 bhūyō yāchatē Rāmabhadraḥ [|*] sāmānyō=yan=dharmma-sētur=nṛipāṇāṁ kālē kālē pālanīyō bha-

67 vadbhiḥ [|| 23*] Ājñaptiḥ Kaḍakarājaḥ [|*] Pōtanabhaṭṭa-kṛitiḥ [|*]

MANGALLU GRANT OF AMMA II—PLATE III



Scale: Two-Thirds

No. 7—MADAGRAMA GRANT OF DEVENDRAVARMAN AND BHIMAKHEDI

(*1 Plate*)

R. C. MAJUMDAR, NAGPUR

This is a set of **three** copper plates which the Tahsildar of Srikakulam received from Mr. Manda Narasimham and forwarded to the Government Epigraphist for India. I edit it from a set of excellent estampages kindly supplied by the latter.

Each of the three plates measures 7.8" by 3.6". They were held together by a ring with a seal containing the emblem of a fish flanked on the sides by an *aṅkuśa* and the crescent moon. The first and third plates are written on one side only, containing respectively ten and nine lines, while the second plate has eleven lines on the first and ten on the second side. There are thus altogether forty lines of writing. The plates, together with the ring, weigh 150 *tolas*, the ring alone weighing 35½ *tolas*. The ring was cut when the plates were received for examination.

The **characters** belong to the variety of the North Indian alphabet normally used in the Orissan inscriptions of the tenth and eleventh centuries A. D.

The **language** is Sanskrit and the inscription is written throughout in prose. It abounds in mistakes both of grammar and spelling. The use of medial ī for **i** and **s** for *ś* seems to be almost **a regular** feature, though both medial *i* and *ś* are occasionally used. The word *vṛiksha* is written as *vrīkha* (line 31) and *vṛikha* and *vrīksha* (line 29), though the correct form *vṛiksha* is used in line 27. The **nasal** is often changed into *anusvāra* before a consonant (lines 9, 10, 24). Among other peculiarities may be mentioned the use of *vada* for *bda* (lines 8, 15-16).

The inscription records the grant of the village of **Māḍagrāma** in the **Bhīlāṅgā** *bhōga* in favour of two persons. The boundaries of the village are given in detail. The donor is *Rāṇaka* **Bhīma-khēḍi**, son of *Mahāmāṇḍalika Rāṇaka* Dharmakhēḍi of the Kadamba family and feudatory of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Paramēśvara* Śrī-**Dēvēndravarman** of the Gaṅga dynasty. Both the feudatory and the suzerain are called *Paramamāhēśvara* or devotee of Śiva, and the grant was made in **Śaka 988** from Dantapura (written as *Dantāpura*).[1] The record concludes with the usual imprecatory verses.

The suzerain as well as the feudatory rulers mentioned in the record are known from several other grants. Two of these deserve special mention, viz. the Santa-Bommali[2] and Mandasa plates[3] of Dharmakhēḍi.

The inscription begins with the usual description, first of the ruling Gaṅga king residing at Kaliṅganagara and paying devotions to Gōkarṇṇasvāmin established on the **Mahēndra** mountain, and then of the feudatory ruler of the Kadamba dynasty.

The **first** fifteen lines of the present grant agree, almost word for word, with only slight deviations here and there, with the first fifteen lines of the Mandasa plates. The rulers named and the place of issue are, however, different. The present grant was issued from Dantapura[1] by the Kadamba feudatory Bhīmakhēḍi, son of Dharmakhēḍi, whose suzerain was the Gaṅga ruler Dēvēndravarman. The Mandasa plates, however, refer to the Gaṅga king Anantavarman and the Kadamba feudatory Dharmakhēḍi, son of Bhīmakhēḍi,[4] who issued the grant from Jayantyāpura. The Santa-Bommali plates (Simhipura grant) were issued during the reign of Dēvēndravarman, son of Anantavarman, by Dharmakhēḍi, son of Bhīmakhēḍi. The introductory

[1] [On this and the author's views regarding the initial year of the Gaṅga era discussed below, see *infra*, pp. 51, note 2; 53 ff.—Ed.]

[2] *JAHRS*, Vol. III, pp. 171 ff. The Santa-Bommali plates are also called the Simhipura grant.

[3] *JBORS*, Vol. XVII, pp. 175 ff.

[4] Not *Bhāma*° as read by the editor.

portion of the record closely resembles that of the present grant which repeats almost word for word the first ten lines of the former.

A comparison of these three grants leaves no doubt that they were issued by the same feudatory family owing allegiance to the same Gaṅga family. We may thus draw up the following genealogical table of these two families.

Gaṅga family	*Kadamba family*
Anantavarman	Bhīmakhēḍi I
Dēvēndravarman	| Dharmakhēḍi
	| Bhīmakhēḍi II

Dharmakhēḍi was a contemporary of both Anantavarman and Dēvēndravarman, while Bhīmakhēḍi II was a contemporary of Dēvēndravarman.

In view of this chronological sequence in the relationship of the members of the two families, the date of the present grant, viz. Śaka 988 (1066 A.D.), is of great historical importance, as it reopens the whole question of the epoch of the Gaṅga era, though there is now a general consensus of opinion among scholars that it has to be placed during the last decade of the fifth century A. D.[1]

In an article contributed to the *Indian Culture*,[2] I discussed the question at some length and pointed out the defect in the argument of Prof. Subba Rao who initiated the theory which has subsequently been supported by eminent scholars like Prof. Mirashi and Dr. D. C. Sircar. But my views, though so far ignored, seem to be supported by the present grant, and it is therefore necessary to discuss this question in some detail.

Prof. Subba Rao's view was based on his interpretation of the date of the Mandasa plates which is expressed as *Śakābda navaśataka sapta-rasa-mata*. He took it to be 'clearly' 913, taking *sapta* and *rasa* as equivalent to seven and six, and then adding them. Later, both Dr. D. C. Sircar and Prof. Mirashi took *sapta-rasa* as equivalent to *sattarasa*, and read the date as 917. The resulting difference of four years does not materially affect the argument of Subba Rao and need not therefore be discussed here. He argued that, as the Simhipura grant was issued by Dharmakhēḍi in the year 520 of the Gaṅga era, during the reign of Dēvēndravarman, son of Anantavarman, and the same Dharmakhēḍi also issued the Mandasa plates in Śaka 913 (991 A.D.) during the reign of Anantavarman, the initial year of the Gaṅga era would be somewhat, though not much, later than 471 A. D. It is not necessary, for our present purpose, to refer to the further amplification of this theory by which the initial date of the era was fixed as 494 A.D. by Subba Rao, 496 A. D. by J. C. Ghosh and 498 A. D. by Mirashi.

The two main arguments which I advanced against this theory may be stated as follows :—

1. There is no warrant for the assumption, so definitely made, that the date of the Mandasa plates is *clearly* 913 or 917. The words *sapta* and *rasa*, which actually occur in the record, undoubtedly mean seven and six, and it is more reasonable to take the date as 976, or 967 if we follow the principle *aṅkasya vāmā gatiḥ*.

2. There was no king named Anantavarman ruling in the Gaṅga family in Śaka 913 or 917, the assumed date for the Mandasa plates, nor any king called Dēvēndravarman before Śaka 992, whereas we have two kings, father and son, viz. Vajrahasta Anantavarman and Rājarāja Dēvēndravarman, who ruled between Śaka 960 and 999 which would agree with the date Śaka 976 or 967 for Anantavarman suggested by me.

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[1] Subba Rao, who originally propounded this view, fixed the initial date of the Gaṅga era as 494 A. D., but J. C. Ghosh put it as 496 A. D. and V. V. Mirashi as 498 A. D. (above, Vol. XXVI, 326 ; Vol. XXVII, p. 192).

[2] See Vol. IV, pp. 171ff. References to other views are given in this paper.

My first argument about the interpretation of the date is now strongly supported by the present grant. As Dēvēndravarman was ruling in Śaka 988, the date Śaka 967 or 976 is a more reasonable assumption than Śaka 913 for his father Anantavarman, particularly as Dharmakhēḍi was alive during the reigns of both.

In order to obviate the difficulties pointed out in my second argument, it has been assumed by the upholders of the present theory about the epoch of the Gaṅga era that all the rulers of the Gaṅga family were called, in succession, Anantavarman and Dēvēndravarman. The assumption rests on the fact that for some generations, at a later period, the Gaṅga kings bore the said names in succession. But it is unreasonable to conclude from this that their predecessors were also so named, so long at least as we do not get any satisfactory evidence. Mirashi has argued that the Ponduru grant supplies such an evidence, but, as will be seen later, this is not the case.

All these assumptions are demolished by the present grant which gives a clear date, Śaka 988, for Dēvēndravarman. Subba Rao, Mirashi and D. C. Sircar all identified Anantavarman of the Mandasa plates with Vajrahasta Aniyaṅkabhīma (who ruled from Śaka 902 to 937) and his son Dēvēndravarman with one of the three sons of Vajrahasta. But the last of them ceased to rule about Śaka 960 whereas according to the present grant Dēvēndravarman was ruling in Śaka 988.

In order to maintain the present theory of the epoch of the Gaṅga era, D. C. Sircar has suggested that Dēvēndravarman of the present grant was a king of the Śvētaka branch of the Gaṅga family.[1] But in view of the close resemblance between the Mandasa and Simhipura plates and the present grant, already pointed out above, it seems to be an absolutely unwarranted view to take the Gaṅga king in these three grants to represent two different families. Besides, we should remember that the names of the feudatory rulers, mentioned in the three grants, establish the identity of the family to which they belonged, and it would be very curious if the father and son owed allegiance to two kings bearing the same name but belonging to two different families, particularly as the same phraseology is applied to the suzerain ruler.

We shall discuss presently the question whether Dēvēndravarman of the present grant belonged to the main Gaṅga family or not. But there cannot be the least doubt that he must be identified with Dēvēndravarman, son of Anantavarman, mentioned in the Simhipura grant of Dharmakhēḍi issued in the year 520 of the Gaṅga era. We must therefore presume that the year 520 of the Gaṅga era and Śaka 988 or 1066 A. D. both fell during the reign of Dēvēndravarman, son of Anantavarman. The epoch of the Gaṅga era therefore falls within x years of 1066 *minus* 520, or 546 A. D., x denoting half the average duration of a reign of, say, about 30 years. The Gaṅga era may therefore be said to have been inaugurated some time between 530 and 560 A. D.

We may now discuss the question whether the Gaṅga kings mentioned in the grants of the Kadamba feudatories, Dharmakhēḍi and Bhīmakhēḍi, belonged to the main Gaṅga family. For this purpose we have to keep in view the following genealogy and dates of the Gaṅga kings which are now generally accepted though there are substantial discrepancies, both as regards the duration of reign and genealogy, even in the different records of the kings of this family.[2]

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[1] *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. IV, p. 144.

[2] Cf. Genealogical List given in Bhandarkar's List and the Korni plates (*JAHRS*, Vol. I, p. 46).

Vajrahasta I (44 years, 895-939 A. D.)

Guṇḍama I (939-42 A. D.)

Kāmārṇava (35 years, 942-77 A. D., 25 years according to some inscriptions)

Vinayāditya (977-80 A. D.)

Vajrahasta II Aniyaṅkabhīma (35 years, 980-1015 A. D.)

Kāmārṇava (6 months, 1016 A. D.)

Guṇḍama II (3 years, 1016-19 A. D)

Madhukāmārṇava (19 years, 1019-38 A. D.)

Vajrahasta III Anantavarman (according to some accounts, son of Madhukāmārṇava, 30 or 32 years, 1038 to 1070 or 1068 A. D.)

Rājarāja I Dēvēndravarman (8 years, 1068-76 or 1070-78 A. D.)

Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga (70 years, 1076-1146 or 1078-1148 A. D.)

Kāmārṇava or Madhu-Kāmārṇava (10 years, 1146-56 A. D. or 1148-58 A. D.)

As already noted above, king Anantavarman and his son Dēvēndravarman, mentioned in the Mandasa plates and Simhipura grant, were unanimously taken to be kings of the Gaṅga family, and, on the assumption that the Mandasa plates are dated in Śaka 913 or 917, Anantavarman was identified with Vajrahasta II Aniyaṅkabhīma, and his son Dēvēndravarman with Madhukāmārṇava, though neither of these two Gaṅga kings is known to have borne these names. As I took the date of the Mandasa plates to be Śaka 967 or 976, I identified king Anantavarman mentioned in it with Vajrahasta III who was known as Anantavarman and had a son called Dēvēndravarman (Rājarāja).

The present grant was issued in Śaka 988 (1066 A. D.) during the reign of Dēvēndravarman. According to the accepted chronology, Rājarāja Dēvēndravarman, son of Anantavarman Vajrahasta III, ascended the throne in 1068 or 1070 A. D. and it is said in some records that his coronation took place in Śaka 992 (1070 A. D.). This presents an obvious difficulty in identifying Dēvēndravarman and his father Anantavarman, mentioned as suzerains in the grants of the Kadamba rulers, with the kings of the same names in the Gaṅga family.

There are, however, several considerations which should be kept in view before we definitely discard the identifications.

1. There is the close proximity of dates. The present grant is dated only two or four years before the generally accepted date of Dēvēndravarman's accession to the throne. It must be very singular indeed, if two sets of kings, bearing identical names and imperial titles, were ruling in the same locality and at the same time.

2. The above argument is further strengthened if we remember that there are some discrepancies in the reign-periods of different kings even in the official records of the family. Such discrepancies are probably due, at least in part, to the well-known fact that the kings of the Gaṅga dynasty adopted *Aṅka* years for the calculation of their regnal periods, which made a substantial difference between the actual year of the reign and the number given for the same. This might easily prove a source of confusion to later writers who might take the *Aṅka* for actual years or *vice-versa*.[1] In view of all these a definite date of a king found in his epigraphic record should

[1] It is otherwise difficult to explain how even the reign-period of Vajrahasta III is given as 33 in one and 30 in another record of his grandson. Similarly the date of coronation of Vajrahasta III (960 Śaka) and that of Dēvēndravarman (992 Śaka) need not necessarily imply the beginnings of their reigns, for we know that the coronation of Kāmārṇava took place in Śaka 1064 while his father was ruling till Śaka 1069.

not be rejected simply because it differs by a few years from the traditional dates so far accepted. When such a difference occurs we should rather reconsider the whole chronological scheme, so far accepted, in the light of the new data. In the meanwhile, it is better to accept the date fixed by the present contemporary record, particularly when it is not in conflict with the known dates of Vajrahasta III.

3. Like the Chōḷa kings, the Gaṅga rulers also associated their sons in the sovereignty during their own lifetime, and this created a confusion in computing the total reign-periods of different monarchs. As an example it may be pointed out that although Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga ruled till 1148 A.D., his son Kāmārṇava was anointed in 1142 A.D.

In view of all these it is a reasonable assumption that king Anantavarman and his son Dēvēndravarman, suzerains of Dharmakhēḍi and his son Bhīmakhēḍi, are to be identified with kings Vajrahasta III Anantavarman and his son Rājarāja I Dēvēndravarman. It is to be distinctly understood, however, that whether this identification be accepted or not, it does not affect the epoch of the Gaṅga era, which the present grant places between 530 and 560 A.D., as stated above. On the other hand, if the identification be accepted and Dēvēndravarman's reign be placed approximately between 1066 and 1076 A.D., we may fix the initial year of the Gaṅga era within narrower limits. As the Gaṅga year 520 falls during the reign of Dēvēndravarman, it must have started some time between 546 and 556 A.D. The exact epoch may perhaps be fixed within these limits by the astronomical data contained in epigraphic records.

It may now be considered how far this theory agrees with the other known data. As regards the Chicacole plates[1] of Madhukāmārṇava, dated Gaṅga year 526, I have nothing to add to what has been said in my previous article. The Ponduru grant[2] of Vajrahasta, son of Kāmārṇava, dated in the year 500 of the Gaṅga era, has been cited by Mirashi as a definite evidence in favour of the current view of the epoch of the era, and the identification of king Vajrahasta II Aniyaṅkabhīma with Anantavarman of the Mandasa plates. For he thinks that the dates supplied by the Chicacole plates and Ponduru grant establish the following genealogy, with the assumptions shown within brackets.

Kāmārṇava (942-977 A. D.)
|
Vajrahasta II Aniyaṅkabhīma (also called Anantavarman), 980-1015 A.D.
|
Madhukāmārṇava (also called Dēvēndravarman), 1019-38 A.D.

But on the assumption that the Gaṅga era started about the middle of the sixth century A.D., the data supplied by the same two grants also agree with the following genealogy.

Kāmārṇava (1016 A.D.)
|
Vajrahasta III Anantavarman (1038-70 A.D.)
|
Rājarāja I Dēvēndravarman (also called Madhukāmārṇava)

Mirashi's view includes two assumptions as against one of mine.

Reference may next be made to the Kambakaya grant[3] issued by Udayāditya, son of Dharmakhēḍi, during the reign of Dēvēndravarman, in Śaka 1103. As a son of Dharmakhēḍi issued the present grant in Śaka 988 we cannot identify him with the father of Udayāditya. It has been

[1] *JBORS*, Vol. XVIII, p. 272.
[2] *JKHRS*, Vol. I, p. 219.
[3] *Loc. cit.*

accordingly suggested that the date was probably Śaka 1003. This emendation makes it chronologically possible to identify Dēvēndravarman and Dharmakhēḍi with the rulers of the same names in the present grant. But it brings down the reign of Dēvēndravarman to 1081 A. D., while, according to the generally accepted view, he ceased to reign in 1078 A. D. when his son Anantavarman was anointed to the throne. But as the latter ruled for 70 years he must have been anointed at quite an early age and, not unlikely, during the reign of his father. But it is useless to speculate further on a proposed emendation.

TEXT[1]

First Plate

1 Svasti(sti |) Amarapurānukārī(ri)ṇa[ḥ*] sarvēbhya[2] sā(su)kha-ramaṇī-

2 yāta(yāt) sudhā-dhavala[3]-māl-āvirata-llalita-llāsyāta[4] pa[5]

3 paṇḍī(ṇḍi)ta[6]-sakal-ālaṁkṛita-śrī-**Kalī(li)ṁganagar**-ādhī(dhi)vā-

4 sakā[t*] **Mahēṁdr**-āchal-āmala-kanaka-ṣī(śi)khara-pratishṭha(shṭhi)tasya sa-

5 char-āchara-gurō[ḥ*] sakala-bhuvana-nirmāṇ-aika-su(sū)tradhāra[sya*] sa-

6 sāṁkaśchudāmanīr[7]=bhagavatō Gōkarṇṇasvāmī(mi)na[ḥ*] chara[ṇa*]-ka-

7 mala-ju(yu)gala-praṇāmō(mā)d=vī(d=vi)gata-kalī(li)-kala[ṁ*]kō=nak-āhaya(va)-sa[ṁ*]-

8 khō(kshō)bha-janī(ni)ta-jaya-savada[8]-pratāp-āvanā(na)ta-samasta-sāma[ṁ*]ta-cha-

9 kra-chu(chū)ḍāmanī(ṇi)-prabhava[9]-maṁjarī-puṁja-raṁjī(ji)ta[10]-nija-nīstrīṁsa[11]-dhā-

10 rōpi[12]-**Kalīṁgādhirāja**[13]-durvāra-vairī(ri)-vāraṇa-ka(ku)[ṁ*]bhastha-

Second Plate, First Side

11 la-dala-dalī(li)ta-mukutikā[14]-prakara-dhvast-ārātī(ti)-kul-āchalō(la)-

12 naya-vī(vi)naya-ha(da)yā-dāta(na)-dākshīnya-saüryō-dhārya[15]-satya-tyāga-

13 prakara-guṇa-saṁpad-ādhāra-bhu(bhū)tō(ta)-paramamāhēsva(śva)ra-paramabhaṭa(ṭṭā)-

14 raka-mātā-pītrī[16]-pād-ānudhātā(dhyāta)-paramēsva(śva)ra-Gaṁg-āmala-kula-

15 tilaka-śrīma[d*]-**Dēvēṁdravarmmadēvasya** vī(vi)jaya-rājyē **sakāva-**

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[1] From a set of impressions.

[2] Read *sarvartu°* as in many other Gaṅga inscriptions.

[3] The Mandasa plates and Simhipura grant (hereinafter abbreviated as M and S respectively) have *prāsāda* after this.

[4] Read *°virata-lalita-lāsyāt.*

[5] This letter is redundant.

[6] M and S have *du(dō)rdaṇḍa* before *naṇḍita.*

[7] Read *śaśāṅka-chūḍāmaṇē°.*

[8] Read *śabda.*

[9] Read *prabhā.*

[10] S has *vara-charaṇa* after this.

[11] Read *nistriṁśa.*

[12] Read *dhār-ōpārjjita°.* M and S have *dhār-ōpajana-sakala.*

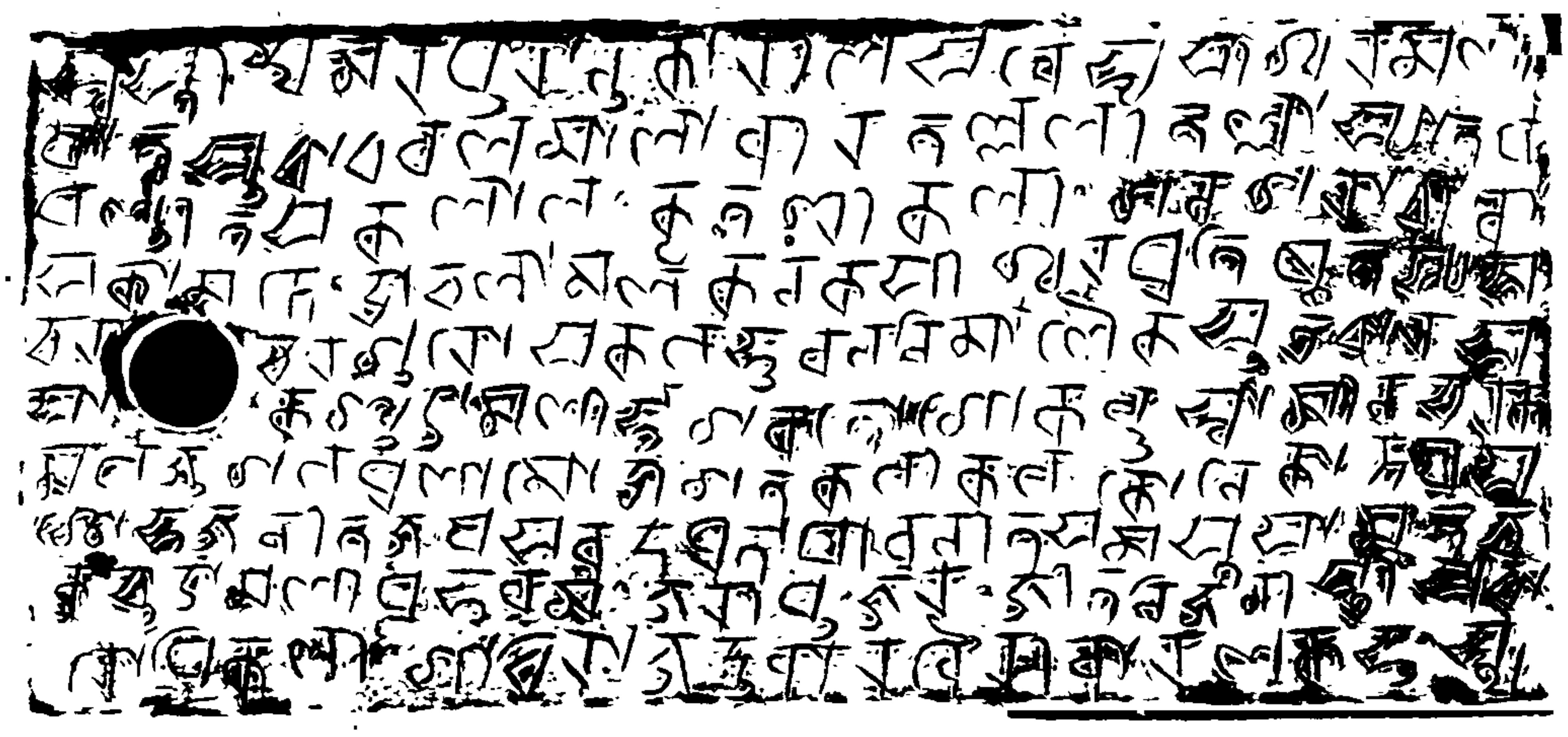
[13] Read *Kaliṅg-ādhirājya.*

[14] Read *muktikā.*

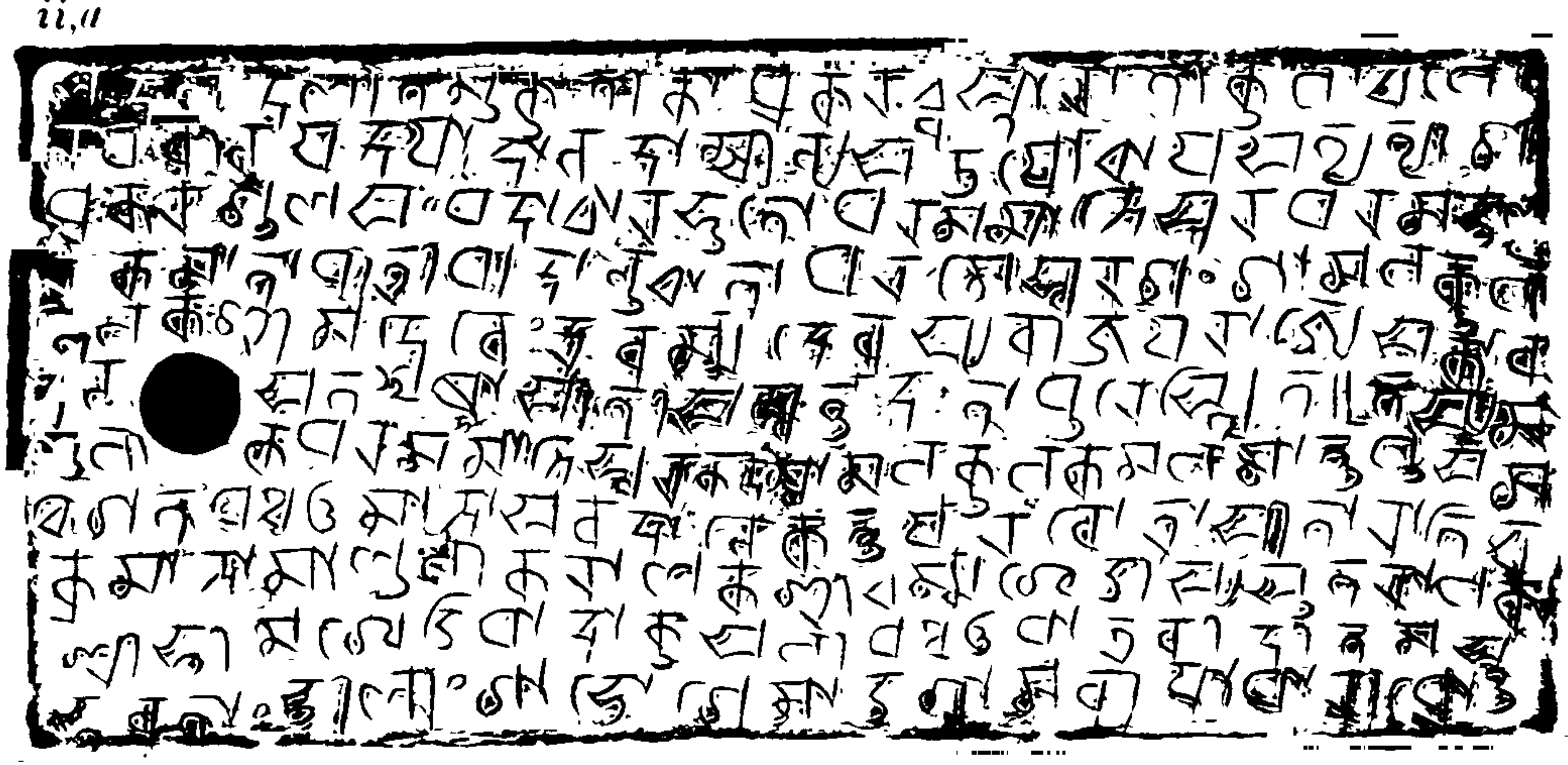
[15] Read *dākshiṇya-śaury-audārya.*

[16] Read *pitṛi.*

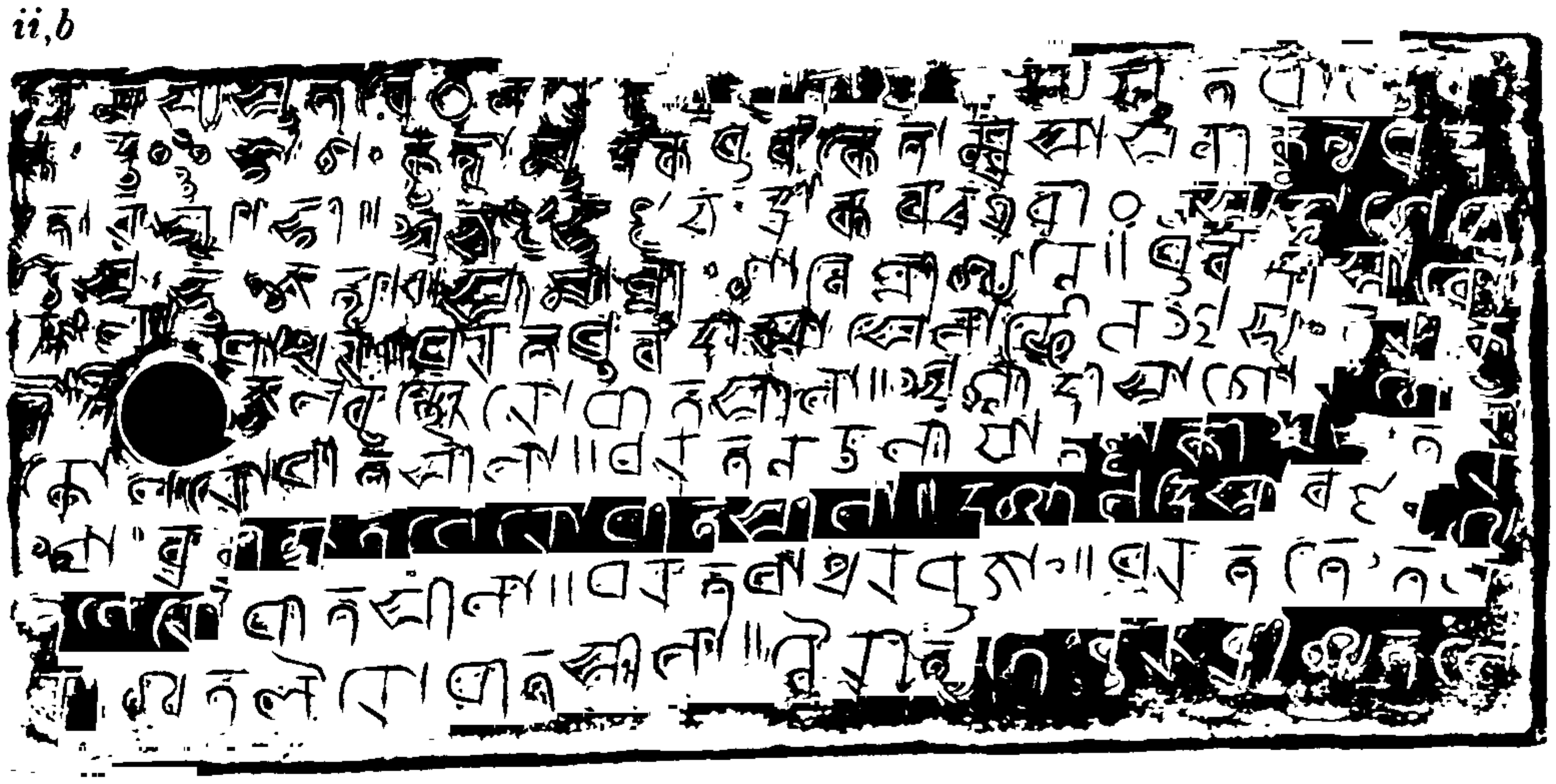
i



ii,a

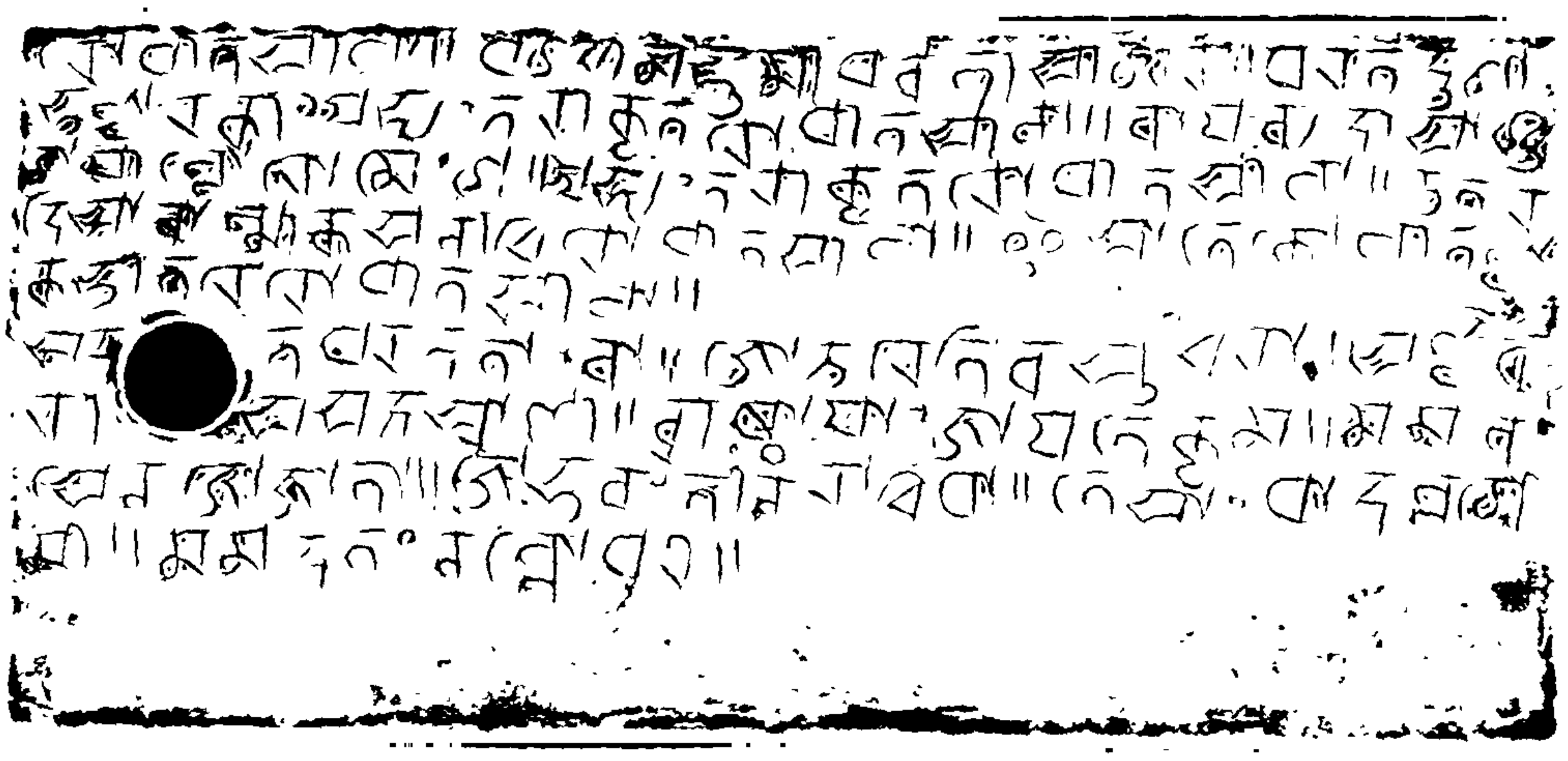


ii,b



SCALE : THREE-FOURTHS

iii



SEAL



(from a Photograph)

16 **da na-sata-ash[ṭ]āsītī-samvartu**[1] **Daṁtā(tā)purē** sthita[2] || tasya mā-
17 ṇḍalī(li)ka-paramamāhēsva(śva)ra-Kadamv-ā(mb-ā)mala-kula-kamala-mārttaṇḍa-sama-
18 dhigata-pañcha-māhāsavad-ā[3]nēka-tu(tū)rva-rav-ō[t*]trāsī(si)tārāti-chạ-
19 kra-mā(ma)hāmāṇḍalī(li)ka-rāṇaka-śrī-Dharmakhēḍīsya suta[4]-rāṇaka-
20 śrī-**Bhīmakhēḍi**-pādā[ḥ*] kusalī[5] pañcha-pātra[6] vīdī(vidi)tam=astu
21 bhavatāṁ **Bhīlāṁgā**-bhōgē [7]**Māḍagrāma** vīyāpārī Prō-

Second Plate, Second Side

22 [lla]masya suta Viṭhana Reuchiyā nāyakasya suta Pāṇḍava-
23 kaṁ duī bhāgaṁ kṛitvā[7] mudaka-purvakē[8] tāmvra-sāsanīkṛitya[9] prada-
24 tō-rasmābhī[10] || [11]a-chaṭa-bhaṭachaṁdrāka(rka) vardhaē[12] Vīṭhanasya bhāgē Chē-
25 ḍisaṁbhuñjatyā[13] || Sīmā-llīṁ(liṁ)gāni llī(li)khyantē || Pu(Pū)rva-dīsā[14] vō-
26 **hālā pāthara** || **Parata** pu(pū)rva-dīsā silā[15] chhēla abhyaṁtarīkṛi-
27 tvā hijala-vṛikshē rōpīta[16] sīlā || Agnī(gni)-dīsā gōraṁgōrā
28 kōṇa rōpīta sīlā || Parata naülīyā taṭākī abh[y*]antarē
29 āṁvravrīksha-talē rōpīta sīlā || Dakshī(kshi)ṇa-disā vaṭavṛikha-
30 talē rōpīta sīlā || Parata pāthara pujāṁ || Parata tēṁtalī-
31 vrīkha-talē rōpīta sīlā || Nairītya[17] tiṁvuru vrīkha-talē

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[1] **Read** *Śak-ābdē nava-śat-āshṭāśīti-saṁvatsarē.*

[2] [In this context, S has *Jayantyāpura-vāsina[ḥ*]* ...... *Rāṇaka-śrī-Niyārṇṇavasya sutaḥ*, etc., while M has *Jayantyāpurē sthita* ...... *Rāṇaka-śrī-Bhīmakhēḍisya suta°*, etc. The intended reading here therefore seems to be *Dantāpurē sthitasya* ...... *Rāṇaka-śrī-Bhīmakhēḍikasya suta°*, etc. The *daṇḍas* are superfluous. Dantāpura of this record is very probably a variant of *Jayantyāpura* which was the headquarters of the Kadamba feudatories of the Eastern Gaṅgas.—Ed.]

[3] **Read** ***mahāśabd-ā°.***

[4] Read ***°khēḍi-suta°.***

[5] **Read** ***kuśalinaḥ.***

[6] [In this context, S has *prakritir-a(ty-a)mātya-pañcha-pātra-rājapādōpajīvinaḥ* ...... *mānayati vō(bō)dhayati samājñāpayati*, while M has *pañcha-pātra-vīsa(visha)yaprathā(dhā)na-samasta-rājapādōpajīvinā(naḥ)*, etc. Some letters are therefore omitted in the present record by the scribe or engraver through oversight.—Ed.]

[7] [In correct Sanskrit : *Māḍagrāmaḥ vyāpāri-Prōllamasya sutāya Viṭhanāya Rēuchiyā-nāyakasya sutāya Pāṇḍavakāya cha dvi-bhāgaṁ kṛitvā.*—Ed.]

[8] **Read** ***udaka-pūrvakaṁ.***

[9] **Read** ***tāmraśāsanīkṛitya.***

[10] **Read** ***pradattō=smābhiḥ.***

[11] **From this point I have merely given the text without any attempt to correct it except where there is an obvious mistake.**

[12] [The intended readings for *a-chaṭa-bhaṭa, chandrāka* and *vardhaē* appear to be respectively *a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-pravēśam, chandr-ārka-kshiti-sama-kāla-paryantam* and *mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇy=ābhivṛiddhayē* as suggested by S.—Ed.]

[13] [This defective passage seems to suggest that a person named Chēḍi had something to do with Viṭhana's share of the gift land.—Ed.]

[14] **Read** ***diśi*** **here as** well as in the following lines.

[15] **Read** ***śilā*** **here as** well as in the following lines.

[16] **Read** ***rōpitā*** **here** as well as in the following lines.

[17] **Read** ***nairṛityāṁ.***

Third Plate

32 rōpīta silā || Paśchī(śchi)ma bhumī parvatā sī(śi)khara || Parata durgā

33 bhaṭāraki abhyaṁtarīkṛita rōpīta silā || Vāyavya-dīsā khu-

34 ḍāpīllō rōmēṁga || Abhyaṁtarīkṛita rōpīta silā || Utra(tta)ra-

35 disā valmīka sanīdhi[1] rōpīta sīlā || Isātē[2] kōlātaṭā-

36 ka-bhītarē rōpīta sīlā[3] ||

37 [4]sadata paradatāṁ vā || jō harēti vasuṁdharā || saṭiṁ va-

38 rīsa sahasrāṇī || vrīshṭhāyaṁ jāyatē kṛima || Mama vaṁ-

39 sē na jō jātā || jō bhavaṁtī narādhipā || tēśāṁ pādallagnō

40 mī || mama dataṁ na llōpaē [||*]

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[1] This is probably for *sannidhi*.

[2] Read *Iśānē*.

[3] [In correct Sanskrit the description of the boundaries of the gift land in lines 25-36 would read : *pūrva-diśāyāṁ Vōhālyāṁ prastaraḥ ; parataḥ pūrva-diśāyāṁ śilā-khaṇḍa*(Oriya *chhēlā, chhēli*)*m=abhyantarīkṛitya hijjalavṛikshē* (*vṛiksha-talē*) *rōpita-śilā ; agni-diśāyāṁ Gōraṁgōrā-kōṇa-rōpita-śilā : parataḥ Nautīya-taṭāk-ābhyantarē āmravṛiksha-talē rōpita-śilā | dakshiṇa-diśāyāṁ vaṭavṛiksha-talē rōpita-śilā ; parataḥ prastara-puñjaḥ ; parataḥ tintilīvṛiksha-talē rōpita-śilā | nairṛityāṁ timburuvṛiksha-talē rōpita-śilā | paśchimasyāṁ bhūmiḥ parvata-śikharaś=cha ; parataḥ Durgā-bhaṭṭārikām=abhyantarīkṛitya rōpita-śilā | vāyavya-diśāyāṁ Khudāpillō-Rōmēṅgam=abhyantarīkṛitya rōpita-śilā | uttara-diśāyāṁ valmīka-sannidhau rōpita-śilā ; aiśānyāṁ Kōlā-taṭāk-ābhyantarē rōpitā śilā.*—Ed.]

[4] Lines 37-40 quote the well-known imprecatory stanzas which abound in mistakes too numerous to be corrected.

No. 8—NOTE ON MADAGRAMA GRANT OF DEVENDRAVARMAN AND BHIMAKHEDI

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

In the foregoing article, Dr. R. C. Majumdar has edited the Māḍagrāma grant which was issued in Śaka 988 (1066 A.D.) during the reign of Gaṅga Dēvēndravarman by his Kadamba feudatory Bhīmakhēḍi II, son of Dharmakhēḍi. Kadamba Dharmakhēḍi issued the Santa-Bommali plates[1] in the Gaṅga year 520 during the reign of Gaṅga Dēvēndravarman, son of Anantavarman, and the Mandasa plates[2] dated in Śaka *nava-śataka-saptarasa* during the reign of Gaṅga Anantavarman. The expression *saptarasa* has been taken by Dr. Majumdar to be a combination of *sapta* (i.e. 7) and *rasa* (meaning 6), although such a combination of an ordinary numerical word with a word-numeral is unknown in early Orissan records, while we have taken it to stand for Sanskrit *saptadaśa*, Prakrit *sattarasa*, i.e. 17. The date of the Mandasa plates is therefore Śaka 976 (1054 A.D.) or 967 (1045 A.D.) according to Dr. Majumdar, but Śaka 917 (995 A.D,) in our opinion. Gaṅga Anantavarman of the Mandasa plates has been identified with the homonymous Gaṅga king mentioned as the father of Dēvēndravarman of the Santa-Bommali plates. Thus in Dr. Majumdar's opinion the Gaṅga year 520 fell sometime after 1054 or 1045 A.D., and therefore the era started sometime about the middle of the sixth century and not about the close of the fifth century as is now generally believed. He thinks that Gaṅga Dēvēndravarman of the Santa-Bommali plates is the same as the Gaṅga king of that name mentioned in the Māḍagrāma grant of 1066 A.D. and further identifies that ruler with the well-known Imperial Gaṅga monarch Rājarāja I Dēvēndravarman, son of Vajrahasta III Anantavarman and father of the great Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga. But the identification of Dēvēndravarman of the Māḍagrāma grant with Rājarāja I Dēvēndravarman is not so easy as he has made it to appear.

In the inscriptions of Vajrahasta III Anantavarman, the king claims to have been anointed on the 20th April 1038 A.D.[3] The same date of his coronation is quoted in the records of his son Rājarāja I Dēvēndravarman ; but they add that Vajrahasta III ruled for 33 years and that Rājarāja I was anointed on Thursday, Jyēshṭha-su 8, Śaka 992 (20th May, 1070 A.D.).[4] Similarly the inscriptions of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga state that his grandfather Vajrahasta III ruled the earth for 33 years and his father Rājarāja I for 8 years and that he himself was anointed on Saturday, the 17th February 1078 A.D.[5] It will be seen that the period from the coronation of Vajrahasta III to that of Rājarāja I covers a little above 32 years, reckoned in the records as 33 years in round number apparently because the king ended his rule in his 33rd regnal year. Similarly the period between the coronation of Rājarāja I and that of Chōḍagaṅga covers 7 years and several months, the duration being reckoned as 8 years in the records. There is hardly any room to doubt the genuineness of these statements. Since Rājarāja I Dēvēndravarman is thus known to have ascended the throne in 1070 A.D., he can hardly be identified with Dēvēndravarman of the Māḍagrāma grant, who was ruling in 1066 A.D. when Vajrahasta III is known to have been on the throne.

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[1] Bhandarkar's List, No. 2053.

[2] Ibid., No. 1951.

[3] Ibid., No. 1090.

[4] *JAHRS*, Vol. VIII, pp. 176 ff. ; No. 7 (Appendix A) of 1952-53.

[5] Bhandarkar, op. cit., No. 1099. In some of the later records (ibid., No. 1103 ; cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 239) of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, the duration of Vajrahasta's rule is given as 30 years apparently through over-sight. The evidence of the earlier records of Chōḍagaṅga and of his father must be regarded as more authentic as it is supported by the dates of the coronation of the three monarchs known from their records.

The identification of Dēvēndravarman of the Māḍagrāma grant (1066 A.D.) with Rājarāja I Dēvēndravarman (1070-78 A.D.) is supported by Dr. Majumdar with the following arguments which are serially discussed below.

1. He points out that the two sets of rulers, viz. (1) Anantavarman and his son Dēvēndravarman, known from the Santa-Bommali and Mandasa plates and the Māḍagrāma grant, and (2) Vajrahasta III Anantavarman and his son Rājarāja I Dēvēndravarman, were ruling in the same period. But the identification of Dēvēndravarman of the Māḍagrāma grant with the homonymous king mentioned in the Santa-Bommali plates as the son of Anantavarman is his own suggestion based on his own interpretation of the expression *saptarasa* in the Mandasa plates mentioning Anantavarman.

2. Dr. Majumdar puts unnecessary emphasis on the discrepancies in the Gaṅga inscriptions without noticing that they are really between two sets of records, viz. earlier and later, of which the former are certainly more reliable.[1] He also forgets that the Aṅka reckoning cannot be regarded as responsible for the mistake (as he imagines) regarding the duration of Rājarāja I Dēvēndravarman's reign quoted in the records of his son and successor Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga. Firstly, this reckoning was introduced much later than the days of Rājarāja I and Chōḍagaṅga. Secondly, if Rājarāja I ascended the throne in 1066 A.D. (not in 1070 A.D. as clearly stated in his own records) and actually ruled for 12 years in 1066-78 A.D., his son could not have reduced the period to 8 years only according to the Aṅka method of calculation. Because the period of 12 actual years would be 14 Aṅka years (not 8, for 8 actual years would make only 6 Aṅka years). The suggestion that the Kambakaya plates, assigned to Śaka 1003 (1081 A.D.), may be ascribed to Rājarāja I Dēvēndravarman is unconvincing as there is little possibility of the continuation of his rule after the 17th February 1078 A.D. when his son Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga was anointed.

3. There is absolutely no proof in favour of the suggestion that the Gaṅga kings associated their sons in the sovereignty during their own lifetime. Dr. Majumdar's belief that Kāmārṇava was anointed in 1142 A.D., although his father Chōḍagaṅga ruled till 1148 A.D., is based on the wrong reading (Śaka 1064) in later records. The earlier records give the date of Kāmārṇava's ascension correctly as Śaka 1069, i.e. 1147-48 A.D.[2]

Under the circumstances, it is difficult to accept Dr. Majumdar's view, based on the unwarranted identification of Dēvēndravarman of the Māḍagrāma grant with Rājarāja I, that the Gaṅga era started sometime between 546 and 556 A.D.

Dr. Majumdar's contention that no Gaṅga king named Dēvēndravarman ruled before Śaka 992 (1070 A.D.) and that the assumption of the names Anantavarman and Dēvēndravarman respectively by a father and a son is not noticed amongst the Gaṅga rulers of an earlier date is wrong. We have among the Early Eastern Gaṅgas at least four Gaṅga kings named Dēvēndravarman who ruled earlier than Śaka 992 and at least two of them are known to have been the sons of kings named Anantavarman.[3]

Dr. Majumdar rules out the possibility of the identification of Dēvēndravarman of the Māḍagrāma grant with the Gaṅga king of that name ruling from Śvētaka[4] and holds that the former must be the homonymous Gaṅga king known from the Santa-Bommali plates on the ground that

[1] See above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 238 ff.

[2] Ibid., p. 242. The correct reading of the date is found also in the recently discovered Dasgoba plates of Rājarāja III to be published in this journal.

[3] See Bhandarkar's List, p. 386.

[4] Cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 65, note 3.

the Santa-Bommali and Mandasa plates and the Māḍagrāma grant have the introductory part couched in almost the same language. This argument in favour of the identification is, however, quite unsatisfactory. The similarity of the introductory part in the three records is clearly due to the fact that all of them were issued by the Kadamba chiefs of Jayantyāpura. That it is of little value in determining the identification of the overlords of those chiefs can be easily demonstrated. In the first place, the introductory part of these records has nothing strikingly in common with the corresponding part of the records of Vajrahasta III Anantavarman and Rājarāja I Dēvēndravarman, with whom Dr. Majumdar is inclined to identify the kings Anantavarman and Dēvēndravarman, known from the Santa-Bommali and Mandasa plates and the Māḍagrāma grant. Secondly, we know that the Kauravas of Karkarēḍi, who originally owed allegiance to the Kalachuris and later to the Chandēllas, mention, in the introductory part of their records, their overlords of both the families with the same description. It is worth noting that even certain characteristic Kalachuri epithets, such as *Trikaliṅg-ādhipati* and *Vāmadēva-pād-ānudhyāta*, are known to have been wrongly applied by the Kauravas to their later overlords, the Chandēlla monarchs.[1]

As regards the independent rule of certain Gaṅga kings side by side with the early rulers of the imperial branch of the Gaṅga family during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, attention may now be drawn to the Polsara (Ganjam District, Orissa) plates[2] issued in 1147-48 A.D. by Arkēśvara, son of Pramāḍi and grandson of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* Guṇārṇava.

Recently I had occasion to examine an inscription[3] from Nandigaon near Tekkali (Srikakulam District) and two epigraphs[4] from Paikpad in the Raigad region of the Ganjam District. These records, written in the Gauḍīya script, do not bear any date, but can be assigned on palaeographical grounds to dates about the twelfth century A.D. It is interesting to note that the Tekkali inscription refers itself to the reign of king Dēvēndravarman and the Paikpad epigraphs to that of *Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara* Dānārṇava. Now, even if it is possible to identify this Dēvēndravarman with Rājarāja I Dēvēndravarman, to place Dānārṇava in the imperial branch of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty is very difficult in the present state of our knowledge. It is probable that Dānārṇava of the Paikpad inscriptions was related to Guṇārṇava of the Polsara plates.

Dr. Majumdar's theory offers another serious difficulty. The Chicacole (Srikakulam) plates[5] of the Gaṅga year 526 were issued during the rule of the Gaṅga king Madhukāmārṇava, son of Anantabrahman, i. e. Anantavarman. This suggests that Gaṅga Anantavarman's son Dēvēndravarman, during whose reign the Santa-Bommali plates of the Gaṅga year 520 were issued, was succeeded on the throne by his younger brother named Madhukāmārṇava. As Rājarāja I Dēvēndravarman, with whom Dr. Majumdar identifies king Dēvēndravarman of the Santa-Bommali plates, was succeeded by his son and not by a younger brother, it has been suggested that Madhukāmārṇava was just another name of Rājarāja I. It has, however, not been noticed that the introductory part of the Chicacole plates does not resemble that of any of the Gaṅga-Kadamba records referred to above or of the copper-plate grants of Rājarāja I so far discovered. The suggestion that Rājarāja I was also known as Madhukāmārṇava is again

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 226 ff., 228 ff., 231 ff.

[2] Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 63 ff.

[3] No. 90 of 1954-55.

[4] Nos. 224-25 of 1953-54.

[5] Bhandarkar, op. cit., No. 2054.

unsupported by any of the numerous records of the imperial branch of the Gaṅga family including his own epigraphs. It is also inexplicable why this inscription, like the charters of the Kadambas (believed by Dr. Majumdar to have been issued during the reign of Rājarāja I) and those of the Early Gaṅgas, is dated in the Gaṅga era while the grants of the Imperial Gaṅgas from the time of Vajrahasta III are all dated in the Śaka era. Another difference between these records dated in the Gaṅga era and the grants of Rājarāja I dated in the Śaka era is that, while the former are written in the Kaliṅga script, the Gauḍīya alphabet has been employed in the latter.

No. 9—SULTANPUR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION

(1 Plate)

NIRADBANDHU SANYAL, NAVADVIP

This copper plate was handed over to me on behalf of the Varendra Research Society for decipherment in 1937 by Mr. Rajani Mohan Sanyal of Naogaon in the Rajshahi District. It was originally preserved in an old wooden box for a very long time as an heirloom in the family of Namiruddin Khondkar, a Muhammadan priest of **Sultanpur** in the suburb of Naogaon town. The family had originally been settled in the village of **Kalaikuri**, about 8 miles from Naogaon town, in the Adamdighi Police Station of the Bogra District, whence Namiruddin's grandfather came over to Sultanpur about a century ago, having inherited the ancestral property of his maternal grandfather. It cannot now be definitely ascertained if this plate had been brought to Sultanpur among other goods and chattels which he obtained by inheritance. The provenance of the plate cannot thus be exactly determined.[1]

The inscription was published by Dr. D. C. Sircar first in an article in the Bengali monthly journal *Vaṅgaśrī*, Vaiśākha, 1350 B. S., and then in English in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XIX, March, 1943. He names the record after Kalaikuri. Dr. Sircar, however, had no opportunity of examining the original plate but had to depend on unsatisfactory impressions. He therefore could not read some of the letters while some of them were read by him wrongly.

This is a single plate, rectangular in shape, with an oval projection (3¼″ in diameter) at the top, which shows a triangular hole in the middle. Evidently this was meant to fix the seal, which is now missing. It measures 9½″×5⅜″ and weighs 52 *tolas*. The writing is well executed and consists of 34 lines, of which sixteen are engraved on the obverse and eighteen on the reverse. Owing to corrosion, from which the plate has suffered especially on the right hand side, many letters on both faces of the plate are either obscure or have completely disappeared. The size of the letters varies from ⅜″ to ⅛″.

The characters belong to the Northern Class of alphabets of the 5th century A.D. and resemble closely those used in the Dhanaidaha copper-plate inscription[2] of the Gupta year 113 and the Baigram copper-plate inscription[3] of the Gupta year 128. As in the Baigram, Dhanaidaha, Damodarpur[4] and Paharpur[5] copper plates, medial *ā* is sometimes indicated by a hook like stroke at the lower end of the letter to the right; cf. *Brāhmaṇ-ādīn* (line 2), °*bhōgāy-ā*° (line 18), *kulyavāpāḥ*, *khāta* and *parikhā* (line 21). The form of the medial *u* in *Rudra* (line 3) and *Prabhu*[6] (line 6) and that of the medial *ū* in *Pūrṇṇa* (line 1) and *Kumārabhūti* (line 5) may be noted. The sign of *b* may be seen in *Brāhmaṇ-ādīn* (line 2), etc. The rare letter *ḍh* is used in *Lōḍhaka* (line 11). The forms of the conjuncts *kshm*, *ṅh*, *hm*, *ṭṭ*, *ṇṭ*, *ṅk*, and *lm* may be observed in *Lakshmaṇa* (line 3), *siṅha* (line 5), *Brahma* and *bhaṭṭa* (line 7), *Uṇṭa* (line 8), *Kaṅkuṭi* (line 9) and *Gulma* (line 22) respectively. Final *m* is seen as joined with the preceding letter slightly below the top line in

[1] [Under the circumstances, the inscription may probably be called ' the Kalaikuri-Sultanpur Plate'.—Ed.]

[2] Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 345-48.

[3] Ibid., Vol. XXI, pp. 78-83.

[4] Ibid., Vol. XV, pp. 113-45.

[5] Ibid., Vol. XX, pp. 59-64.

[6] [See below, p. 63, note 7.—Ed.]

samvvat (line 34) and so is final *t* in the same word and in *vasēt* in line 31. The numerical signs for *100*, *20* and *1*[1] are used in line 34 and those for 5 and 2 in lines 26 and 27 respectively.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. With the exception of five imprecatory verses at the end, the entire record is in prose. As in the Damodarpur and Baigram plates, the suffix *ka* is occasionally used, as in *nirddishṭaka* (lines 16 and 24) and *upasaṅharitaka* (line 20). Errors of the engraver may be noted in *Yaśarāma* (line 1) and *rakshya* (line 33). The word *kulyavāpa* is used both in the masculine (line 15) and in the neuter (line 27).

As regards **orthography**, the following may be noted. The letter *b* is occasionally used for *v* as in *viditam=bō* (line 2), *kulyabāpa* (lines 13, 15, 16, etc.), *sambyavahāriṇō* (lines 28-29) and *paradattām=bā* (line 30). The letter *k* is not doubled before *y* in *dīnārikya* (lines 13 and 19) as in the Damodarpur and Baigram plates, but is occasionally doubled before *r*, as in *Śukkra* (line 9), *vikkrayō* (line 19 ; cf., however, line 13). The letter *t* is not doubled before *r* as in the Baigram plate, while consonants are doubled after *r*, as in *śarmma* (line 8), *Sarppa* (line 9), *Śarvva* (line 10), *nirddishṭaka* (line 16), *svarggē* (line 31). Final *m* is retained before *v* in *samvvat* (line 34). The guttural nasal takes the place of the *anusvāra* before *h*, in *siṅha* (line 4) and *upasaṅharitaka* (line 20).

The document is **dated** the **first day of Vaiśākha of the year 121**[2], which undoubtedly refers to the **Gupta era.** As such, it would fall in April, 440 A. D. The name of the reigning monarch is not mentioned ; but there is no doubt that the record belongs to the reign of the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta I, whose known dates range from the Gupta year 113 to 136. The date of the present record falls between that of the Dhanaidaha plate of 113 G. E. and that of the Damodarpur plates of 124 G. E. Dr. Sircar reads the date of the record under study as " the first (?) day of Vaiśākha of the year 120"[3], and further observes, " The scratches in which Mr. Sanyal finds the figure *1* could have been considered to be the faint traces of a figure if only they were close to the symbol for 20 as those for 100 and 20 actually are."[4]

Like other copper-plate inscriptions of the Gupta period, so far recovered from North Bengal, the inscription relates to the grant, made by the state, of unoccupied uncultivated lands, yielding no revenue, with the object of creating an endowment in perpetuity. The document records that the artisan Bhīma, the scribes Prabhuchandra, Rudradāsa, Dēvadatta, Lakshmaṇa, Kāntidēva, Śambhudatta and Krishṇadāsa, and the record-keepers Siṁhanandin and Yaśōdāman, for increasing the religious merit of their parents, presented an application to Achyutadāsa, who was the king's officer (*Āyuktaka*) in charge of the Śriṅgavēra *vīthī*, and also to the local *adhikaraṇa* (board of administration) and the leading men and house-holders of the *vīthī*, for the grant of nine *kulyavāpas* of uncultivated land, yielding no revenue, distributed in the villages of Hastiśīrsha, Vibhītakī, Gulmagandhikā and Dhānyapāṭalikā, all within the area of Gōhāli, at the prevalent local rate of two *dīnāras* for each *kulyavāpa*, for the purpose of endowing them in perpetuity in favour of the Brāhmaṇas Dēvabhaṭṭa, Amaradatta and Mahāsēnadatta, who belonged to Puṇḍravarddhana and were students of the Vājasanēya school and were versed in the four Vēdas, to enable them to perform the five great sacrifices. The representation was referred to the record-keepers Siṁhanandin and Yaśōdāman for investigation and report. They verified the statements made in the application as regards the unoccupied and uncultivated lands and also the local rate quoted for their sale. Having ascertained that there was no objection to the proposal, they recommended the grant, whereupon the sale was finally sanctioned. Having received payment of the sale price, nine *kulyavāpas* of land in the said localities were conveyed to the grantees—five *kulyavāpas*

[1] [See below.—Ed.]

[2] [See below, p. 66, note 3.—Ed.]

[3] *IHQ*, Vol. XIX, p. 12.

[4] Ibid., p. 26 f.n. [For Mr. Sanyal's view referred to here, see B. C. Sen, *Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1942, p. xii, note. For the reading of the date, see below, p. 66, note 3. Ed.]

to Dēvabhaṭṭa and two each to Amaradatta and Mahāsēnadatta. Of the nine *kulyavāpas*, one was enclosed by an ancient moat, with the Vāṭā river on the north and the borders of Gulmagandhikā on the west, two *drōṇavāpas* were in Gulmagandhikā, in its east, to the west of the first pathway, and the remaining seven *kulyavāpas* and six *drōṇavāpas* were in Tāpasapōttaka and Dayitāpōttaka in the *prāvēśya*[1] of Hastiśīrsha and in Chitravātaṅgara in the *prāvēśya* of Vibhītaka. The transaction was then notified by the king's officer and the local *adhikaraṇa*, from the headquarters of the *vīthī* at Pūrṇṇakauśikā, to the Brāhmaṇas and other residents of the villages in which the lands conveyed by the grant were situated, for the preservation of the endowment in perpetuity by themselves as well as by future villagers and officers of government.

It has to be noted that the above application was addressed not only to the king's officer and the local *adhikaraṇa* but also to the leading people of the *vīthī*. It has thus been questioned whether village lands in Bengal during the period under review belonged to the people or to the State or to both jointly, subject to the respective interests of each.[2] It is, however, well known that state ownership of land was an admitted principle of ancient Indian public law.[3] The evidence of Megasthenes and Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* leaves little room for doubt that in the Mauryan land revenue system the entire land belonged to the king.[4] Even in the Gupta period it is now definitely known that proceeds from the sale of unsettled lands in Bengal belonged to the king.[5]

Besides, it is seen from the seal legends[6] that these charters for the sale and grant of lands for the creation of permanent endowments were always issued solely by the local *adhikaraṇa*, although the application for the purpose might have been addressed to the leading people of the locality in addition to the head of the district and the local *adhikaraṇa*.[7] It is also noteworthy that such a mode of address was adopted only in a few instances. In most cases these applications were addressed only to the head of the district and the local *adhikaraṇa*. Even the head of the district (*vishaya-pati*) had to apply to the local *adhikaraṇa* for grant of village lands.[8] There is thus little doubt that the disposal of village lands really lay with the local *adhikaraṇa*.

Adhishṭhāna means a 'city'. *Adhishṭhān-ādhikaraṇa* may therefore be interpreted as a 'city office', which was meant for the administration of civil affairs of the city. It is well known that the civil administration of the city of Pāṭaliputra under the rule of the Mauryas was entrusted to a municipal commission which consisted of six boards.[9] The commissioners in their collective capacity had charge of all matters concerning public welfare, while the departmental functions of the six boards or committees were : (1) industrial arts, (2) care of foreigners, (3) registration of births and deaths, (4) retail trade and barter, (5) supervision of manufactures and their sale and (6) collection of the tithe on the price of goods sold. Even under the Maurya administration, such a comprehensive machinery, required for the administration of the complex affairs of the extensive capital city, might not have been needed in the case of smaller towns.

In the Gupta period, the administration of the city of Kōṭivarsha was entrusted to one committee only under the control of the head of the district.[10] This committee, called the *adhishṭhān-*

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[1] [For the meaning of this word, see *pravēśa* known from other records in expressions like *Siviḍi-pravēśa-Kandalivāḍagrāma* interpreted as 'Kandalivāḍa-grāma having its rent assessed along with that of Siviḍi'. Cf. *Journ. As. Soc.*, Letters, Vol. XVIII, p. 78, note.—Ed.]

[2] Cf. R. G. Basak, *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes*, Vol. III, Orientalia, Part 2, pp. 486 ff. ; U. N. Ghoshal, *Hindu Revenue System*, pp. 204 ff.

[3] U. N. Ghosal, op. cit., pp. 167 ff.

[4] V. A. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, pp. 89 ff.

[5] U. N. Ghosal, op. cit., p. 208 ; cf. above, Vol. XX, p. 63 ; Vol. XXI, p. 81.

[6] Above, Vol. XV, p. 142 ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, 1910, pp. 174 ff.

[7] See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, 1910, pp. 203 ff.

[8] Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 54.

[9] V. A. Smith, op. cit., p. 87.

[10] Above, Vol. XV, pp. 130 ff

ādhikaraṇa in the inscriptions, was composed of four members, who, besides having charge of departmental duties, worked also in a collective capacity. These members were the leading banker of the town (*nagara-śrēshṭhin*), the chief registrar (*prathama-kāyastha*), and the heads of the associations of artisans (*prathama-kulika*) and traders (*sārthavāha*).[1] The *prathama-kulika* probably supervised affairs relating to industrial arts. The *sārthavāha* was concerned apparently with the regulation of trades, and the *prathama-kāyastha* with all registration works regarding disposal of immovable property, births, deaths, foreigners, etc. It is difficult to ascertain exactly in which way the *nagara-śrēshṭhin* was useful to the committee. With his expert knowledge of commodities, his services might have been required in the *adhisthān-ādhikaraṇa* for supervision of manufactures and collection of duties.[2] Under the Gupta system, therefore, the departmental functions of the committee for the administration of civil affairs of a city seem to have been arranged as follows: (1) manufactures and collection of duties, (2) industrial arts, (3) trade, and (4) registration.

Regarding the functions of the Maurya commission, it is stated that the boards in their collective capacity had charge both of their special departments and also of matters of public interest such as the keeping of public buildings in proper repairs, the regulation of prices, and the care of markets, harbours and temples.[3] The members of the Gupta *adhisthān-ādhikaraṇa* also might have similar departmental and collective functions. At least in the matter of sale and grant of lands it is seen that the committee gave its sanction as a collective body.[4]

As regards the extent of authority of the *adhisṭhān-ādhikaraṇa*, it was confined not merely to the limits of the city, but extended also to suburban areas. Thus, in the Paharpur copper-plate inscription, a representation is stated to have been laid before the *adhisṭhān-ādhikaraṇa* for the grant of lands in certain rural areas belonging to the Nāgiraṭṭa *maṇḍala* of the Dakshiṇāṁśaka *vīthī*.[5] Similar disposals of land are referred to also in the Damodarpur inscriptions.[6]

The constitution of a *vishay-ādhikaraṇa*, meant for the transaction of affairs of a *vishaya*, seems to have been different from that of the *adhisṭhān-ādhikaraṇa*. It had only a senior member (*jyēshṭh-ādhikaraṇika*)[7] at the head, who was sometimes the senior registrar (*jyēshṭha-kāyastha*).[8] As the affairs of this *adhikaraṇa* were probably less complex, no mention is made of a *śrēshṭhin*, *kulika* or *sārthavāha* as its member. Disposal of village lands was made by this *adhikaraṇa* evidently with the approval of the head of the district.[9] Details are not available about the constitution of the *vīthy-adhikaraṇa*. Its functions were probably similar to those of the *vishay-ādhikaraṇa* and its jurisdiction was confined to a *vīthi*.

Another *adhikaraṇa* referred to in inscriptions is the *ashṭakul-ādhikaraṇa*. This has been explained as an officer having supervising authority over eight *kulas*, the word *kula* being taken to mean either a family or as much ground as can be ploughed by two ploughs, each drawn by 6 bulls.[10] The appointemnt of rural officers each for supervision of eight families or a small area of

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[1] Above, Vol. XV, pp. 130 ff.

[2] Cf. U. N. Ghosal, op. cit., pp. 203 ff. [The board of administration seems to have worked like a Pañchāyat, the *Nagaraśrēshṭhin* being its chairman. The *Nagarśeṭh* (i.e. *Nagaraśrēshṭhin*) heading the Pañchāyat is known from the history of Rajasthan. See *Journal of the University of Gauhati*, Vol. VI, pp.81 ff.—Ed.]

[3] V. A. Smith, loc. cit.; J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, London, 1877. pp. 86 ff.

[4] Above, Vol. XV, pp. 130 ff.

[5] Ibid., Vol. XX, pp. 61 ff.

[6] Ibid., Vol. XV, pp. 130 ff.

[7] Ibid., Vol. XVIII, p. 76.

[8] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, 1910, pp. 200, 204.

[9] But see above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 54-55.

[10] Ibid., Vol. XV, p. 137 f.n. 2.

land in each village does not seem to be a plausible conjecture. Even if such a necessity existed in villages, the purpose might well have been served by the *mahattaras*. Moreover, if it really signifies a village officer, whether for the supervision of different plots of agricultural lands or for the supervision of households, the number of such officers in each village must have been more than one. In the Dhanaidaha plate, the word is used as a neuter singular and seems to signify a corporate body invested with definite administrative powers rather than individual officers. *Grām-āshṭakul-ādhikaraṇa* thus appears to be a board composed of eight *kulas* for the administration of village affairs. Dr. Sircar interprets the expression as a 'Village Board' representing eight or more families.[1] The compound *mahattar-ādy-ashṭa-kul-ādhikaraṇa* in the Damodarpur copper-plate inscription No. 3[2] indicates that at least one of the constituents, of which the *ashṭa-kulādhikaraṇa* was composed, was represented by the *mahattaras*. The term *kula* in the compound *ashṭakul-ādhikaraṇa* should thus be better interpreted as a 'community'.[3] The other constituents of the *ashṭakul-ādhikaraṇa* must have represented other village communities, although it is not possible to ascertain at present what they exactly were.

In the said Damodarpur inscription, a notification is addressed by the *ashṭakul-ādhikaraṇa* and other people of Palāśavṛindaka to the people of Chaṇḍagrāma for the sale and grant of a plot of land. It seems that the administration of the affairs of all these villages remained with the same *ashṭakul-ādhikaraṇa* which was located at Palāśavṛindaka. It is therefore reasonable to assume that these *adhikaraṇas* were appointed over convenient groups of neighbouring villages for transaction of their affairs somewhat like the Union Boards of the present day.

The different classes of *adhikaraṇa* as discussed above were instituted in accordance with the requirements of respective territorial divisions. The largest territorial division under the Gupta administration was *bhukti* which was divided into a number of *vishayas*.[4] A *vīthī* seems to have been a sub-division of a *vishaya*[5] and consisted of a number of *maṇḍalas* or circles[6] or groups of villages.

It will be observed from what has been stated above that the procedure for the disposal of land consisted of the following: (1) presentation of the application for the purchase and grant of land by the intending purchaser to the local officer of the king, the local *adhikaraṇa* and the people of the locality; (2) verification of the statements made in the application by the record-keepers; (3) sanction of the sale and the grant on the recommendation of the record-keepers with the concurrence of the local people; (4) delivery of possession of the land to the grantees on payment of the sale price; (5) notification of the grant by the head of the local administration and the local *adhikaraṇa* to the residents of the villages in which the lands conveyed by the grant were situate and to the officers of Government who were concerned with the affairs for their information and guidance.

It is difficult to form an accurate idea about the area of land which was conveyed by the document under review. Various attempts have been made to fix the area of a *kulyavāpa*. It is now generally accepted that it denotes an area of land on which one *kulya* of grain could be sown. One *kulya* of grain has been interpreted by Dr. Bhattasali to be as much as can be contained

[1] *IHQ*, Vol. XIX, p. 16.

[2] Above, Vol. XV, p. 136.

[3] For *kula* used in this sense, cf. also R. C. Majumdar, *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, p. 231. [The expression *Mahattar-ādi* may mean that the *Mahattara* or village-headman was the chairman of the board.—Ed.]

[4] Above, Vol. XV, pp. 130 ff.

[5] Ibid., Vol. XVII, p. 318; N.G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 71.

[6] Ibid., Vol. XX, p. 61.

in a winnowing basket.[1] Dr. Sircar invites attention to the following measures of paddy accepted as the basis of their calculation by the *Smriti* authorities of the Bengal school :

8 mushṭis (handfulls of grain)	1 kuñchi
8 kuñchis	1 pushkala
8 pushkalas	1 āḍhaka
4 āḍhakas	1 drōṇa
8 drōṇas	1 kulya

" A *drōṇa* of paddy ", he observes "is equal in the modern measure to 1 md. 24 srs. or 2 mds. The land required for sowing the seedlings of one *kulya* of paddy was no doubt called a *kulyavāpa* (cf. *Amarakōsha*, Vaiśya 10). As the present Bengal rate is seedlings of 1 md. of paddy for 10 *bighās*, seedlings of one *kulya* of paddy would require between 125 and 160 *bighās*. A *kulyavāpa* was thus originally not less than 125 *bighās*. If it is supposed that the system refers not to transplantation but to sowing of seeds, one *kulyavāpa* would be from 38 to 48 *bighās* as the rate is 1 md. of paddy seeds for 3 *bighās*."[2]

One *mushṭi* or handful of paddy will weigh about 7½ *tolas*. One *kulya* of paddy will thus amount to about 10 mds. 8 srs. In North Bengal, half a maund of paddy seeds is usually required for sowing a *bighā* of land, and so, on this assumption, a *kulyavāpa* of land appears to be no less than 38½ *bighās*. On the contrary, Dr. Bhattasali[3] points out that the name *kulyavāpa* survives in the form of *kulavāya*, which is the name of the local standard land measure in the Sylhet District, being equivalent to 14 *bighās* only. In the opinion of Pargiter the area was far less, being only a little larger than an acre.[4]

Whatever might be the process by which the area of land in a *kulyavāpa* was originally determined, it must have been definitely fixed, although it could have varied in different localities according to the prevalent custom. This area is frequently referred to in inscriptions as having been measured by reeds. In some localities its dimensions are referred to as being measured by 8×9 reeds,[5] while in other localities by 6×6[6] reeds. The reeds consisted of a number of cubits, which also varied according to the lengths of the hand of individuals in different localities.[7] Even the number of cubits in a reed might have varied in different localities. The quantity of land in a *kulyavāpa* was therefore not the same everywhere.

As regards the situation of the land, Dr. Sircar observes: " The Vāṭānadī of the inscription may be the present Bārānai flowing west to east through the southern part of the Rajshahi District. The name of the Śriṅgavēra *vīthī* seems to be preserved in that of the modern Siṅgrā Police Station in the Natore Subdivision of the same District, situated about 10 miles to the north-east of the junction of the Bārānai and the Ātrāi. .... the other localities mentioned in the Kalaikuri inscription .... may be searched for about the southern bank of the Bārānai."[8]

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[1] Ibid., Vol. XVIII, p. 79, f.n. 2. [See below.—Ed.]

[2] *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 501. [See *Bhāratakaumudī*, Part II, Allahabad, 1947, pp. 943 ff.—Ed.]

[3] Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 79 f.n. 2; also *Bhāratavarsha*, 1349 B. S., Vol. XXX, pt. 1, p. 384. [For the later modifications of *kulyavāpa* and *dronavāpa*, see *Bhāratakaumudī*, loc. cit. The area of a *kulyavāpa* as suggested by Pargiter is impossible in view of the price quoted and the high purchasing power of a Gupta gold coin.—Ed.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, 1910, pp. 215-16.

[5] Above, Vol. XV, p. 136.

[6] Ibid., Vol. XX, p. 63.

[7] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, 1910, pp. 215-16.

[8] *IHQ*, Vol. XIX, p. 20.

It will, however, be noted in this connection that the donation referred to in the inscription was made in favour of Brāhmaṇas who belonged to Puṇḍravarddhana, the site of which has now been definitely identified with Mahāsthān in the Bogra District.[1] It will therefore be reasonable to look for the situation of the grant as near the residence of the donees as possible.[2] The lands conveyed by the document lay in Hastiśīrsha, Vibhītakī, Dhānyapāṭalikā and Gulmagandhikā, all belonging to the Gōhāli *maṇḍala* of the Śṛiṅgavēra *vīthī*. There is a place called Siṅgāhār about 20 miles to the south-west of Mahāsthān. *Siṅgāhār* might be a corruption of *Śṛiṅgavēra*. About 7 miles to the east of Siṅgāhār is a village called Gōhāli. About a couple of miles to the north of Siṅgāhār is a village called Beheegaon, which might be a corruption of Vibhītakī. About 4 miles to the north-east of Beheegaon is a village called Hātsarā which might be the old Hastiśīrsha. The village of Dhānyapāṭalikā appears to have stood on the bank of the Vāṭā. The only river in the locality is a small stream called Nāgar, an offtake of the Karatōyā. About 3 miles to the north of Hātsarā is a village called Dhānpūjā on the Nāgar river. Is it the modern representative of Dhānyapāṭalikā ? I am unable to locate Gulmagandhikā.

TEXT[3]

Obverse

1 Svasti [||*] **Śṛiṅgavēra**-vaithēya-**Pūrṇṇak[au]śikāyāḥ** Āyuktak[ō]=chyutadāsō=dhikaraṇañ =cha **Hastiśīrshē [Vibhītak]yāṁ [Gu]lma[gandhi]-**

2 **kāyāṁ Dhānyapāṭalikāyāṁ** sa-**Gōhālishu**[4] Brāhmaṇ-ādīn=grāma-kuṭumbi[naḥ k]u-śalam=anuvarṇya bōdhyanti [|*] [vi]ditam=bō(taṁ vō)

3 bhavishyati[5] yathā iha-vīthī-Kulika-Bhīma-Kāyastha-Prabhuchandra-Rudradāsa-Dēvadatta-Lakshmaṇa-Kā[ntidē]va-Śambhudatta-Kṛishṇa-

4 dāsa-Pustapāla-Siṅha(Siṁha)nandi-Yaśōdāmabhiḥ Vīthī-mahattara-Kumāradēva-Gaṇḍa-Pra-jāpati-Uma-Yaśarāma[6] śarmma-Jyēshṭha-

5 dāma[7]-Svāmichandra-Harisiṅha(siṁha)-kuṭumbi-Yaśōvishṇu-Kumāravishṇu-Kumārabhava-Kumārabhūti-Kumāra-Ya[śōgu]pta-Vailina[ndi ?[8]]-

6 Śivakuṇḍa-Vasuśiv-Āparaśiva-Dāmarudra-Prabhumitra[9]-Kṛishṇamitra-Maghaśarmma[10]-Iśvarachandra-Rudra-Bhavanā[tha]. .[11]

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[1] See above, Vol. XXI, p. 88.

[2] [There are numerous instances to prove this assumption to be definitely wrong. There can moreover hardly be any doubt about the identification of *Vāṭā-nadī* with the present *Bārānai*.—Ed.]

[3] From the original plate.

[4] [Possibly *Saṁgōhālishu* or *Sagōhālishu*.—Ed.]

[5] [Better *bhavatu*.—Ed.]

[6] Read *Yaśōrāma*. [Better *Umayaśō-Rāmaśarma*°.—Ed.]

[7] [The reading is °*dō(dā)ma*.—Ed.]

[8] [The *akshara* does not look like *ndi*.—Ed.]

[9] [The reading is *Prabha*° ; cf. *Prabhuchandra* in line 3 and *Bhavadatta* in line 8.—Ed.]

[10] [The rules of *sandhi*, which is compulsory in a compound, have not been observed here.—Ed.]

[11] [The reading seems to be *Rudrabhava-Svāmi*[*dēva*].—Ed.]

7 Śrīnātha-Hariśarmma-Guptaśarmma-Suśarmma-Hari[1]-Alātasvāmi-Brahmasvāmi-Mahāsēna-bhaṭṭa-Shashṭhirā[ma][2]-Gu....[śa]-

8 rmma[1]-Uṇṭaśarmma-Kṛishṇadatta-Nandadāma-Bhavadatta-[1]Ahiśarmma-Sōmavishṇu-Lakshmaṇaśar[mma].......Dhaivvaka[3]-Kshēmasarmma-Śu-

9 kkraśarmma-Sa[rppa]pālita-Kaṅkuṭi-Viśvaśaṅkara[4]-Jayasvāmi-Kaivarttaśarmma-Himaśarmma-Pu[ra]ndara-[Ja]yavishṇu[1]-Uma......

10 Siṅha(Siṁha)tta[5]-Bōnda-Nārāyana(ṇa)dāsa-Vīranāga-Rājyanāga-Guha-Mahı-Bhavanātha-Guhavishṇu-Śarvva-Ya[śō]vishṇu-Taṅka[6]-Kuladāma .... va-

11 Śrīguhavishṇu[7]-Rāmasvāmi-Kāmanakuṇḍa-Ratibhadra[8]-Achyutabhadra-Lōḍhaka-Prabhu[9]-kīrtti-Jayada[ra][10]-Kā[11].... -[8]Achyuta-Naradēva-Bhava-

12 Bhavarakshita-Pichchakuṇḍa-Pravarakuṇḍa-Śarvvadāsa-Gōpāla-purōgāḥ vayaṁ cha vijñāpitāḥ iha-vīthyām=apratikara-khila-kshētra-

13 sya śaśvat-kāl-ōpabhōgāy=ākshaya-nīvyā dvi-dīnārikya-khila-kshētra-kulyabā(vā)pa-vikraya-maryādayā ichchhēmahi[12] prati

14 prati mātā-pitrōḥ puṇy-ābhivṛiddhayē Pauṇḍravarddhanaka-chāturvvēdya[13]-Vajēsanēya[14]-charaṇ-ābhyantara-Brāhmaṇa-Dēva-

15 bhaṭṭa[8]-Amaradatta-Mahāsēnadattānāṁ pañcha-mahāyajña-pravarttanāya nava-kulyabā-(vā)pān=krītvā dātuṁ(tum) ēbhir=ēv=ōpa-

16 ri[15]-nirddishṭaka-grāmēshu khila-kshetrāṇi vidyantē tad=arhath=āsmattaḥ ashṭādaśa-dīnārān=gṛihīt[v]ā ētān=navakulyabā(vā)[pā]-

Reverse

17 ny=[16]anumōday[i]tu[ṁ] yataḥ ēshā[ṁ] Kulika-Bhīm-ādīnāṁ vijñāpyam=upalabhya Pustapāla-Siṅha(Siṁha)nandi-Yaśō[dāmnōś=ch=ā]-

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[1] [The rules of *sandhi* which is compulsory in a compound have not been observed here.—Ed.]

[2] [The reading of the name is doubtful.—Ed.]

[3] [The reading seems to be *Kānti-Dhōvvōka*.—Ed.]

[4] [Better *Viśva-Śaṅkara*.—Ed.]

[5] [The name intended may be Siṁhadatta.—Ed.]

[6] [The reading is *Ṭakka*.—Ed.]

[7] [The name seems to be *Guhavishnu*, the previous name ending in *śrī*.—Ed.]

[8] [The rules of *sandhi* have not been observed here.—Ed.]

[9] [The reading is *Prabha*°.—Ed.]

[10] [The reading seems to be °*datta*.—Ed.]

[11] [The reading seems to be *Kāluka*.—Ed.]

[12] [The word *ichchhāmaḥ* appears to suit the context.—Ed.]

[13] [The reading is *chāturvvidya*.—Ed.]

[14] [The reading seems to be *vājisanēya* which is a mistake for *vājasanēya*.—Ed.]

[15] [Read *ēbhir=ēv=ōpari*.—Ed.]

[16] [Read °*vapān=anu*°.—Ed.]

SULTANPUR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION

Obverse



SCALE ACTUAL SIZE

Reverse



18 **vadhāraṇay**=āvadhṛitō=[1]sty=ayam=iha-vīthyām=apratikara-khila-kshēttrasya śaśvat-kāll-ōpabhōgāy=ākshayanīvyā dvi-dīnā-

19 **rikya**-kulyabā(vā)pa-vikkrayō=nuvṛittas=tad=dīyatāṁ n=āsti virōdhaḥ kaśchid=ity=ava-sthāpya Kulika-Bhīm-ādibhyō ashṭādaśa[2]-

20 dīnārān=upasaṁha(saṁha)ritakān=āyīkṛitya **Hastiśīrsha-Vibhītakyāṁ**[3] **Dhānyapāṭa-likā-[Gulma]gandhikā**-grāmēshu ....

21 **dyāṁ** dakshiṇ-ōddēśēshu ashṭau kulyabā(vā)pāḥ **Dhānyapāṭalikā**-grāmasya paśchim-ōttar-ōddēśē [ā]dyakhāta-parikhā-vēshṭita-

22 **m=uttarēṇa Vāṭā-nadī[ṁ]** paśchimēna **Gulmagandhikā**-grāma-sīmīnam=iti kulyabāpam=ēkō[4] Gulmā(lma)gandhikāyāṁ pūrvvē-

23 ṇ=ādyapathaḥ paśchima-pradēśē Drōṇabā(vā)pa-dvayaṁ **Hastiśīrsha**-prāvēśya-**Tāpasa. [pōtta]kē Dayitāpōttakē** cha **Vi-**

24 **bhītaka**-prāvēśya-**Chitravātaṅgarē** yāva[t*][5] kulyabā(vā)pāḥ sapta Drōṇabā(vā)pāḥ **shat** ēshu yath=ōpari-nirddishṭaka-grāma-pra-

25 dēśēshv=ēshāṁ Kulika-Bhīma-Kāyastha-Prabhuchandra-Rudradās-ādīnāṁ mātā-pitrōḥ puṇy-ābhivṛiddhayē Brāhmaṇa-

26 **Dēvabhaṭṭasya** kulyabā(vā)pāḥ pañcha ku 5 Amaradattasya kulyabā(vā)pa-dvayaṁ **Mahāsēnadattasya** kulyabā(vā)[pa-dvayaṁ]

27 **ku** 2 ēshāṁ trayāṇām pañcha-mahāyajña-pravarttanāya nava-kulyabā(vā)pāni pradattāni[6] [|*] tad=yushmākaṁ ...... t-mi-

28 **ti**[7] **likhyatē** cha samupasthita-kālam=apy=anyē[8] Vishayapatayaḥ Āyuktakāḥ kuṭumbinō dhikaraṇikā vā sambya(saṁvya)va-

29 **hāriṇō** bhavishyanti tair=api bhūmi-dāna-phalam=avēkshya akshaya-nīvy=ānupālanīyā [|*] **Uktañ**=cha Mahābhāratē bhagava-

30 **tā Vyāsēna** [|*] Sva-dattāṁ paradattām=bā(ttāṁ vā) yō harē[ta] vasundharāṁ(rām) [|*] sa vishṭhāyāṁ krimir=bhūtvā pi[tṛibhiḥ] saha pa[chyatē] [||*] Shashṭiṁ(shṭi)-**varsha**- sahasrā[ṇi]

31 **svarggē** vasati bhūmidaḥ [|*] ākshēptā ch=ānuma[ntā] cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt [||*] **Kṛiśāya** kṛiśa-vṛittāya vṛitti-kshīṇāya sīda[tē] [|*] bhūmiṁ

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[1] [The reading is *dhṛitā*(*tō*).—Ed.]

[2] Read °*dibhyō=shṭādaśa* or °*dibhyaḥ ashṭādaśa*.

[3] Read *Vibhītakī*.°

[4] Read *kulyavāpam=ēkam*. [Read *tēshṭhānā=u(ta u)ttarēna Vāṭānadī........grama-sīmānam=iti* (*sīm=ēti*) *kulyabā(vā)pam=ē-* (*pa ē*)*kō*.—Ed.]

[5] [The letters read *yāva* appear to be written on an erasure and are doubtful.—Ed.]

[6] [Read *kulyavāpāḥ pradattāḥ*.—Ed.]

[7] [The reading appears to be *nivēdyati*(*tē*).—Ed.]

[8] [The reading may be *kālaṁ yē=apy=anyē*.—Ed.]

2 vṛittikarın=datvā s[ukh]ī bhavati kāmada[ḥ ||*] Bahubhir=vasudhā bhuktā bhujyatē cha punaḥ puna[ḥ] [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=[tasya ta]sya

33 tadā phalaṁ(lam ||) Pūrvva-dattāṁ dvijātibhyō yatnād=rakshya(ksha) Yudhisṭhira [|*] Mahīm=mahimatāṁ śrēshṭha dānāch=chhrēy=ōnupā[la]nam [||*] i[ti][1] [|*]

34 **Samvvat[2] 100 20 1[3] Vaiśākha-di 1** [|*]

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[1] [The reading seems to be *pālanam=iti* || Ed.]

[2] Read *saṁvat.*

[3] This numeral is left out in Sircar's transcript. The sign is distinct in the original. [The reading ... 1 seems be supported neither by the original nor by the impressions.—Ed.]

No. 10—UMACHAL ROCK INSCRIPTION OF SURENDRAVARMAN

(*1 Plate*)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND, AND P. D. CHAUDHURY, GAUHATI

One day about the middle of the year 1955, Mr. R. M. Nath, wellknown for his enthusiasm in the discovery and study of antiquities in Assam, when he was Principal of the Assam Civil Engineering Institute at Gauhati, went to see Swami Sivanandaji of the Umāchala Āśrama on the north-eastern slope of the Kāmākhyā or Nīlāchal hill near Gauhati. This part of the hill is known as the **Umāchal** hill. The Swamiji informed Mr. Nath that, due to the uprooting of a very old banyan tree several years back, a huge rock bearing an inscription in very bold characters had been exposed to view near his Āśrama. The information excited the curiosity of Mr. Nath who at once examined the inscription which was found to be in a perfectly satisfactory state of preservation. The rock bearing the inscription was found to measure about 10 feet in height and 12 feet in breadth and to lie about 300 feet above the level of the river Brahmaputra. Next day Mr. Nath again visited the Umāchala Āśrama and took photographs of the epigraph as well as its impressions on blotting paper. A gentleman named L. N. Das took considerable interest in the work. The impressions and photographs of the inscription were shown to the officers of the Assam State Museum, Gauhati. Later a photograph and an impression of the inscription were also sent for examination to the Government Epigraphist for India. The world of scholars is thankful to Swami Sivananda, Mr. R. M. Nath and Mr. L. N. Das for the discovery of this interesting epigraph.

The inscription consists of four lines of writing and covers a space measuring 12" to 15" by 10" to 11". The first line is 12" in length and the last 15". The **characters** belong to the Eastern **variety** of the Gupta Alphabet assignable to a period between the fourth and the sixth century A.D. The letters *m*, *l*, *s* and *h* are of the Eastern Gupta type. On palaeographical grounds, the inscription may be assigned to a date near about that of the Barganga inscription[1] of Bhūtivarman (*circa* 518-42 A.D.), with which it has very close resemblance in respect both of palaeography and style. The form of the letter *y* in the passage *āyushkāmaṁ vishay-ā°* in line 3 of the Barganga inscription, however, seems to be later than that of the same letter in *°svāmināya* in line 4 of our record. Interesting from the palaeographical point of view is the representation of the mute *m* in *kṛitam* in line 2 and of *b* by the sign for *v* in *Valabhadra* (line 3). The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. There is a grammatical error in the passage *bhagavataḥ Balabhadrasvāmināya* in lines 3-4, the intended reading apparently being either *bhagavataḥ Balabhadrasvāminaḥ* or *bhagavatē Balabhadrasvāminē*. It is clear that, for *°svāmināya*, Sanskrit *°svāminē* was the intended reading, although the word *bhagavataḥ* suggests that the scribe had originally *°svāminaḥ* in mind. Of **orthographical** interest are the retention of the mute *m* before *bh* in the passage *kṛitam bhagavataḥ* (lines 2-3), the avoidance of *sandhi* in the passage *bhagavataḥ Balabhadra°* (line 3) and the change of the final *m* into *anusvāra* in *guhaṁ* (line 4) which is the concluding word of the record. The use of the word *guha* in the neuter, probably in the sense of Sanskrit *guhā*, ' cave ', is of **lexical** interest.[2]

The inscription was meant to serve the purpose of a label of an artificial cave (*guhā*) or cave-temple constructed by *Mahārājādhirāja* **Surēndravarman** for *Bhagavat* **Balabhadrasvāmin.**

[1] Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 62 ff. and Plate.

[2] The word *guha*, as used in the epigraph, does not appear to be derived from Sanskrit *griha* under the influence of local pronunciation.

The epigraph is small ; but its contents have some importance in view of the fact that *Mahārājādhirāja* Surēndravarman, known from this record to have held sway over the heart of the Prāgjyōtisha or Kāmarūpa country during the age of the Imperial Guptas, is not known from any other source, while the deity *Bhagavat* Balabhadrasvāmin is not mentioned in any epigraphic record of the Gupta period so far known. The construction of artificial caves and the installation of deities therein are wellknown to the students of Indian history and epigraphy.[1] But the present inscription supplies the only instance of the kind for Assam. The record also appears to be the earliest so far discovered in that State.

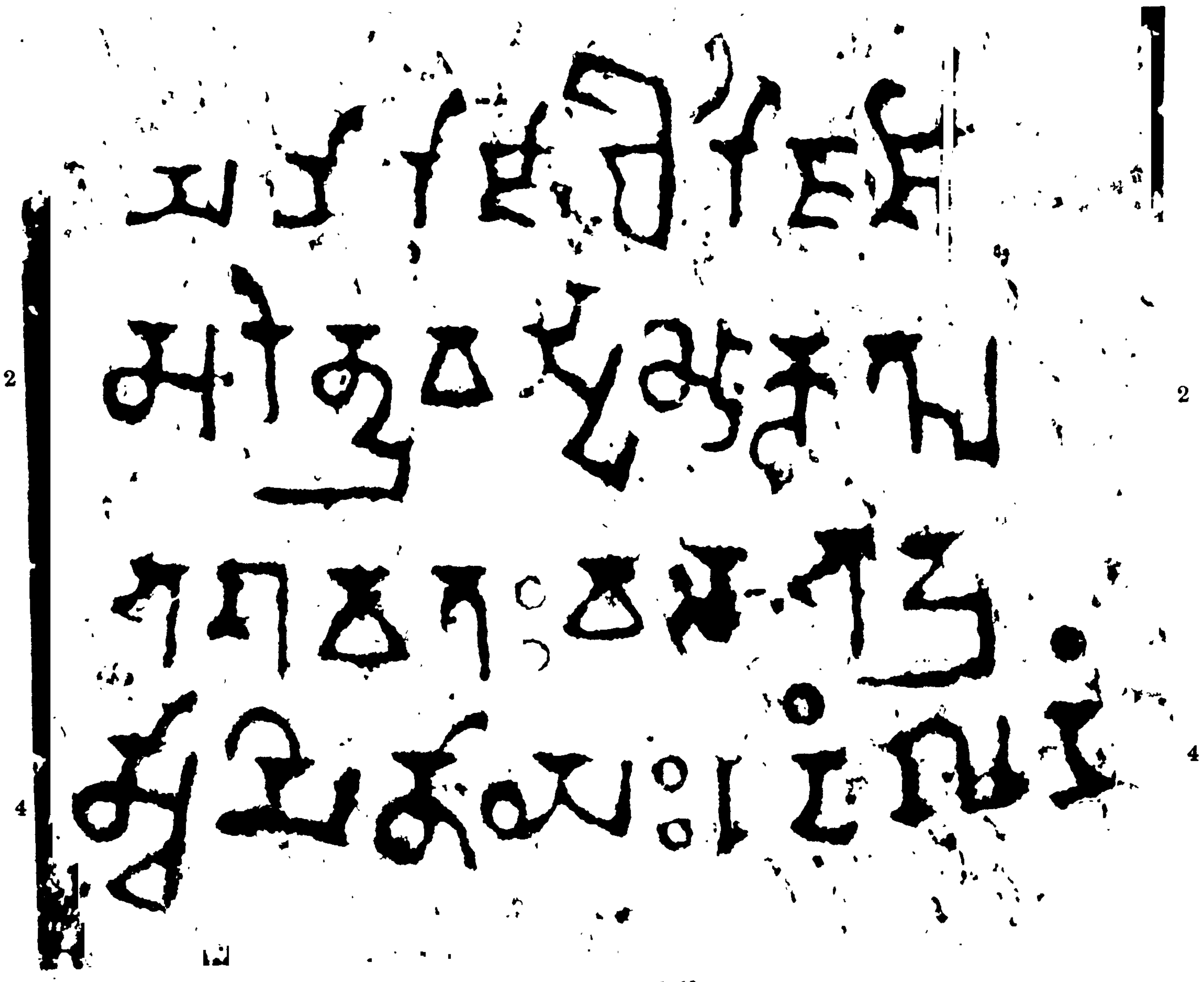
We know that, from the middle of the fourth till the middle of the seventh century, Prāgjyōtisha or Kāmarūpa was under the rule of kings of a family called Bhauma or Nāraka and rarely also Varman. This dynasty was founded by Pushyavarman who seems to have flourished in *circa* 350-74 A.D. His successors were his son Samudravarman (*c.* 374-98 A.D.), grandson Balavarman (*c.* 398-422 A.D.), great-grandson Kalyāṇavarman (*c.* 422-46 A.D.) and great-great-grandson Gaṇapativarman (*c.* 446-70 A.D.). Gaṇapativarman's successor was Mahēndravarman (*c.* 470-94 A.D.) whose son Nārāyaṇavarman (*c.* 494-518 A.D.) and grandson Bhūtivarman or Mahābhūtavarman (*c.* 518-42 A.D.) were both performers of the horse-sacrifice. The Barganga inscription, which, as already noticed, seems to be slightly later than the record under review, was incised during the reign of the said Bhūtivarman. It therefore appears that the Umāchal rock inscription was engraved during the reign of one of the said rulers of the Bhauma-Nāraka dynasty. It has to be remembered that the Umāchal hill lies within a short distance from Gauhati where (or, in the vicinity of which) the capital of the Bhauma-Nāraka kings is believed to have been situated.[2] The question is therefore whether Surēndravarman of the present record was identical with one of the above kings or he was a usurper. In the latter case, we have to determine whether he was a scion of the Bhauma-Nāraka dynasty or belonged to a different family. None of these questions can be settled satisfactorily in the present state of insufficient information. Since, however, in ancient India kings often enjoyed a number of different names, it may not be unreasonable to identify Surēndravarman of our inscription with one of the known rulers of the Bhauma-Nāraka dynasty, who flourished about the fifth century. Since again, in ancient India, kings were sometimes mentioned by synonyms of their names, Surēndravarman may be tentatively identified with Mahēndravarman of the Bhauma-Nāraka dynasty who flourished in *c.* 470-94 A.D. The names *Surēndra* and *Mahēndra* both indicate Indra, the lord of the gods.

As regards *Bhagavat* Balabhadrasvāmin, for whom king Surēndravarman is stated in the record to have built an artificial cave or cave-temple, it may be argued that he was a saint held by the monarch in special esteem. It is, however, more likely that *Bhagavat* Balabhadrasvāmin of the present inscription is no other than the wellknown Vaishnavite deity variously called Balabhadra, Baladēva, Balarāma, Saṅkarshaṇa, etc. He was one of the five deified heroes of the Yādava-Sātvata-Vṛishṇi clan, the others being Vāsudēva (Kṛishṇa), Pradyumna, Aniruddha and Sāmba. Of these, Vāsudēva, Balabhadra-Saṅkarshaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha came to be worshipped as the four *Vyūhas* by the followers of the Bhāgavata or Pāñcharātra form of early Vaishnavism, although Balabhadra-Saṅkarshaṇa and Vāsudēva were the more respected among the four. There is enough evidence regarding the independent worship of Balabhadra in the period before the rise of the Imperial Guptas in the fourth century A.D. The inscriptions of the Gupta age do not refer to his independent worship although the *Vyūha* doctrine finds a prominent place in the Pāñcharātra *Saṁhitās*, some of which were composed between the fourth and eighth centuries. The *Amarakōsha*, composed during this period, speaks of all the four *Vyūhas*.

[1] Cf. *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 221ff., 223 ff., 226 ff.

[2] Cf. P. N. Bhattacharya, *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, intro., pp. 8, 22 ; above, Vol. XXX p. 292,

UMACHAL ROCK INSCRIPTION OF SURENDRAVARMAN



Scale one half

A modified form of the *Vyūha* doctrine is also noticed in the joint worship of Balabhadra, Kṛishṇa and Ekānaṁśā (or, Subhadrā), their combined image being referred to by Varāhamihira in the sixth century A.D. Gradually Balabhadra came to be regarded as one of the *Avatāras* of Vishṇu.[1] The importance of the Umāchal rock inscription therefore lies in the fact that it testifies to the independent worship of Balabhadra in Assam about the fifth century A.D. Thus it appears that, even though the independent worship of this Vaishnavite deity was no longer popular, it did not die out in the Gupta age.

TEXT[2]

1 Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-

2 **Surēndravarmmaṇā** kṛitam

3 bhagavataḥ Valabhadra-

4 svāmināya[3] idaṁ guhaṁ[4] [||*]

TRANSLATION

This cave (i.e. cave-temple) of the most worshipful Balabhadrasvāmin is constructed by the illustrious *Mahārājādhirāja* Surēndravarman. (Or—This cave-temple has been built by the illustrious *Mahārājādhirāja* Surēndravarman for the most worshipful Balabhadrasvāmin.)

[1] For the worship of Balabhadra, see *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. II (*The Age of Imperial Unity*), pp. 447 ff.; ibid., Vol. III (*The Classical Age*), p. 418.

[2] From impressions.

[3] Read either *Balabhadrasvāminaḥ* or *bhagavatē Balabhadrasvāminē*.

[4] In correct Sanskrit: *iyaṁ guhā*.

No. 11—TEHRI PLATE OF CHANDELLA TRAILOKYAVARMAN, SAMVAT 1264

(*1 Plate*)

SANT LAL KATARE, NAGPUR

This plate was discovered in 1943 by Pandit Govind Sitaram Harshe of the Lakshmipura *Mohalla* of Saugar, Madhya Pradesh, while he was digging a pit in his house. **Tehri** (old Ṭiharī) whence the grant was issued[1] is associated with Bānapur and called Tihari or Tehrī-Bānapur by the local people. It was formerly included in the Orchhā State of Bundelkhand, but now forms part of Vindhya Pradesh. It is situated at the eastern end of the State near the borders of U. P. The plate now belongs to the Central Museum, Nagpur. Dr. S. S. Patwardhan, Curator of the Museum, very kindly sent me at my request its photograph and permitted me to edit the inscription in this journal.[2] Dr. Patwardhan informs me that, when the plate was received, it was bent vertically in the middle and had to be straightened before its impression or photograph could be taken. Except a small portion of the metal broken off on the left lower corner, the plate is in a satisfactory state of preservation.

The inscription was edited by B. M. Barua and P. B. Chakravarti in the ***Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society***, Vol. XXIII (1947), pp. 46 ff., from an inked impression supplied to them by Sattase Vaidya of Saugar. But their treatment of the record is not quite satisfactory.[3]

The **single** plate, which is engraved on one side only, is very thick and heavy. It measures 14½" by 10½" and weighs 275 *tolas*. In the centre of the plate, at the top, dividing the first four lines of the inscription, is engraved the figure of seated Gaja-Lakshmī which is found on all Chandēlla records so far published. There are small holes at the edges on all sides of the plate, which show that a small copper band was rivetted round it to protect the writing; but it has fallen off. This surmise is confirmed by the fact that, in another plate of Trailōkyavarman, a similar copper-band rivetted on the four sides of the plate has been found intact.[4] This method of providing protection to the writing appears to have been at times adopted instead of the one of raising the edges The letters are well preserved except in the middle of the plate where it was bent, thereby damaging or deforming them in the area affected by the bend. The letters are not of the same size throughout. The first six lines are written in large letters, each measuring about ⅜ of an inch; but from the seventh line the letters become smaller and in the last two or three lines they are reduced almost to half the size. As much of the space available on the plate was in the beginning covered by a small portion of the text, the rest of the document was crammed into a much smaller space.

The **characters** are Dēvanāgarī of the thirteenth century. The forms of *v* and *ch* are similar, as in *Chaṁdrātrēya* and *vaṁśa* in line 1. The consonant *b* has been indicated by the sign for *v*. There are in all 19 lines of writing. As for **orthography**, the consonants *d, g, v, l, p,* and *m* following a superscript *r* are generally doubled, as in *Madanavarmmadēva* in line 3 and *Paramarddidēva* in line 4, etc. *Anusvāra* has replaced the class nasal in *Narēṁdra* and *chaṁdra* (line 1), but not in *mandira* (line 15) and elsewhere. The text has comparatively few mistakes as contrasted with other Chandēlla grants.[5]

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[1] [The inscription should better have been named either as the Saugor plate after its find-spot or as the Maṇḍāura grant after the gift village.—Ed.]

[2] The epigraph is noticed in *A.R. Ep.*, 1946-47, p. 2.

[3] The names *Sihaḍauṇi*, *Vaḍavāri* and *Mamdāura* in line 7 have been read respectively as *Siṁhaḍauṇi*, *Vaṭuvāri* and *Maṁdā(p)ura*. The Gaja-Lakshmī figure on the plate has been wrongly taken to be the god Śiva in *siddhāsana*

[4] Above, Vol. XVI, p. 272.

[5] For some of the Chandēlla grants full of mistakes, see above, Vol. XX, pp. 129, 133 and 135.

The epigraph opens as usual with the praise of the Chandrātrēya or Chandēlla royal family. After making a reference to Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti, who are known to have been the real founders of the Chandēlla power and after the first of whom the Chandēlla kingdom was called **Jējākabhukti**, the grant describes three Chandēlla kings, viz. Madanavarman, Paramardidēva and Trailōkyavarman. *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara* **Trailōkyavarman** is described as *Paramamāhēśvara* and *Kālañjar-ādhipati* (lord of Kālañjara). The name of Yaśōvarman, who, according to the Baṭēśvar inscription[1], was the father of Paramardidēva, is omitted here as in records like the Garra plates of Trailōkyavarman[2] and Mahoba plates of Paramardidēva.[3] The charter was issued by Trailōkyavarman when he was residing at Ṭiharī and records his gift of the village **Maṇḍāura**, situated in the **Vaḍavāri** *vishaya*, to *Nāyaka* Kulēśarman who hailed from the village of Raikaura. It seems that the announcement of the grant was made at the **Sihaḍauṇi** military camp (*Sihaḍauṇi-samyē*).[4] The grantee was the son of *Nāyaka* Gayādhara, grandson of *Rāuta* Sīhaḍa and great-grandson of *Rāṇaka* Naugrahaṇa. He belonged to Vatsa-**gōtra** having the five *pravaras*, viz., Vatsa, Bhārgava, Chyavana, Aurvva and Jāmadagnya, and was a student of the Vājasanēya *śākhā*.

The epigraph cites the following date both in words and numerical figures: **V.S. 1264, Bhādrapada-vadi 2, Friday.** If the year is taken as expired, the details of the date correspond regularly to the **29th August, 1208 A.D.**

The earliest date of Trailōkyavarman known from the Garra grant is Friday, April 22, 1205 A.D.[5] He appears to have ascended the throne shortly after the death of his father Paramardidēva in April 1202 A.D. during the seige of Kālañjara by Quṭb-ud-dīn Aibak.[6] There is no agreement among Muslim chroniclers regarding either the date or the course of events of the seige of **Kālañjara**.[7] I am in favour of accepting Monday, the 20th Rajab (*Hisābi*), 599 A.H., corresponding to April 15, 1202 A.D., as the correct date of the capture of the fort by the Muslims. Paramarddin was dead before the fort was captured by the Muslims and the peace with the invaders was then concluded by his son and successor Trailōkyavarman.

Shortly after his accession, Trailōkyavarman seems to have launched an attack upon the Turks, with whom, according to his Garra plates, a battle was fought at Kakaḍādaha, in which *Rāuta* Pāpē, an officer of Trailōkyavarman, was killed. This is confirmed by an Ajayagarh inscription of the time of Vīravarman dated the 14th April, 1261 A.D., which states that Trailōkyavarman was 'like Vishṇu in lifting up the earth, immersed in the ocean formed by the streams of Turushkas.'[8] Trailōkyavarman had also to face an attack from a certain **Bhōjūka**, who, according to the Ajayagarh inscription of Bhōjavarman, 'seized with the frenzy of war, was rending the kingdom in two.'[9] This Bhōjūka was defeated and killed in a battle by Vāśēka, an officer of Trailōkyamalla whom the latter claims to have made 'again the ornament of princely families.'[10] The last known date of Trailōkyavarman, according to the Rewah plates of Harirājadēva, falls in V.S. 1298, Māgha (January-February 1241 A.D.),[11] if the Trailōkyavarman of this grant is regarded

[1] Above, Vol. I, pp. 207 ff.

[2] Ibid, Vol. XVI, pp. 272 ff.

[3] Ibid, pp. 9 ff.

[4] [The language of the record shows that Sihaḍauṇi was the name of an administrative or territorial unit in which the gift land was situated.—Ed.].

[5] Above, Vol. XVI, p. 273.

[6] Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 720-721.

[7] Hodivala, *Studies in Indo-Moslem History*, p. 183.

[8] Above, Vol. I, pp. 327, 329 (v. 7).

[9] Ibid., p. 337.

[10] Loc. cit.

[11] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 234 ff.

as identical with Chandella Trailōkyavarman. It seems, however, that he was the king who, according to Minhāj, fled from Kālañjara when it was attacked by Nusrat-ud-dīn Tāishī in A.H. 631 (1233 A.D.) during the reign of Iyaltimish. According to Minhāj, the king of Kālañjara was killed by the Turks when captured after a hot pursuit.[1] If this account of Minhāj is taken as correct, Trailōkyavarman of the above Rewah plates cannot be identified with the Chandēlla Trailōkyavarman.[2] Barring this record no inscription of the time of Trailōkyavarman bearing a date subsequent to 1213 A.D., the date of an Ajayagarh inscription,[3] has so far been found.

The following places are mentioned in the charter: Vaḍavāri-vishaya, Ṭiharī, Maṇḍāura, Sihaḍauṇi and Raikaura. Vaḍavāri appears to be the same as Vaḍavāḍa, mentioned in the Garra plates of Parmardidēva,[4] or Vaḍavāri of the Semra grant.[5] It has been identified with Beḍwāḍā in the Lalitpur Sub-division of the Jhānsī District of U.P.[6] Ṭibarī is the same as modern Tiharī or Tehri-Bānapur, near Tīkamgaṛh. Maṇḍāura is modern Madaora in the Lalitpur Sub-division. It is 28 miles south of Tīkamgaṛh and Tehri and almost at the same distance to the south-east of Lalitpur. Sihaḍauṇi is the same as Sīyaḍoṇī of inscriptions, identified[7] with Sīroṇ Khurd nearly 10 miles west-north-west of Lalitpur. I am unable to identify Raikaura.

TEXT

1 Ōṁ[8] svasti [|*] Jayaty=āhlādayan=viśvaṁ Viśvēśvara-śi[rō]-dhṛitaḥ | Chaṁdrātrēya-narēṁdrāṇāṁ vaṁśaś=Chaṁdva(dra) idā(v-ō)jjvalaḥ [||*]

2 Tatra pravarddhamānē virōdhi-vijaya-bhrājishṇu-Jayaśakti-Vijayaśakty-ādi-vīr-āvirbhāvabhāsva-

3 rē paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Madanavarmmadēva-pād-ānudhyātaparama-

4 bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Paramarddidēva-pād-ānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-ma-

5 hārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramamāhēśvara-śrī-Kālañjar-ādhipati-śrīmat-**Trailōkyavarmmadēvō** vi-

6 jayī [|*] Sa ēsha durvvipa(sha)hatara-pratāpa-tāpita-sakala-ripu-kulaḥ kulavadhūm=iva vasuṁdharān-nirākulāṁ paripālayann=a-

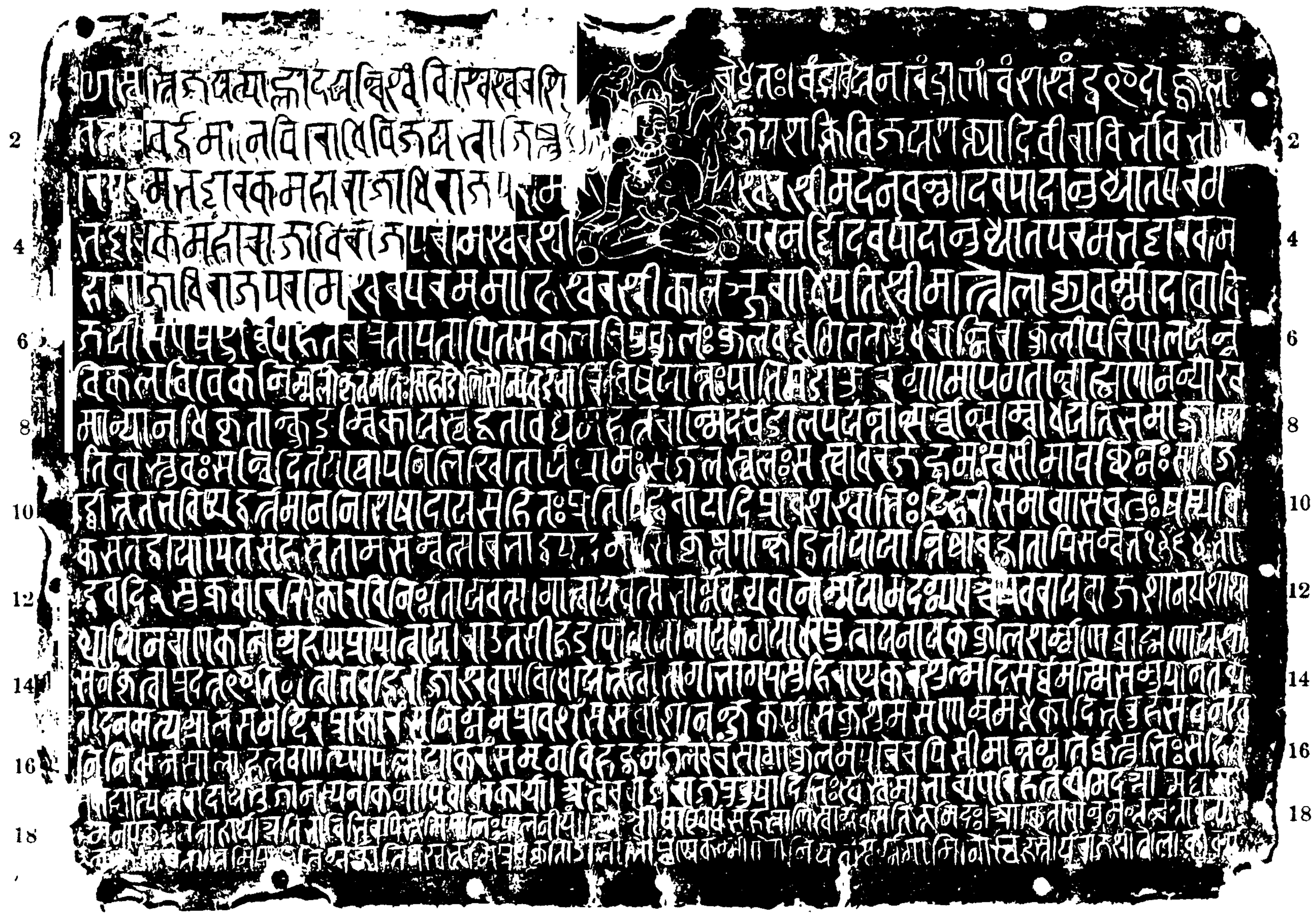
7 vikala-vivēka-nirmmalīkṛita-matiḥ **Sihaḍauṇi**-sainyē **Vaḍavāri**-vishay-āntaḥpāti-**Maṁḍāura**-gram-ōpagatān-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇān=anyāṁkha(ś=cha)

8 mānyān-adhikṛitān=kuṭumvi(mbi)-kāyastha-dūta-ve(vai)dya-mahattarān=Mēda-Chaṁḍālaparyantān=sarvvān=saṁvō(mbō)dhayati samājñāpaya-

9 ti ch=āstu vaḥ saṁvi (saṁvi)ditaṁ yath=ōparilikhitō=yaṁ grāmaḥ sa-jala-sthalaḥ sa-sthāvarajaṅga- maḥ sva-sīm-āvachchhinnaḥ s-ādha-[ū]-

[1] *Tabqāt-i-Nāṣirī* (tr. by Raverty), Vol. I, pp. 733-35.
[2] See, however, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 230-31; above, Vol. XXV, pp. 3 ff.
[3] *ASR*, Vol. XXI, p. 50.
[4] Above, Vol. XVI, pp. 275-277.
[5] Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 157.
[6] Ibid., Vol. XVI, p. 274.
[7] Ibid., Vol. I, p. 162. I am indebted to Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao for this reference.
[8] Expressed by symbol.

TEHRI PLATE OF CHANDELLA TRAILOKYAVARMAN, SAMVAT 1264



Scale three-fifths

10 rddhvō bhūta-bhavishyad-varttamāna-ni(niḥ)śēsh-ādāya-sahitaḥ pratishiddha-chāṭ-ādi-pravēśaś=ch=ā[smā*]bhiḥ **Ṭiharī**-samāvāsē **Chatuḥshashṭy-adhi-**

11 **ka-sa(śa)ta-dvay-ōpēta-saha[sra]tamē samva(saṁva)tsarē Bhādrapada-māsi kṛishṇa-pakshē dvitīyāyān**=**tithāv**=aṅkatō=pi **samvata(saṁvat) 1264 Bhā-**

12 **dra-vadi 2 Su(Śu)kra-vārē** Raikaura-vinirggatāya Vatsa-gōtrāya Vatsa-Bhārggava-Chyavan-Aurmma(rvva)-Yā(Jā)madagnya-pañcha-pravarāya Vājaśa(sa)nēya-śākh-ā-

13 dhyāyinē Rāṇaka-Naugrahaṇa-prapautrāya |[1] Rāuta-Sīhaḍa-pautrāya |[1] Nāyaka-Gayādhara-putrāya Nāyaka-Kulōśarmmaṇē Vrā(Brā)hmaṇāya śā

14 sanaṁ kṛitvā pradatta iti matvā bhavadbhir=ājñā-śravaṇa-vidhēyair=bhūtvā bhāga-bhōga-pasu(śu)-hiraṇya-kara-śulma(lk-ā)di-sarvvam=asmai samupanētavyaṁ(vyam |)

15 Tad=ēnam=asya grāmaṁ sa-mandira-prākāraṁ sa-nirggama-pravēśaṁ sa-sarvv-āśan-ēkshu-karppāsa-kuśu(su)ma-sa(śa)ṇ-āmra-madhūk-ādi-bhūruha[ṁ*] sa-vana-kha-

16 ni-nidhānaṁ sa-lōha-lavaṇa-tṛiṇa-parllā(rṇṇ-ā)dy-ākaraṁ sa-mṛiga-vihaṅgama-jalacharaṁ sa-gōkulam=aparair=api sīm-āntarggatair=vvastubhiḥ sahita[ṁ*]

17 sa-vā(bā)hy-ābhyantar-ādāyaṁ bhuṁjānasya na kēn=āpi vādhā kāryā | Atra cha rāja-rājapurush-ādibhiḥ svaṁ svam=ābhāvyaṁ pariharttavyaṁ(vya)m=idañ=ch=āsmad-dāma(na)-

18 m=anāchchhēdyam=anāhāryañ=ch=ēti bhāvibhir=api bhūmipālaiḥ pālanīyaṁ(yam) || Uktañ=cha || Shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē vasati bhūmidaḥ | āchchētā(ttā) v=ānumanta(ntā) cha tāny=ē-

19 va na[rakē vasēta(sēt)] || Bhūmiṁ yaḥ pratigṛihṇāti yas=tu bhūmiṁ prayachchati | ubhau tau puṇya-karmmā[ṇau*] niyataṁ svargga-gāminau [||*] Sva-hastō=yaṁ rāja-śrī-Trē-(Trai)lōkyavarmma[ṇaḥ || *]

[1] The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

No. 12—KONEKI GRANT OF VISHNUVARDHANA II

(*2 Plates*)

H. K. NARASIMHASWAMI, OOTACAMUND

This copper-plate record[1] was secured by Mr. G. C. Chandra, ex-Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Southern Circle, Madras, in the year 1940, when he was touring in the Guntur District. It was in the possession of the Tahsildar of the Palnad Taluk, to whom it was handed over by a farmer of Gurazāla, who is said to have discovered it while ploughing a field. Mr. Chandra made over the set of plates to the late Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamacharlu, the then Superintendent for Epigraphy. I edit it below with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India with whom the plates now lie.[2]

The set consists of **five** plates, each measuring 8 ¼″ by 2″ with a hole (½″in diameter) at their left margin, through which passes a circular copper ring, ⅜″ thick and about 3″ in diameter. The ends of the ring are soldered into a mass of copper shaped into a circular **seal** about 1¾″ across, which bears on its flattened surface the legend *Śrī-Vishamasiddhi* in a single line embossed in bold characters over the figure of a lotus in relief. Above the legend is a crescent, also embossed in high relief. The seal is similar to that of the Niḍupaṟu plates[3] except for the difference in the legend which in the latter reads *Śrī-Sarvvasiddhi*. The plates together with the ring and seal weigh 110 *tolas*.

The **characters** belong to the Southern variety and may be assigned to a date about the end of the 7th century A. D. The inscription is neatly engraved and is fairly well preserved except for some portions damaged on the last plate. Of the individual letters, the vowels *a*, *ā*, *i*, *ē* and *au* occur, *a* in lines 4 and 6, *ā* in line 45, *i* in lines 2 and 39 and *ē* in line 33. The medial sign for short *i* is indicated by a circular loop attached to the top of the letter as in *vi* in *vikramasya*, and its length is denoted by a sharp inward curve of the loop on its left side as in *śrī* in line 2 and *kī* in *kīrtti* in line 6. The aspirate *ph* is distinguished from *p* by a sharp inward bend of the right hand shaft of the letter, as in *phala* in lines 17 and 44 : *b* is of the closed type throughout ; the Dravidian *ḷ* occurs in lines 5 and 15 and *ṟ* in lines 29 and 38. The final *m* is written in a diminutive and cursive form and is shaped like an inverted interrogation mark with its right arm stretched upwards, as in *putrāṇām* (line 3) and *rājyānām* (line 4). The *rēpha* is denoted by a short vertical shaft attached right over the letter as in *audāryya* and *gāmbhīryya* (lines 1 and 12) ; but when it occurs in conjunction with the sign for *i* which is denoted by a circle attached to the top of the letter, it is written in two ways, viz., with the circle enclosing the shaft as in °*rtti* in *Kīrttivarmaṇaḥ* (line 6) and with the circle attached to the top of the shaft as in °*rddhi* in *visparddhita* (line 15).

The **language** of the charter is Sanskrit composed in prose throughout except for the minatory verses at the end of the document. As regards **orthography** the consonant after the *rēpha* is generally doubled except where the *rēpha* occurs due to sandhi as in *āyur=bala* (line 30). Minor errors in syntax (duly corrected in the body of the text itself) are met with in lines 22, 29, 33, etc.

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[1] C. P. No. 39 of 1940-41.

[2] I am indebted to my colleagues Messrs M. Venkataramayya and P. B. Desai for a number of useful suggestions they offered while I was preparing this article.

[3] Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 55.

The charter commences with a prayer invoking longevity, health and prosperity of the king and success in tne attainment of his desires. In the delineation of his forbears of the parent line, the record omits the name of Pulakēśin I after Raṇarāga although he appears to have been accounted for. Again, while describing the relationship of Kīrttivarman with Raṇarāga, the expression *praṇaptā* has been used wrongly for *naptā*. Vishṇuvardhana II, the donor, is correctly described as the *prapautra*, i.e. great-grandson, of Kīrttivarman.

The object of the grant is the gift of the village of **Koṇeki in Paḷḷirāshṭra** by **Mahārāja Vishṇuvardhana**, the son of Indravarma-mahārāja who is described with such epithets as *Tyāgadhēnu*, *Vigrahasiddhi*, *Siṁhavikrama* and *Rājalōkāśraya*[1] and as the brother of Jayasiṁha-vallabha. The gift is stated to have been made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in the month of Māgha for the longevity, success and prosperity of its issuer, i.e. king Vishṇuvardhana (line 30). It seems to have been committed to writing about eight months later, on the date recorded at the end of the grant, viz. regnal year 30 of Jayasiṁha, Āśvayuja śu. 10, Monday, Śravaṇa-nakshatra (lines 44-46). The recipient of the gift was Viduśarman of the Parāśara *gōtra*, Āpastamba *sūtra* and Taittirīya *charaṇa*, the Bōya of Kandēṛu and a resident of Ātukūru. He was the son of Mahāsēnaśarman who is described as a scholar of repute in the various branches of learning and is extolled as 'the very Vararuchi of the present day'[2] for his erudition in the exposition of the *āgamas*. Having received the gift village, Viduśarman seems to have divided it into 120 shares and distributed them in turn, among fifteen persons whose names and individual shares are specified in detail. Of them, the first four, namely Vishṇuśarman and his son Mādiśarman as well as Mahāsēnaśarman and his brother Dāmaśarman figure as the principal donees each getting 20 shares apiece, while the rest who figure as the *bōyas*[3] of specified villages are assigned shares ranging between one and six. The number of shares thus given to the donees comes to 114 only. Perhaps the remaining 6 shares that make up the total of 120 are those set apart as *dēvabhōga* (text line 31).

The king then enjoins not only upon the future rulers of his line but also upon the officials who were in charge of the village produce (*grāma-sambhav-ādhikṛitāḥ*) to protect the gift. These latter are specified as Dhanañjaya and others of the *Ayyaṇ-ānvaya*, i.e. lineage of Ayyaṇa.

Of considerable interest in the record are the details of the two dates, possibly specifying the respective occasions on which the gift was made and the deed registering the gift, subsequently committed to writing. A lunar eclipse in Māgha marked the occasion of the former and Āśvayuja śu. 10, Monday, Śravaṇa, in the 30th year of Jayasiṁha marked the latter. The latter, it may be noted, was the auspicious occasion of *Vijayadaśamī*. This rare citation of a double date, in a way, serves as an aid for arriving at the precise date of the record and therefore of the exact year of commencement of the Eastern-Chālukya rule which, according to Fleet, is c. 615 A.D and according to the latest calculations 624 A. D.[4] Since the charter is dated in the 30th year of Jayasiṁha, i.e. roughly the 47th year from the commencement of the Eastern-Chālukya rule, counting 17 full years of reign for Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana. the eighteenth regnal year being his last and perhaps also the first year of the reign of his successor Jayasiṁha, it would fall somewhere between 662 and 671 A. D. according as the initial year of the Eastern-Chālukya rule is taken as 615 or 624 A. D. In the range of years 662-671 A. D., that year in which a lunar eclipse

[1] Of the four epithets, *Tyāgadhēnu* and *Siṁhavikrama* are already known whereas *Vigrahasiddhi* and *Rājalōkāśraya* are introduced for the first time by the present record.

[2] The date of Vararuchi is disputed. Some scholars assign him to 500-350 B. C. and some place him in the Gupta period. The epithet *adyakāla-Vararuchi* applied to the donee's father Mahāsēnaśarman indicates that Vararuchi belonged to a remote past at the time of Jayasiṁha I, i.e. the 7th century A. D.

[3] Cf. *A. R. Ep.*, 1921-22, App. A., No. 2.

[4] *Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 49 ; *A. R. Ep.*, 1945-46, p. 3.

occurred in Māgha and the *tithi* śu. 10 of the succeeding Āśvayuja was a Monday would be the date of our record. During the period in question lunar eclipses in Māgha occurred in the years 668, 669 and 670 A. D. Leaving out of consideration the year 668 as improbable for the other date, viz., the date on which the record was committed to writing (the 10th day of the bright half of Āśvayuja), the month Āśvayuja of the year 668 having preceded Māgha in which the grant was made, we have to see whether the *tithi* of the succeeding Āśvayuja in the year 669 coincided with a Monday. The English equivalent for the details in this year works out to September 11, Monday, on which the *nakshatra* Śravaṇa was also current.[1] This much therefore can be said that on the date the grant was committed to writing, namely 11th September 669 A. D., the 30th regnal year of the king was current. Whether the lunar eclipse in Māgha in the preceding year, i.e. 668 A. D., also fell in the same regnal year, it is not possible to determine. The year 669 A. D. being thus the 30th year of reign of king Jayasiṁhavallabha, his initial year of reign will be 669—30=639-40 A. D. Deducting 17 years covering the reign of Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana from this, we get 639-40—17=**622-23 A.D. as the year of commencement of the Eastern Chālukya rule.**

A point arises here as to how Vishṇuvardhana II, with the title of *Mahārāja*, could issue a charter under his own royal seal bearing the legend *Vishamasiddhi*, during the very reign of his uncle Jayasiṁha. We know for certain that his own father Indravarman, whom he succeeded to the throne, ruled as king, although for a very short duration, and issued the Koṇḍanāgūru grant.[2] Vishṇuvardhana II calls himself the son of Indra-bhaṭṭāraka in his Pamiḍimukkala plates (second set)[3] which he issued in the 3rd year of his reign ; but in another, viz. his Pamiḍimukkala plates (first set)[4], which is undated, he is described as the son of Jayasiṁha. Some of the Eastern Chālukya grants assign to Jayasiṁha a reign of 30 years while the majority of them state that he ruled for 33 years. Whatever be the case, the fact remains that the plates under review belonged almost to the fag end of Jayasiṁha's reign. It is not improbable that, at this period of his life, the king associated in the regal duties, his nephew, Vishṇuvardhana with full authority even to issue royal grants as the one under review under his own seal. In lines 22-24, the record enumerates a number of officials who were all notified of the gift by an order of the king. Among them the mention of the *Taḷavara* is noteworthy. This reminds us of the *Mahātalavara* known from such records as the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions.[5] Among the village officials in South India, the *Talāri* or *Talayāri* holds even today a responsible post.

The village of **Koṇeki**, is stated to have been situated in **Paḷḷi-rāshṭra**. It can be identified with the village Kōṇaṅki, not far from Gurazāla in the Palnad Taluk, Guntur District. There is another village of the same name in the Narasaraopet Taluk of the same District. But as this village is far away from Gurazāla, the findspot of the plate, Kōṇaṅki in the Palnad Taluk seems to be the village intended. **Paḷḷi-rāshṭra**, in which the gift village lay, appears to be the ancient name of the modern Palnād. In inscriptions the name occurs variously as Pallināṇḍū,[6] Paḷḷināṇḍu[7] or Paḷḷidēśa,[8] and it is referred to as a 300-division. In Telugu literature, some *chāṭu* verses ascribed to Śrīnātha (c. 1385-1475 A.D.), the court poet of the Reḍḍi kings, give a graphic picture of this tract variously called Pallenāḍu, Palnāḍu and Palledēśamu.[9] It may be

[1] In calculating the details of the date I have followed the method suggested by L. D. Swamikannu Pillai in *An Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, part i. pp. 153 ff.

[2] Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 1 ff.

[3] *A. R. Ep.*, 1917, p. 115, para. 20 ; C. P. No. 15 of 1916-17.

[4] Ibid., C. P. No. 14 of 1916-17.

[5] Above, Vol. XX, p. 5 and p. 7 f.n.1.

[6] A. R. No. 334 of 1936-37.

[7] A. R No. 18 of 1941-42.

[8] A. R. No. 575 of 1909 ; *SII*, Vol. X, No. 66.

[9] V Prabhakara Sastri, *Śṛiṅgāra Śrīnāthamu*, pp. 237-238, 249.

incidentally noted that *paḷḷi* connoted, **in** Tamil literature, a place of worship, especially **of the** Buddhist or Jaina sect.

The donees are all associated with the **names** of villages, of which they are stated to be the ***Bōyas.*** This expression, supposed to be a corruption of *bhōgika*, also occurs in another Eastern **Chālukya** charter belonging to the reign of Indravarman.[1] All the villages mentioned in the **record with** the exception of one can be located, as shown in the table below, in the Palnad and **adjacent** Taluks of the Guntur District.

No.	Village mentioned in the plates	Its modern name	Taluk
1.	Kandēṛu	**Kantēru**	Guntur
2.	Ātukūru	Andukūru	Sattenapalle
3.	Mudokuru	Mutukūru	Palnad
4.	Koṇḍasāmi	Koṇḍepāḍu(?) . . .	Guntur
5.	Pāṭi	Pāṭibaṇḍa	Sattenapalle
6.	**Kumunūru**	Kōnūru(?)	Do.
7.	Naḍukūru	Naḍikūḍe	Palnad
8.	Kanparu	Kanuparṛu	Narasaraopet
9.	Irukuṭūru	**Ikkuṛru**	Do.
10.	Veḷuchaḷi	Velicherla	Bapatla
11.	Re [....]	Rēṭūru (?)	Do.

TEXT[2]

First Plate

1 **Śrī[r]=vijayatām** [|*] Mahārā[ja][sya*] [āyu]r=ārōgyam=aiśvaryyañ=ch=ābhīvarddhaṁt[ām] [|*] Ishṭa-sampad[3]=ast=uttū[4](ūtta)rōttarā[ḥ*] kri[yās]=sa-

2 mpadya[ntām |*] [Śrī]mad-**Asanapur**-ādhishṭhānu(na)-vāsi(sī) Śrīmad-bhagavat-svāmi-Mā-(Ma)hāsēna-pādānudhyātā-

3 nā[ṁ] tribhuvana-mātri(tṛi)bhir=abhirakshitānāṁ Ma(Mā)navya-sana[5]gōtrāṇāṁ Hāritī-putrāṇām Kō(Kau)śi[kī]-

4 vara-prasāda-labdha-rājyānām(nāṁ) chatur-udadhi-paryyanataḥ(ta)-prathita-yaśasaṁ(sām) Aśvamēda(dha)-

5 yājinām(nāṁ) Chaḷukyānām=anvayam=unnamayituma(tuṁ) Sakrarddana(Saṅkrandana)-bhūta-Raṇarāgasya

Second Plate, First Side

6 praṇaptāḥ(ptuḥ)[6] asahya-vi[illegible]masya vipula-kīrttē[ḥ*] Kīrttivamma(rmma)ṇa[ḥ*] prapautra-[ḥ*] śaktitraya-vaśīkri(kṛi)[illegible]ka-

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[1] *A. R. Ep.*, 1921-22, App. A, No. 2, and Part II, p. 97.

[2] From the original plates.

[3] The scribe had written something below *d* and scored it later.

[4] A length mark appears to have been wrongly added to the subscript *t* in *ttū*.

[5] The syllable *na* is redundant.

[6] For *praṇaptuḥ* read *naptuḥ*.

7 la-mahīmaṇḍalasya Satya(tyā)śraya-Pri(Pṛi)thivi(vī)vallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-bhaṭṭārakasya priy-ānu-

8 jasya sv-āsidhārā-namita-samasta-sāmanta-maṇḍalasya [stha][1]la-jal-ādi-durgga-vishamēshv=a-

9 pi la[bdha]-vijayatā(sya) prathita-jana-prastuta-kāmadhēnō[ḥ*] lōk-ātiśayita-vikramatayā naralōka-

10 vikra[masya Vi]shṇuvarddhana-ma[hārājasya] priyatanayasy=ānēka-samara-saṁghaṭṭa-labdha-vijayaśīla-

Second Plate, Second Side

11 tā-prasūta-yaśaḥ-prasūt-āmōda-ga[ndh-ā]dhivāsita-sakala-digmaṇḍalaśya nānā-śa(śā)str-ā-

12 bhyās-ōpabṛiṁbita-niśita-vimala-buddhēḥ tyāg-audāryya-gāṁbhīryya-dhairyya-kānti-pra-

13 jñ-ādi-guṇa-gaṇ-āla[ṁ*]kṛitasya trailōka(kya)-vikram-o[d*]dyōdi(ti)ta-sakala-lōk-āśraya-bhuja-yu-

14 gaḷa-bala-namit-āśēsha-ripu-nṛipativara-makuṭa-taṭa-ghaṭit-ānēka-maṇi-kiraṇa-rāga-rañji-

15 ta-charaṇ-āravinda-yugaḷasya vi(vī)ra-dhvaj-ōpātta-Śakr-a[r*]ddhi-visparddhita-vibh[ū]tēr=anēk-āhi-

Third Plate, First Side

16 ta-nara-vara-śiraḥ-karōṭikā-vitā[na]-vikhyāta-yaśasō dēva-dvija-guru-yatadhi(yaty-atithi)-śishṭ-ēshṭ-ā-

17 nuji(jī)vi-saṁbandhibhir=anavarata-prakām-ōpabhōg[3]-bhujyamāna-vividha-puṇya-phala-saṁpu(pū)-

18 rṇṇ-āmṛita-dhēnōḥ śrī-Jayasiṁgha(ha)vallabha-mahārājasya priy-ānujasya Tyā-

19 gadhēnuḥ(nōḥ) śakti-traya-sampan-ā(nn-ā)nēka-vidyā-viśāradaḥ(dasya) ripu-maṇḍalēshv=api Vigrahasiddhiḥ(ēḥ) siṁha-

20 vikrama-nay-ōpētatvām[2](tvād)Rājalōkāśraya-śrīmad-Indravarma-mahārājasya putra[ḥ*]

Third Plate, Second Side

21 nānā-śa(śā)str-ābhyās-ōpā[tt-ā*]nēka-vidyā-viśāradaḥ **Vishṇuvarddhana-mahārājasya-(rājaḥ) Paḷḷi-rāshṭrē Koṇe[ki]-**

22 **nāma-grāma[ṁ*]** saṁpradattaḥ(dāya) grāmēyakān rājapurusha-taḷavara-daṇḍanāyaka-rāshṭrika-

23 dūta-bhaṭa-naṭa-chēṭaka-parichāraka-niyukt-ādhyaksha-praśāstṛi-samāhartṛi-nā[3]-

24 nāyakāś=ch(kāṁś=ch)=ājñapayati [|*] Śrōtriyasya sakala-dig-anta-prathita-yaśasō yajana-yā-

25 jan-ādhyayan-ādhyāpana-dāna-pratigrahā(ha)-niyama-niratasya sarvv-āgama-vi-

Fourth Plate, First Side

26 śēsha-pratipādanatvād=adyakāla-Vararuchir=iti vikhyātasya Mahāsēnaśarmma[ṇaḥ]

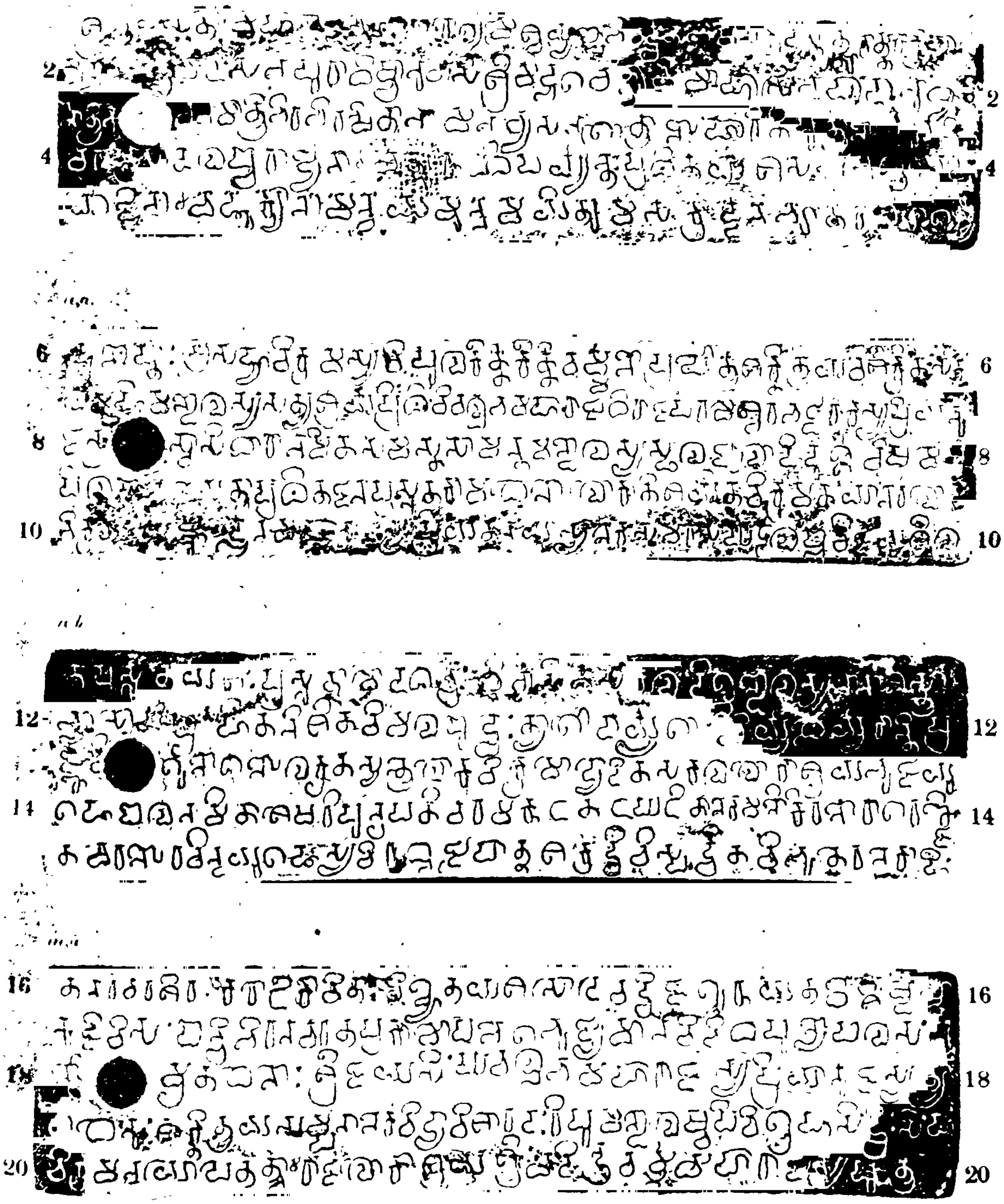
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[1] In *stha*, the subscript looks more like *ḍ*.

[2] The final *m* is introduced in a diminutive form above *tvā*. This is evidently intended for *t*.

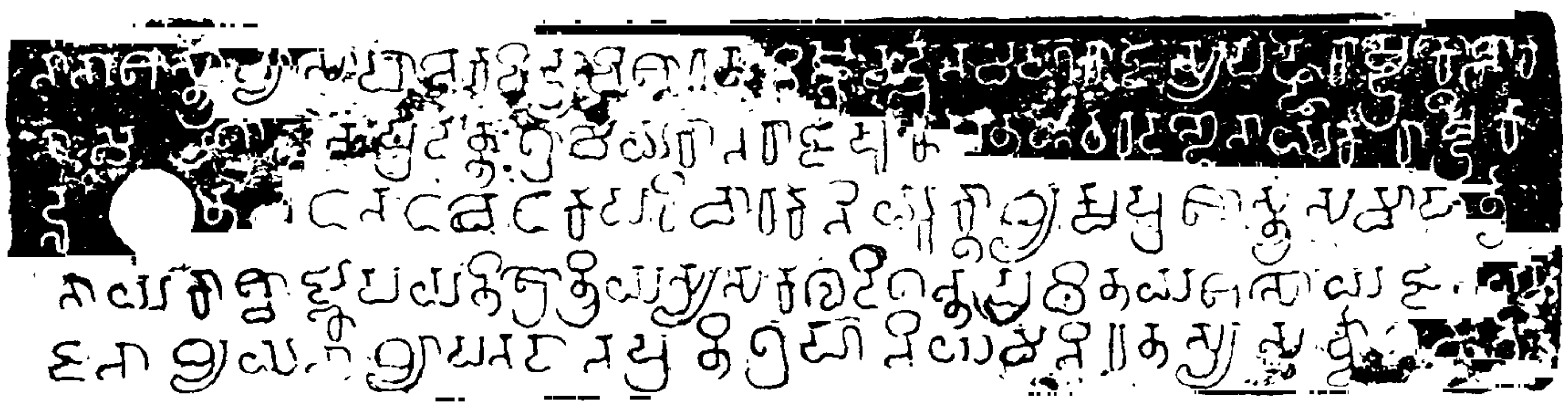
[3] This *nā* is redundant.

KONEKI GRANT OF VISHNUVARDHANA (II)—PLATE I

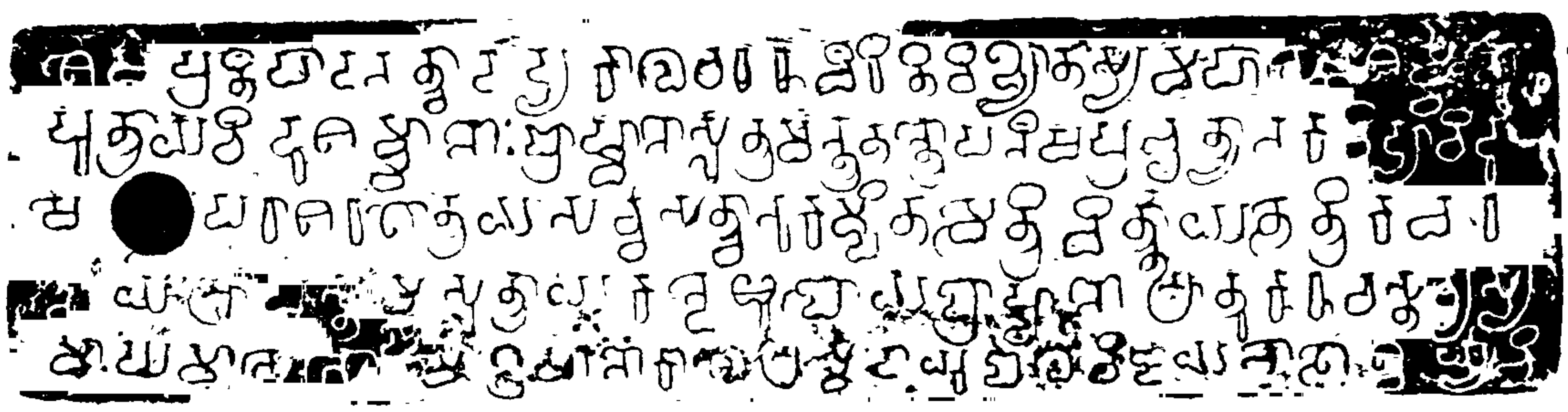


Scale Four fifths

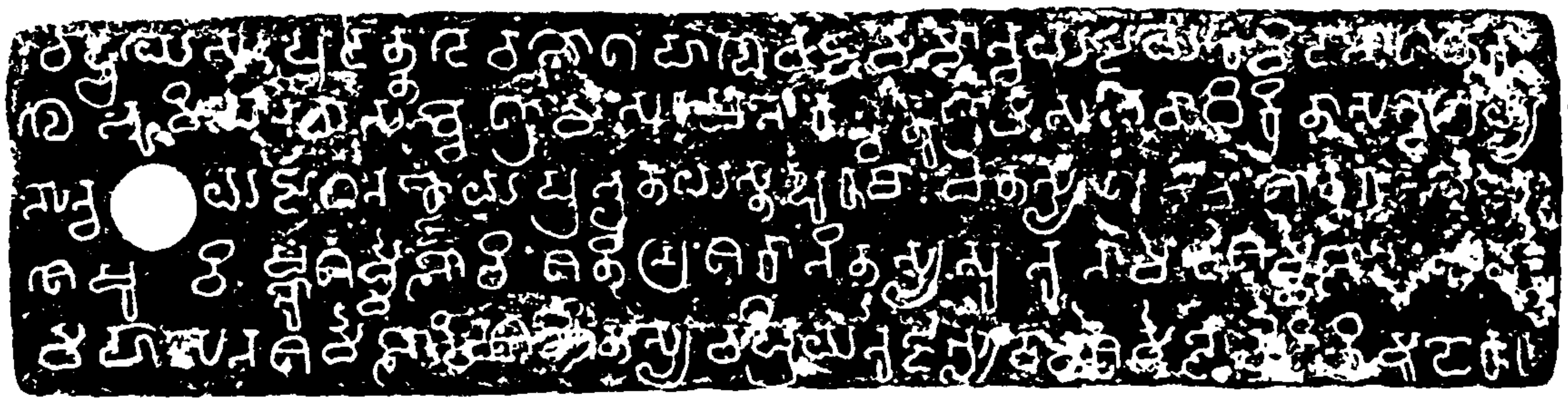
iii,b.



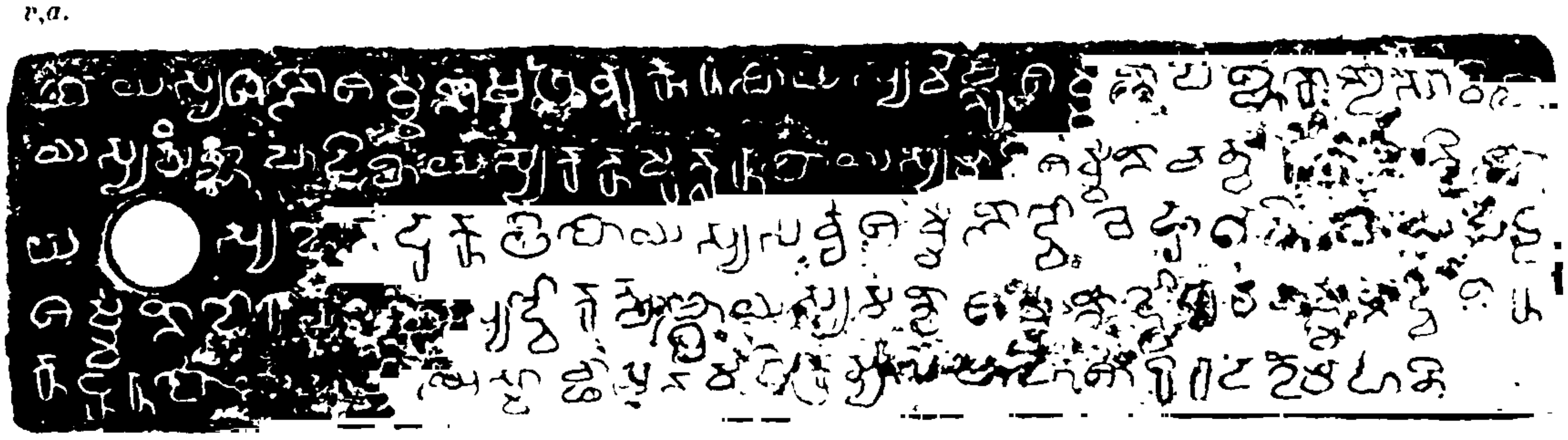
iv,a.



iv,b.



v,a.



27 puträya Viduśammā(rmma)ṇaḥ(ṇē) brāhmaṇa-sūtra-mantra-tantr-ōpanisha[t*]-prabhṛityā-naka(ty-anēka)-vidyā-vidu-

28 shē Parāśara-gōtra(trā)ya sarvva-satv-ā(ttv-ā)nukampita-maitri(trī)-chirttā(ttā)ya Taitrika (ttirīyaka)-chara-

29 [ṇā]ya Āpastamba-sūtrāya Kandēṛu-Bōya-Brāhmaṇa(ṇāya) Ātukuru-va(vā)stavyasya(vyāya)

30 **Māgha-māsē sōmaggrahaṇa-kā[lē]** asmad-āyur-bala-vijaya-bhōg-aiśvaryya(ryy-ā)

Fourth Plate, Second Side

31 varddha(vṛiddha)yē sampradatta dēvabhōga-hala-varjja[1][|*] Mamān=vayajā yē kēchid=anāgatē kā-

32 lē bhūmipā[lā][ḥ*] sarvvē grāma-sa[ṁ*]rakshaṇaṁ kurvvantu grāma-sambhav-ādhikri(kṛi)-tā[ḥ*] sarvvē Ayya-

33 ṇ-anvayajā Dhanañjaya-prabhṛitayas=tat-purushāḥ(shāś=cha) [|*] ētasya [grāmē(masya)] śōttara-śatē[shv=aṁ]-

34 śēshu Vishṇuśarmmaṇē viṁśati[ḥ*] aṁśakāni(kāḥ) [|*] tasya sununā(sūnavē) M[ā]diśar-mmaṇē viṁśati[ḥ |*]

35 Mahāsēnaśarmaṇē viṁśati[2][ḥ|*] tasya cha priy-[ā]nujasya(jāya) Dāmaśarmaṇē viṁśi(śa)ti-[ḥ |*] Mudokura-

Fifth Plate, First Side

36 Bōyasya(yāya) Gaṇaiśarmmaṇa(ṇē) shaṭ[3] [|*] [Ā]tukuru-Bōyasya(yāya) Vishṇuśarmmaṇē pañcha [|*] Koṇḍasāmi-Bō-

37 yasya(yāya) pañcha[4] [|*] Pāṭi-Bōyasy=ē(yāy=ai)ka[ḥ |*] Kumunūru-Bōyasya(yāya) Mādi-śarmmaṇa(ṇē) chatvā[ri](raḥ)..........[i-Bō][5]-

38 yasya(yāya) dvē(dvau) [|*] Naḍukuṛi-Bōyasya(yāya) Sarvvaśarmmaṇē dvau [|*] Veḷu[chaḷi-Bōya]-Pe[ṭṭa]-

39 śarmmaṇa(ṇē) d[v]au [|*] Rē..[Bōya]sya(yāya) dvau [|*] Kanpaṛ-Bōyasya(yāya) Maṇḍa-śarmma[ṇē] dvau [|*] Rēvaśarmma[ṇē] dvau [|*] Iru-

40 kuṭūrur[6]-Bō[yasya(yāya)] dvau [|*] Yō=smā(sma)ch-chhāsanam=a[dhi](ti)kramya[ti*] sa pāpō(paḥ) śārīraṁ daṇḍam=arhati [||*]

Fifth Plate, Second Side

41 Bhūmi-dānā[t=paran=dā][na*]n=na bhūtan=na bhavishyati [|*] [Tasy=āpa]haraṇāt=pāpan=na bhūtan=na bhavishya-

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[1] The implied reading appears to be [*ēsha grāmaḥ*] *sampradattaḥ dēva-bhōga-hala-varja iti.*

[2] This expression is written over an erasure.

[3] The letter *ṭ* is introduced above the line between *sha* and the following letter.

[4] The letters *pañcha* are written over an erasure. The prominent circle above *pa* has to be ignored.

[5] Three or four syllables are completely worn out here and the medial *i* sign alone of a letter preceding *bō* is visible.

[6] The *rēpha* over *bō* is redundant.

42 ti [||*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harētu(ta) vasundharāṁ(rām) [|*] [gavāṁ śata-saha]-[srāṇāṁ ha*][ntu][ḥ*] pibati ki-

43 lvi(lbi)shaṁ(sham) [||*] Ba[hu]bhi[r*]=vasudhā dattā bahubhiś=ch=ānupāli[tā] [|*] [ya]sya yasya ya-

44 [dā bhū]mi[s*]=tasya tasya tathā phalaṁ(lam) [||*] **Śrī-Jayasiṁgha(ha)vallabha-mahārāja-**

45 **sya pravarddhamāna-vija[ya*]-rājya-sa[ṁ*]va[t*]sarē triṁśati[1]-varsha(shē) Āśvayujē māsē śukla-pakshē da[śa]-**

46 **mī-divasē Śravaṇa-Chandravārē** Gaṁgavijaya-varddhaki-likhitam=idaṁ sā(śā)sa-[nam] [|*] svasti [||*]

ABSTRACT OF CONTENTS

(Lines 1-2) Invocation.

(Lines 3-21) From his victorious capital Asanapura, king **Vishṇuvardhana-mahārāja**[2], the **son** of Rājalōkāśraya Indravarma-mahārāja entitled Tyāgadhēnu who was the dear younger brother of Jayasiṁhavallabha-mahārāja who was the dear son of Vishṇuvardhana-mahārāja who was the dear younger brother of Satyāśraya-Pṛithvīvallabha (i.e. Pulakēśin II), and the great-grandson (*prapautra*) of Kīrttivarman who was the great-grandson (*praṇaptā*) of Raṇarāga[3].

(Lines 22-40) having granted the village **Koṇeki** in **Paḷḷi-rāshṭra**, orders the officials *grāmēyaka, rājapurusha, taḷavara, daṇḍanāyaka, rāshṭrika, dūta, bhaṭa, naṭa, chēṭaka, parichāraka, niyukta, adhyaksha, praśāstṛi, samāhartṛi* and *nāyaka* (*thus*) : 'to Viduśarman of the Parāśara *gōtra*, Taittirīya *charaṇa* and Āpastamba *sūtra*, the *Bōya* of Kandēṟu and a resident of Ātukuru, well-versed in the various branches of learning such as the *Brāhmaṇa, Sūtra, Mantra, Tāntra, Upanishad, etc.*, and benevolently inclined towards all living beings, who is the son of Mahāsēnaśarman, a *śrōtriya*, who is conversant with the *Vēdas*, whose fame is wide-spread and who is constantly engaged in *yajana, yājana, adhyayana, adhyāpana, dāna* and *pratigraha*, who is well known as the very Vararuchi of the day for his erudition in expounding all the *āgamas*—(*to him*, i.e. Viduśarman) is given (*the village*) Koṇeki with the exclusion of the *devabhōga* land, **on the day of the lunar eclipse in the month of Māgha,** for the increase of our longevity, strength, success, enjoyment and prosperity. "In future let all the rulers of my lineage, and the hereditary village officers, Dhanañjaya and such others of the lineage of Ayyaṇa, protect the village." In this village, out of the hundred and twenty shares, twenty are for Vishṇuśarman ; twenty for his son Mādiśarman ; twenty for Mahāsēnaśarman ; twenty for his dear brother Dāmaśarman ; six for Gaṇaiśarman, the *Bōya* of Mudokuru ; five for Vishṇuśarman, the *Bōya* of Ātukuru ; five for Koṇḍasāmi-bōya ; four for Mādiśarman *alias* Pāṭi-bōya, the *Bōya* of Kumunūru ; two for..... bōya ; two for Sarvvaśarman, the *Bōya* of Naḍukuru ; two for Peṭṭaśarman, the *Bōya* of Veḷuchaḷi ; two for Rē..-bōya ; two for Maṇḍaśarman, the *Bōya* of Kanpaṟu ; two for Rēvaśarman and two for the *Bōya* of Irukuṭūru.

(Lines 40-44) Imprecatory and minatory verses.

(Lines 44-46) This order was engraved by the artisan Gaṅgavijaya in the **augmenting year 30 of the reign of king Jayasiṁhavallabha-mahārāja in the month of Āśvayuja śukla-paksha, daśamī, Śravaṇa (nakshatra), Monday.**

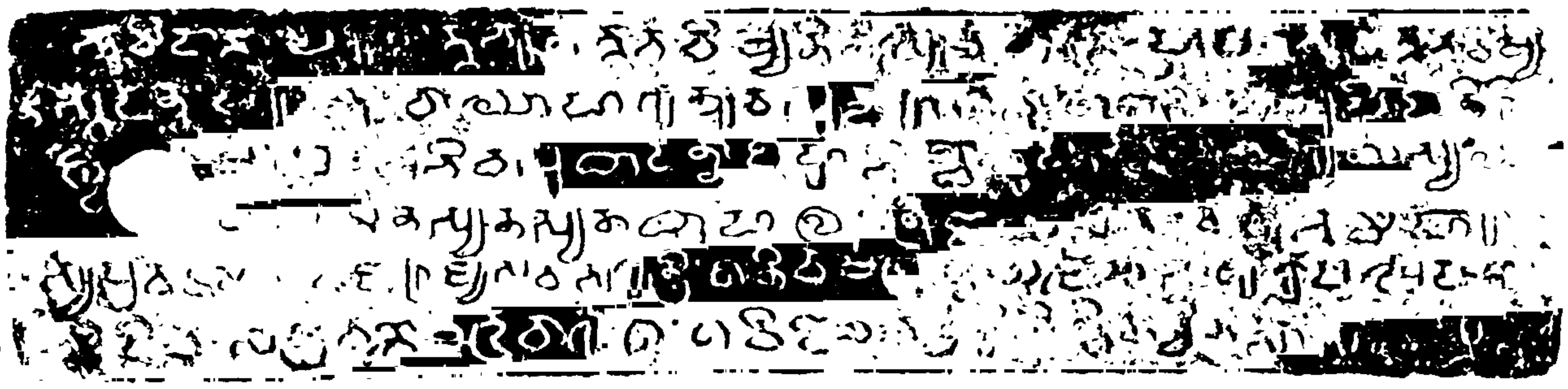
[1] Read *triṁśattama°*.

[2] The descriptive epithets, etc. of the kings are omitted in this abstract.

[3] Kīrttivarman was actually the grandson of Raṇarāga and not his great-grandson.

KONEKI GRANT OF VISHNUVARDHANA (II)–PLATE II

v.b.



SEAL



(from a Photograph)

No. 13—JAIN INSCRIPTION FROM SHERGARH, V. S. 1191

(*1 Plate*)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

Shēr Shāh Sūr, the celebrated Afghan emperor of Delhi (1539-45 A.D.), is accused by Badāūnī and other Muslim historians of wanton callousness in destroying old cities for founding new ones on their ruins after his own name.[1] On this point Nūr-ul-Haqq says in his *Zubdat-ut-Tawārīkh* : "Shēr Khān founded many cities after his own name, as Shēr-gaṛh, Shēr-kōṭ . . . ."[2] There are numerous places bearing such names in different parts of Northern India even to this day, one of them being **Shērgaṛh** representing a fort in ruins and a town (now almost deserted) standing on the river Parwān (a feeder of the Kālī-Sindh which is a tributary of the Chambal), about ninety miles to the south-east of Kōṭah in the District of that name in Rājasthān. On the 16th of January 1953, I visited Shērgaṛh from my camp at Kōṭah in search of inscriptions in the company of Mr. P. N. Kaul, then Commissioner of the Kōṭah Division of Rājasthān, and Mr. R. N. Hawā, then Collector of the Kōṭah District. I take this opportunity of thanking both the officers for their kindness shown to me and the interest they exhibited in my work. My thanks are also due to Mr. P. K. Majumdār of the Herbert College, Kōṭah, who accompanied me to Shērgaṛh and helped me in various ways.

On a careful examination of the inscriptions at Shērgaṛh, it was found that three of them had been previously published. One of these three is a Buddhist inscription supposed to be dated in V. S. 847 (790 A.D.).[3] This is incised on a slab of stone built into a recess under a flight of stairs to the proper left of the gate of the deserted town and is a *praśasti* (eulogy) recording the construction of a Buddhist temple (*mandira*) and a monastery (*vihāra*) to the east of Mount (*giri*) Kōśavardhana by a *Sāmanta* (feudal chief) named Dēvadatta.

The second published inscription from Shērgaṛh, which bears dates in V. S. 1074 (1017 A. D.), 1075 (1018 A.D.) and 1084 (1027 A.D.), is built into a front line pillar of the local Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa temple, although there is no doubt that it originally belonged to a different religious establishment.[4] The inscription actually consists of three distinct documents. The first of these records a daily grant of one *karsha* of ghee as unguent to the feet of Bhaṭṭāraka-śrī-Nagnaka while the other two speak of several grants in favour of the god Sōmanāthadēva. The late Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar was inclined to identify Bhaṭṭāraka-śrī-Nagnaka of this record with the *Śiva-bhakta-Śaiva* called Nagna-bhaṭṭāraka, mentioned in the Dhanop (old Shāhpurā State, now a part of the Udaipur Division of Rājasthān) inscription[5] of V. S. 1063, although there is also a view that ' since the gift is made to last as long as the sun and the moon exist, it would be better to take Bhaṭṭāraka-Nagnaka as referring to an image and not to a person '.[6] It seems to us that Bhaṭṭāraka-śrī-Nagnaka was a

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[1] Cf. Badāūnī's *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh*, English translation (Bib. Ind.), Calcutta, Vol. I, 1898, p. 472 ; K. R. Qanungo, *Sher Shah*, 1921, p. 404.

[2] Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its Own Historians*, Vol. VI, p. 189.

[3] Bhandarkar, List, No. 21. The record was edited by Hultzsch first in *ZDMG*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 547 ff., and afterwards in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 45 ff. For the date of the inscription, see also *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 351, and Vol. XXVI, p. 152.

[4] Bhandarkar, op. cit., Nos. 104, 105 and 115. The inscription was first edited by Bhandarkar in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 176, and afterwards by Altekar in the pages of this journal, above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 137-41.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 175

[6] Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 138 note.

Śaiva ascetic in charge of the temple of Sōmanāthadēva (Śiva) and that the grant was made in his favour but was meant to be also enjoyed by his successors in the charge of the temple in question. We have numerous grants made permanently in favour of a single individual since they were meant to be enjoyed also by his descendants. The above Śaivite establishment is stated to have included, besides the temple, a considerable area of land styled Sōmanāthadēva-pallikā.

The third of the published inscriptions from Shērgaṛh is engraved on a stone slab now embedded in the front wall of the Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa temple, although, like the other inscribed slab in that temple, it must have belonged originally to an older temple of Śiva called Sōmanāthadēva.[1] The importance of this inscription lies in the fact that it is the copy of a copper-plate grant of the Paramāra king Udayāditya (known dates : V. S. 1116=1059 A.D., V. S. 1137=1080 A. D., and V. S. 1143=1086 A.D.), none of whose copper-plate charters has so far been published. It is, however, a matter of regret that some parts of the record, including the passage containing the date, cannot be made out owing to damages in the stone and to its lower end being built into the wall. The inscription records the grant of a village made by the Paramāra king, when he was stationed at Kārpāsikā-grāma and took a ceremonial bath on the occasion of the *Damanaka-parvan*, in favour of the god Sōmanāthadēva (Śiva) of the Kōśavardhana *durga* (fort) which, as noted above, is called *giri* (hill) in another of the Shērgaṛh inscriptions. There is no doubt that Kōśavardhana was the old name of modern Shērgaṛh and that the temple of the god Sōmanāthadēva, now untraceable, lay in an old hill-fort at the place.

The published inscriptions from Shērgaṛh (ancient Kōśavardhana), it will be seen, reveal the existence of two religious establishments, one Buddhist and the other Śaivite. Amongst the inscriptions traced by me at the place, including the above, there are two epigraphs disclosing the interesting fact that, side by side with the Buddhist monastery and Śaiva shrine, a great religious establishment of the Jains also flourished at Kōśavardhana in the early medieval period. Another unpublished inscription at Shērgaṛh also interested me considerably. Unfortunately all these three records are preserved unsatisfactorily, the pieces of stone on which they are engraved being mutilated.

The stone bearing the last of the above three unpublished inscriptions was found within the fort. The record in four lines contains two verses, numbered in figures, and the date at the end. But the left half of the epigraph is broken away and could not be traced. The third line of the extant portion of the inscription (5 inches by 12 inches) containing the end of the first verse in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre and the beginning of the second in *Anushṭubh* reads : °*yā Gaṅgādharō naṁdatu* || *1* || *Dṛiḍhaṁ nīra-gṛihaṁ bhavyaṁ kṛita[vān]*, while the date in line 4 reads : *Saṁvat* || *1285* || *varkhē(rshē)*. There is no doubt that the first verse of this epigraph, dated V. S. 1285 (1228 A.D.), invokes the god Śiva under the name Gaṅgādhara (i.e., 'the bearer of the Ganges [in the matted hair on his head]') and the second records the construction[2] of a *nīra-gṛiha* by an individual whose name is lost. The expression *nīra-gṛiha* literally means 'a water-house' and the invocation, in connection with its construction, of the Gaṅgādhara aspect of Śiva is easily intelligible. But the nature of this *nīra-gṛiha* can hardly be determined although it seems to be the same as Persian *ābdār-khānah*, *ābdār* being a person entrusted with the charge of water for drinking.[3]

The first of the two Jain inscriptions referred to above was also discovered in the fort. It is engraved on a piece of stone that was found embedded in a wall. The stone was so dressed as to leave a broad border on the sides of an excavated bed meant for the incision of the record. The border was apparently meant for the protection of the writing. The inscription covering a space, about 20 inches by 20 inches, is beautifully engraved on the said bed. It contains 34 lines of writing.

[1] Ibid., pp. 132 ff.

[2] The reference may also be to repairs done to an older structure.

[3] The building referred to seems to be different from a *prapā-maṇḍapa* (cf. above, Vol. I, p. 328, text line 13).

Unfortunately a piece of the stone about the middle has broken off taking away with it portions of many of the lines. As the record could not be completed on the bed prepared for it, the concluding lines, numbering two only, were engraved on the lower raised border; but the letters of this part are almost completely lost.

An interesting feature of the inscription is that a squarish space, measuring 13 inches by 12¼ inches, in the centre of the excavated bed in the stone was created by disturbing the continuous writing of lines 6-28 for the accommodation of a *Padma-bandha* design. While lines 1-5 and 29-34 of the epigraph contain about 46 letters each, lines 6-28 have each only about 20 letters, half of them to the left of the central square and half to its right. The pericarp of the *padma* is made by a circle with a diameter of about 1½ inches, which is surrounded by another concentric circle having a diameter of about 2 inches. The oblong petals, 12 in number and each about 11 inches in length, spread out from the outer one of the two central circles. The outer edge of all the so-called petals is covered by another concentric circle about 13 inches in diameter, which touches the four borders of the central square, in their middle. There are again four concentric circles within this outer circle, which cut the oblong petals and create four circular spaces each about ½ inch in breadth. In the outer one of the above circular spaces, beginning from the left end and moving upwards, are put at the end of the upper six petals the numbers 1 to 6 against the beginning of six feet of 1½ stanzas in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre. their tenth syllable which is common to all the six being placed in the inner circle or the pericarp of the *padma* and the following nine syllables being continued on the opposite petals on the other side of the double circle at the centre. Some letters of the last two feet of the second stanza in *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* are placed in the second inner circular space between the petals, the corresponding spaces within the petals being occupied by the first and last syllables of the six feet of the two stanzas engraved before, so that all the letters incised in this circular space have to be consecutively read to make out the third and fourth feet of the second stanza. The third inner circular space contains only the second and penultimate syllables of the six feet of the two stanzas referred to above; but they do not appear to yield any sense if read in the circular way. It is, however, interesting to note that the letters in the fourth inner circular space which contains only the third and seventeenth syllables of the six *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* feet were intended, when read in the circular way, to read *śrī-Varasēna-muninā kṛitam=idam* (i.e. 'this is composed by the illustrious monk Varasēna'), in which only the final *m* had to be added at the end as a part of the last syllable. There is no doubt that the above *Padma-bandha* points to the skill of the author of the stanzas in question as a versifier. Unfortunately a break in the stone, referred to above, stands in the way of deciphering the stanzas completely.

The inscription begins with the *Siddham* symbol followed by a double *daṇḍa* and the passage *Oṁ namō Vītarāgāya*. Then follow 14 stanzas in the *Vasantatilaka* metre, all of them in eulogy of the Jina. The three lines at the bottom of the excavated bed in the stone, which contain the end of the last verse of the *praśasti* and were continued on the lower rim of the stone, read as follows:

32 tēna stutō=si vachasā manasaḥ prasādāt || 14 ||[1] Śrī-**Varasēna-munēr=mmita-vāchā yaṭ=** ṭiriṭillitam=atra bhadantaiḥ [|*] tat=kshamitavyam=utō=sya cha sā-

33 dhōr=ātmaja-dōsha iv=ēha janētuḥ || 15 ||[2] **Dvi-shach-chha(ṭ-chha)śāṁk-aika-mitē=tha Vaikramē samā-samūhē sita-saptamī-dinē | Madhau cha māsē** nava-chai-

34 tya-sadmani mahōtsavō Nēmi-jinasya kāritaḥ || 16 ||[3] Putrēṇa Va(Ba)ladēvasya Rāghavēna manīshiṇa(ṇā) | dāna-dharmma-niratēna bhavyēna guṇasā(śā)linā || [17*][4]

[1] **Metre**: *Vasantatilaka* as already noted above.

[2] **Metre**: *Dōdhaka*.

[3] **Metre**: *Vaṁśastha*.

[4] **Metre**: *Anushṭubh*.

In the portion of the inscription quoted above, verse 15 discloses the name of the author of the *praśasti*. He was the same Jain monk śrī-Varasēna-muni who composed the stanzas in *Śārdūla-vikrīḍita*, arranged in the *Padma-bandha* style, and is referred to above. Verse 16 says how a *mahōtsava* (great festival) of the Jain Tīrthaṅkara Nēminātha was celebrated at the new Chaitya on the seventh of the bright half of Madhu (Chaitra) in V. S. 1162 (1105 A.D.) The year is given in the words *dvi* (2), *shaṭ* (6), *śaśāṅka* (1) and *ēka* (1) which have to be read in the usual reverse order. The *praśasti* was apparently composed and engraved on stone on the occasion of the said festival. Verse 17 seems to disclose the name of the engraver of the record, who was Rāghava, son of Baladēva. The verses quoted above show that, although the author was a skilful versifier, his language was greatly influenced by Prakrit. He has not only used such forms as *kshamitavyam* (for Sanskrit *kshantavyam*) and *janētuḥ* (for Sanskrit *janayituḥ*), apparently for the sake of the metre, but has also coined the expression *ṭiriṭillita* (the same as Sanskrit *bhrānta* according to Hēmachandra's Grammar which equates Prakrit *ṭiriṭilla* with Sanskrit *bhram*) from a Prakrit root. The inscription is therefore of considerable lexical interest.

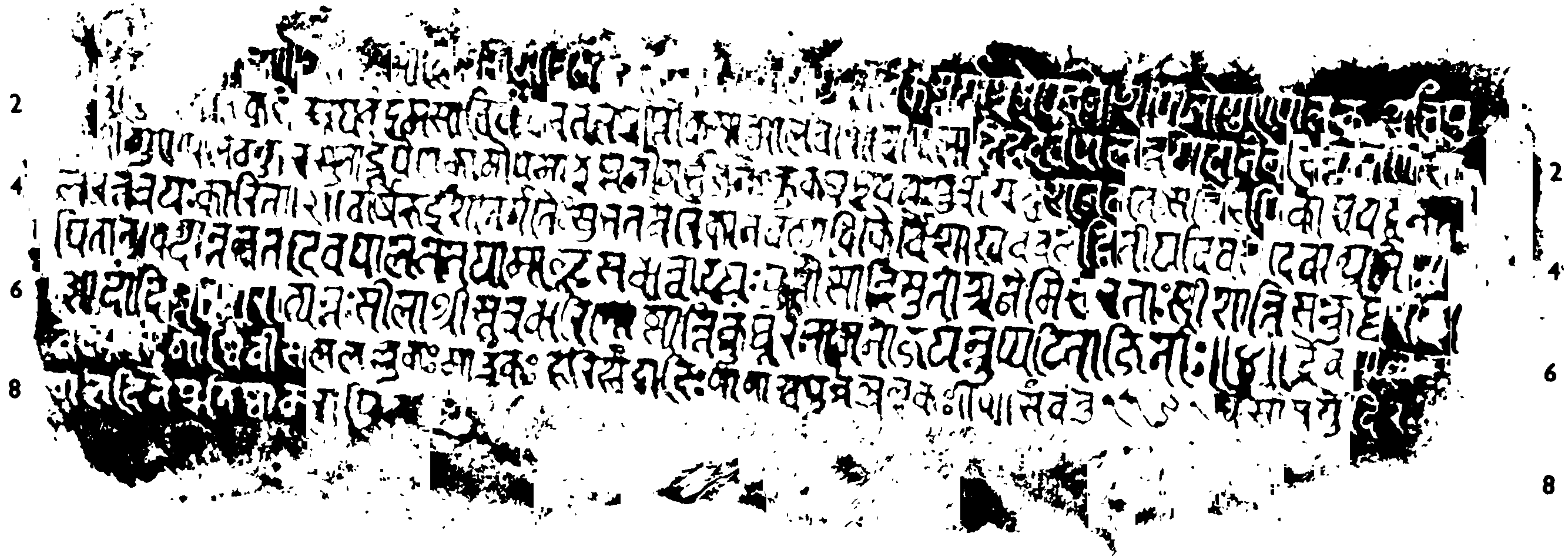
The second Jain inscription which forms the main subject of the present paper was found on the pedestal below the central figure of a group of three images of Jain Tīrthaṅkaras in a small temple outside the fort at Shērgaṛh. The three Tīrthaṅkaras represented are Śānti (Śāntinātha), Kunthu° or Kunthanātha and Ara (Aranātha). As early images of the Tīrthaṅkaras Kunthu and Ara are rare. I examined the inscription with considerable interest.[1]

The inscription is written in eight lines and covers a space about eighteen inches in length and five inches in height. But the stone on which it is engraved is mutilated and some letters in lines 1-3 are broken away and lost. The **characters** are Nāgarī and the **language** is Sanskrit, although it is influenced by Prakrit. The record is written in verse with a passage in prose at the end. This passage gives the date of the inscription, which is also found quoted in one of the verses. The record exhibits considerable carelessness on the part of both the scribe and the engraver. It bears the date : **V. S. 1191, Vaiśākha-sudi 2, Tuesday**, which corresponds to **the 29th March 1134 A. D.** ; but the week day was Thursday and not Tuesday as given in the inscription.

The first half of the first verse of the record, which is considerably damaged, speaks of the wife of a person named Māhilla who was probably residing at a *pattana* or township called Sūryāśrama (literally, a hermitage associated with the Sun-god). The second half of the stanza says how Śrīpāla and Guṇapālaka (Guṇapāla), probably two sons of the said Māhilla, migrated to Mālava. The first half of verse 2 says that a son named Dēvapāla was born to Śrīpāla while nine sons, viz. Pūnī, Martha, Jana, Ilhuka and others were born to Guṇapāla-ṭhakkura's son whose name was probably Śānti. The second half of this stanza says how all these persons caused to be made the *Ratna-traya* (i.e. images of the three Tīrthaṅkaras, viz. Śāntinātha, Kunthunātha and Aranātha) at Kōśavarddhana or at the base of the hill-fort of Kōśavardhana (*Kōśavarddhana-talē*). The first half of verse 3 quotes the date of the inscription while its latter half records the obeisance of Dēvapāla's sons, viz. Mālhū, Sadhānu and others as well as Nēmi, Bharata, etc., who were the sons of Pūnī and Śānti (possibly a brother of Pūnī), to the gods, Śānti, Kunthu and Ara, who (i.e.

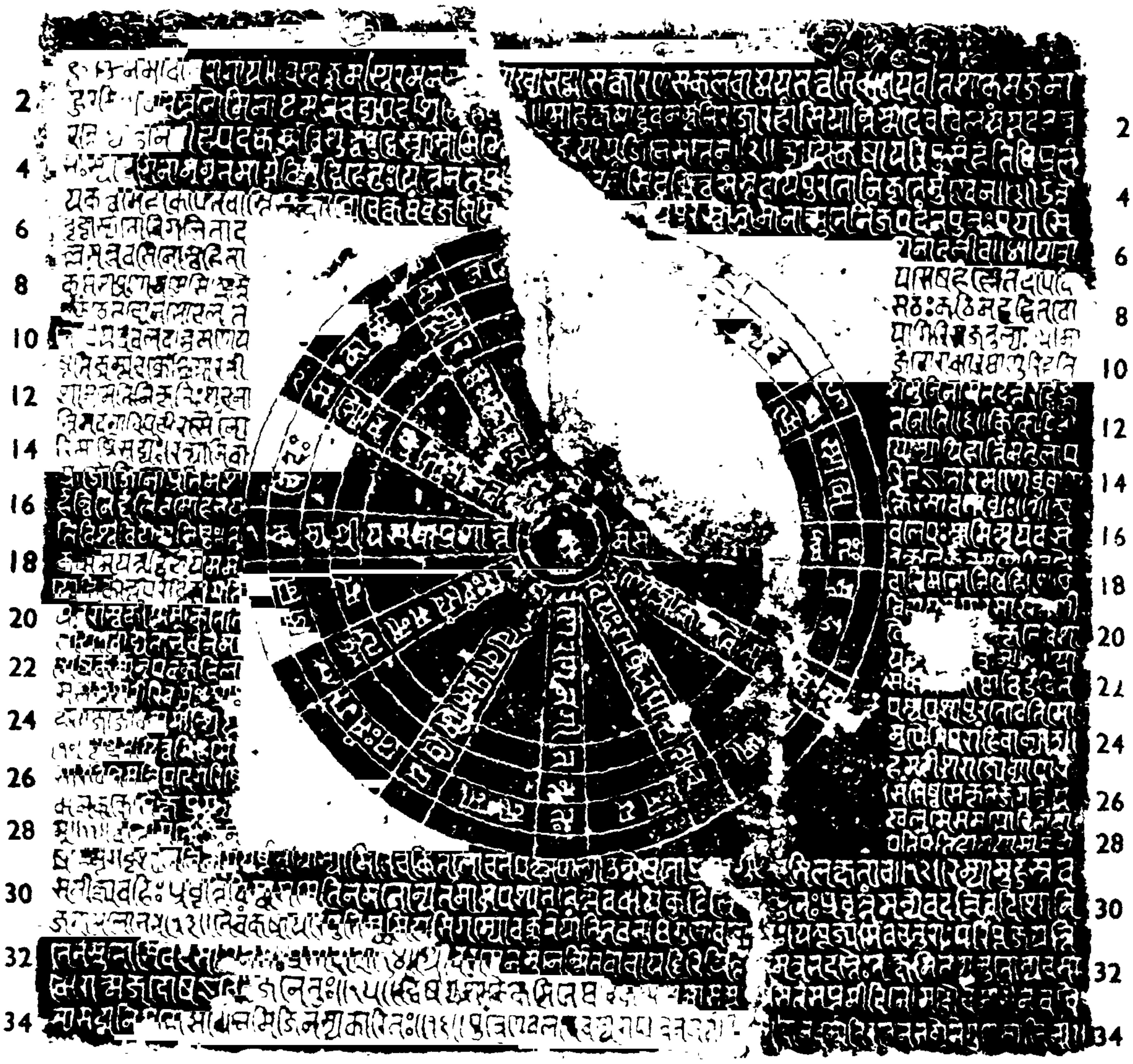
[1] B. C. Bhattacharya observes, " Hitherto no image of Kunthanātha (seventeenth Jina) . . . has come to light " (*The Jaina Iconography*, p. 74) and speaks of " one or two images of Aranātha (eighteenth Jina) that have been found out so far in Northern India " (op. cit., p. 76), although " the images of Śāntinātha (sixteenth Jina) so far discovered are not a few in number " (op. cit., p. 73). He probably means images belonging to a date earlier than the late medieval period. Śāntinātha's symbol is the deer, Yaksha Kimpurusha (or Garuḍa), Yakshiṇī Mahāmānasī (or Nirvāṇī), chowrie-bearer king Purushadatta and Kēvala tree Nandin. Kunthanātha's symbol is the goat, Yaksha Gandharva, Yakshiṇī Balā (or Vijayā), chowrie-bearer king Kuṇāla and Kēvala tree Tilaka. Similarly Aranātha has as his symbol a fish or the *Nandyāvarta* (a type of *Svastika*), Yaksha Yakshēndra, Yakshiṇī Dhāraṇī, chowrie-bearer king Gōvinda and Kēvala tree Chyūta (mango tree).

JAIN INSCRIPTION FROM SHERGARH, V.S. 1191



SCALE: ONE-HALF

Shergarh Inscription with Padmabandha



SCALE: THREE-TENTHS

whose images) had been installed. Verse 4 contains an adoration to the three Jinas, whose images are stated to have been made by the mason (*sūtradhārin*) Sīlāśrī (possibly Sanskrit *Śilāśrī*) who was a son of the mason (*sūtardhara*) Dāṁdi. It is interesting to note that the son of a father having the uncouth name Dāṁdi enjoyed such a poetic name as Śilāśrī (literally, 'one who imparts beauty to stones'), so true to his profession. The next stanza (verse 5) mentions Dēvapāla's son Ilhuka, as well as Gōshṭhin, Vīsala, Lalluka, Māuka and Hariśchandra, and also Allaka, son of Gāgā, all of whom may have been associated with the installation of the Jinas.

The inscription mentions only three **geographical** names, viz. (1) **Sūryāśrama**, (2) **Mālava** and (3) **Kōśavardhana**. Of these, we have already seen that Kōśavardhana was the early name of Shērgaṛh, the findspot of the inscription. Sūryāśrama cannot be identified ; but the apparent inclusion of Kōśavardhana (Shērgaṛh in the heart of Rājasthān) in Mālava is interesting. The Mālavas originally lived in the Punjab and later settled in the Jaipur region of Rājasthān. But the application of the name Mālava to the ancient *janapadas* of Avanti (with its capital at Ujjayinī and comprising the present west Mālwā) and Ākara or Daśārṇa (with its capital at Vidiśā, i.e. modern Besnagar near Bhīlsā, and comprising the present East Mālwā) is not much earlier than the early medieval period. It was, however, widely accepted during the age of the Paramāras. We know that the inclusion of the Shērgaṛh region in the dominions of the Paramāra king Udayāditya of Mālava is indicated by another Shērgaṛh inscription noticed above.

TEXT[1]

[Metres : verses 1-3 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verses 4-5 *Anushṭubh*.]

1 — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ [ṇē śrita] ⏑— Māhilla-bhāry=āntimā — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ [śa]sya tilakē **Sūryāśramē** pa[tta]nē | Śrīpālō Guṇapālakaś=cha vipu-

2 [lē] Khaṇḍi ⏑— lē[2] kulē sūya(ryā)-chaṁdramasāv=iv=āṁva(ba)ratalē prāptau kramān=**Mālavē** || 1 || Śrīpālād=iha Dēvapāla-tna(tana)yō dānēna chintāmaṇi[ḥ] Śā-

3 [ntēḥ śrī][3]-Guṇapāla-ṭhaku(kku)ra-sutād=rūpēṇa Kām-ōpamāt [|*] Pūnī-Martha-Jan-Ēlhuka-prabhṛiva(ta)yaḥ putrāgra(ś=cha) yē=grā nava tēḥ(taiḥ) sarvvair=api **Kōśavarddhana-ta-**

4 lē **Ratna-trayaḥ**(yaṁ) kārita[m*] || 2 || **Varshai Rudra-śatē**(tai)**r**=gataiḥ su(śu)-bhatamair=**ēkā**[4]**-navaty=ādhikair=Vaiśākha(khē) dhavalē dvitīya-divasē** dēvān=pratishṭhā-

5 pitān | vandantē nata-Dēvapāla-tanayā Mālhū-Sadhānv-ādayaḥ Pu(Pū)nī-Sānti-sutāś=cha Nēmi-Bharatāḥ[5] śrī-Śānti-sat-Ku[ṁ*]thv-Arān[6] |

[1] From impressions.

[2] This is apparently the name of a family. The intended reading may be *Khaṇḍillavālē*.

[3] The name Śānti is not beyond doubt.

[4] The author uses *ēkā-navati* for *ēka-navati* for the sake of the metre.

[5] The idea was apparently *Nēmi-Bharat-ādayaḥ*.

[6] As the usual form of the second name is *Kuntha* or *Kunthu* the addition of *sat* at the beginning of the name of this Tīrthaṅkara was apparently for the sake of the metre.

6 | 3 || Dāṁdi-sūtradhar-ōtpannaḥ(nna)-Sīlāśrī[1]-sūtradhāriṇā [|*] Śānti-[Ku]ṁthū(thv-A)ra-nāma(mā)nō jayantu ghaṭitā Jināḥ || 4 || Dēvapāla-su-

7 t-Ēlhukaḥ Gōshṭhi-Vīsala-Lallukaḥ(kāḥ |) Māukaḥ Hariśchaṁdr-ādiḥ Gāgā-sva(su)putra[ḥ*] Allakaḥ[2] || 5 || **Saṁvat 1191 Vaisāsha[3]-sudi 2 [Maṁ]-**

8 **gala-dinē** pratishṭhā karāpitā[4] [||]:||[5]

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[1] The correct form of the name may be *Śīlāśrī*.

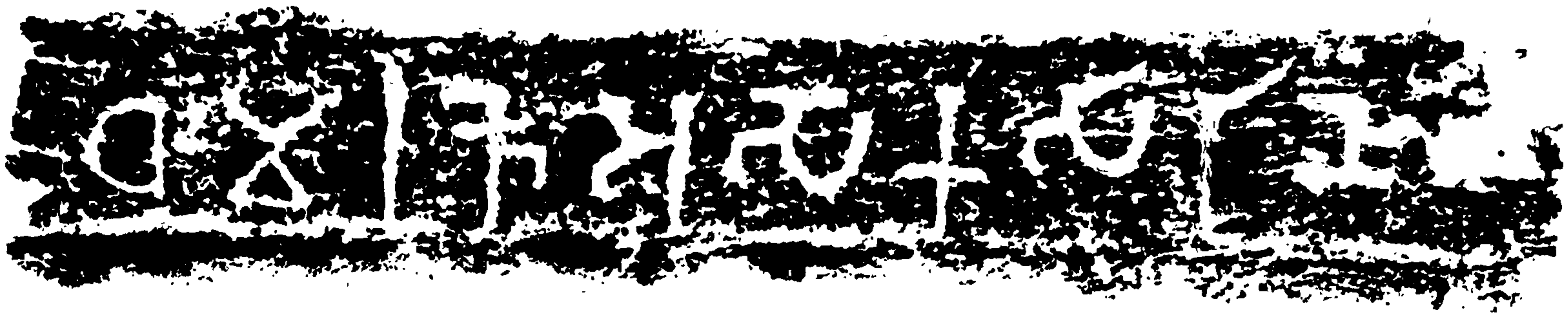
[2] The language of this verse is not quite satisfactory.

[3] Read *Vaiśākha*.

[4] Read *kāritā*.

[5] A *visarga*-like sign is placed between the two double *daṇḍas*.

BRAHMI INSCRIPTION FROM SALIHUNDAM



Scale: Five-Twelfths

No. 14—BRAHMI INSCRIPTION FROM SALIHUNDAM

(*1 Plate*)

A. S. GADRE, BARODA

Śālihuṇḍam is a famous Buddhist site in the Srikakulam District of the Andhra State, about 12 miles by road from Srikakulam, the District headquarters. It is on the banks of the Vaṁśadharā which joins the Bay of Bengal some five miles further down. The hills of this place have yielded many Buddhist structures and antiquities which have been briefly described in this journal.[1] Earlier excavations at the place have been fully described in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* for the year 1919-20.[2] When I visited the place in October 1953, I came across an inscribed casing slab of stone.

The slab bearing the inscription formed part of the top frieze of stones on the exterior surface of the Mahāchaitya. That it is a fragmentary record can be recognized from the fact that traces of letters preceding and following this inscription can be seen on the inscribed stone itself.[3]

The inscription reads :—

Dhaṁma(mā) Raño Asokasirino[4]

This fragmentary record refers to the religious edicts (*dhaṁmā*) of the illustrious **Aśoka.** According to the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*,[5] Dharmāśoka, i.e. the Maurya emperor Aśoka, set up stone pillars (*śilā-yashṭi*) at Chaityas as human memorials. Aśoka himself is said to have visited the sites. Very probably the Mahāchaitya at Śālihuṇḍam is a creation of the Mauryan times. It would therefore be no wonder if a reference is made to Aśoka's religious records in this inscription incised at a later date by devotees.[6] An inscribed pot, discovered at this place, has been assigned by Sri T. N. Ramachandran on palaeographic grounds to the first century A. D. at the latest. This obviously is the date of the pot and not of the structure which must have preceded it. As our stone forms part of the Mahāchaitya, it is apparently of an earlier date.

Some scholars are inclined to read the first two words in the inscription as *Dhaṁmarāño* (Sanskrit *Dharmarājasya*) and take it to be the epithet of Aśoka.[7] In support of this reading attention is drawn to certain inscriptions referring to kings as *Dharmarāja*, *Dharmamahārāja*, etc. I differ on this point. According to Buddhist literature the epithet *Dharmarāja* was applied

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[1] Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 133 ff.

[2] Op. cit., pp. 34-38.

[3] [The record does not appear to be fragmentary. On the stone slab on which the space occupied by the writing is 22" by 2" (an *akshara* being 1½" in height), there is no space for letters before the record in ten *aksharas* while there is what looks like a damaged punctuation mark after it (cf. the symbol at the end of the Musanagar brick inscription, above, Vol. XXX p. 120, n. 5).—Ed.]

[4] Macron over *e* and *o* has not been used in this article.

[5] K. P. Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India* (1934), p. 12; Sanskrit Text, p. 27, vv. 370-374.

[6] It is likely that the slabs of the entire top frieze of the *stūpa* or of a part of it were inscribed and the inscription went round the drum of the *stūpa* in one line. All these slabs are, however, unfortunately missing barring the one under review. [See note 3. above.—Ed.]

[7] Cf. A. Ghosh, *Indian Archaeology, 1953-54*, p. 13.

to the *Chakravartins* and we find it often applied to the Buddha.[1] Aśoka has no place in the Buddhist scriptures as a *Chakravartin*. In his inscriptions he styles himself *Devānāṁpriyaḥ Priyadarśī rājā* and not *Dharmarāja*. The present inscription similarly refers to him as *Rājā* Aśokaśrī.[2]

Some scholars are inclined to assign the inscription to a date about 100 A.D. I am, however, of opinion that, on palaeographical grounds, it is assignable to a period between the 2nd and the 1st century B.C.[3]

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[1] Pali-English Dictionary, P. T. S., p. 174.

[2] [The word *Chakravartin* means 'an imperial ruler'. In the Buddhist works, Aśoka is represented as a *dvīpa-chakravartin*, i.e., as the lord of the entire Jambū-dvīpa. See Buddhaghosha's *Sāmantapāsādikā*, P. T. S., Vol. II, p. 309. The epithet *Dharmarāja* suits Maurya Aśōka, called Dharmāśoka, admirably. Indeed he was the ideal *rājā chakravartī dhārmiko dharmarājaḥ* of Buddhist conception (cf. P. T. S. Dictinoary, s.v. *chakkavattin* and *dhammika*).—Ed.]

[3] The palaeography of the inscription has been discussed by me in *Proc. IHC*, 1953, pp. 79-80. [In our opinion, the palaeography of the inscription points to a date not much earlier than the second century A.D. Although it is not quite easy to explain the purpose of this interesting record, it may not be impossible that an ancient tradition ascribing a Buddhist structure at Sālihuṇḍam to Maurya Aśoka was current in the locality and that this label referring to it was affixed at a later date.—Ed.]

No. 15—PEDDA-DUGAM PLATES OF SATRUDAMANA, YEAR 9

(1 Plate)

D. C. Sircar, Ootacamund

This is a set of three plates discovered in the course of digging the earth for the foundation of a house at the village of **Pedda-Dugam** in the Narasannapet Taluk of the Srikakulam District, Andhra State. The record was published by Mr. V. Bhanumurty, who secured the plates for examination through the Collector of the District, first in the Telugu monthly journal *Bhārati*, March 1955, pp. 86 ff., and then in *JAHRS*, Vol. XXI, pp. 159 ff. His reading and interpretation of the epigraph, however, contain many errors. The plates[1] were received in July 1955 for examination at the office of the Government Epigraphist for India through the Deputy Commissioner of Commercial Taxes, Guntur, and were returned, at his request, to the Registrar, Andhra University, Waltair.

The set consists of **three** thin plates each measuring about 7" by 2·7". The first plate bears writing only on the inner side while the others are inscribed on both the sides. There is a hole (about ·4" in diameter) for the seal-ring to pass through in the left margin of the plates. The oval face of the **seal** soldered to the ring is so completely defaced that no legend or emblem is visible on it. The three plates together weigh about 50 *tolas* while the weight of the ring with the seal is about 17½ *tolas*. The plates are numbered on the obverse side in late Telugu-Kannaḍa numerals, apparently not incised at the time of the engraving of the plates.

The **characters** belong to the Southern Alphabet and may be assigned on palaeographic grounds to a date roughly about the fifth century A.D. They closely resemble the script of such other records, belonging to the said age and discovered in the same region, as the Ningondi grant edited above.[2] But, as will be shown below, the internal evidence of the inscription under study seems to support its ascription to a date not much later than the middle of the fifth century A.D. The sign for *v* has been used to indicate *b* in some cases (cf. *Vrāhmaṇa* in line 5), although *b* also occurs in the record (cf. *Brāhmaṇānāṁ* in line 7). The numeral 9 occurs in line 23. The **language** of the record is Sanskrit, though there are many grammatical errors in the text of the document. With the exception of four imprecatory and benedictory stanzas about the end of the charter, the whole record is written in prose. As regards **orthographical** peculiarities, the inscription closely resembles other epigraphs of the age and area in question. Interesting is the use of the *jihvāmūlīya* in *yaḱ-kriyā* in line 14. Some consonants have been reduplicated in conjunction with *r*. Final *m* has been wrongly changed to *anusvāra* at the end of the second and fourth feet of verses, while final *n* has also been similarly changed in °*māṁ* in line 16. Among other errors of spelling, attention may be drawn to *siṅha* for *siṁha* (line 1), *aṅśu* for *aṁśu* (line 16), *sambatsarō* for *saṁvatsarō* (line 22), etc. The **date** of the charter is given as the **tenth day of the month of Āshāḍha in the year 9**, apparently of the reign of Śatrudamana and not of his overlord referred to in the record. The absence of any reference to the *paksha* may suggest that the month was solar.

The record begins with the symbol for *Siddham*. The charter was issued from the victorious Siṁhapura by a *Mahārāja* who is described as *bhagavatō Damanēśvarasvāminaḥ pād-ānudhyātaḥ* and *Bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-parigṛihītaḥ*. *Bhagavat* Damanēśvarasvāmin was apparently a deity whom

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[1] This is No. 7 of *A.R.Ep.*, 1955-56, App. A.

[2] See Vol. XXX, pp. 112 ff. and Plates. For some other inscriptions of the type, see above, Vol. IV, pp. 142 ff.; Vol. XII, pp. 1 ff.; Vol. XXIII, pp. 56 ff.; Vol. XXIV, pp. 47 ff.; Vol. XXVII, pp. 35-36, etc.

the issuer of the grant held in special esteem while the *Bhaṭṭāraka* was a monarch to whom he owed allegiance but whose name has not been mentioned. The name of the *Mahārāja* is given as **Śatrudamanadēva.** Whether the deity Damanēśvara, worshipped by him, was named after himself (cf. the latter part of his name) or after one of his predecessors named Damana cannot be determined with certainty.

Mahārāja Śatrudamana's order in respect of the grant recorded in the document was issued to the villagers (*grāmān* in the sense of *grāmēyakān*), headed by Brāhmaṇas and others, residing at the three localities called Duhāgrāma, Vasuvāṭaka and Gōvāṭaka within what is called the *agrahāra* (revenue-free area in the possession of Brāhmaṇas) of Giri-Kaliṅga-Varddhamāna (i.e. the Varddhamāna *agrahāra* in the Giri-Kaliṅga district). As the gift villages are stated to have been situated in an *agrahāra*, the present grant may be regarded as a reallotment of the localities, which were already revenue-free, in favour of the donees of the charter. The donees were two Brāhmaṇas named Bappaśarman and Sarvaśarman who were the sons of Yajñaśarman and residents of Paṭṭuvagrāma. They belonged to the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra* and were students of the Taittirīya school of the Yajurvēda. The gift villages were made a *brāhmaṇa-dēya* and granted to the donees as a *dvija-bhōga.* The three villages constituted three *vṛittis* or shares, two of which were granted to Sarvaśarman and one to Bappaśarman. The villagers were enjoined to receive orders from the donees and follow them as well as to pay to them whatever dues they could legally claim as rent or taxes (*pratyāya*), produce of the fields (*mēya*), etc. The above is followed by four imprecatory and benedictory stanzas in the *Anushṭubh* metre in lines 14-22. Next comes the date of the charter, already discussed above. The name of *Vaidya* Kṛishṇadatta, who was the *dūta* or executor of the grant, occurs in line 24 with which the document ends.

There are several points of interest in the inscription under study. It reveals for the first time the existence of a king named Śatrudamana who ruled from Siṁhapura which has been identified with modern Singupuram near Srikakulam. It is well known that this city is mentioned as the capital of the Kaliṅga country in the Ceylonese chronicles and that many *Mahārājas* enjoying the title *Kaliṅg-ādhipati* or *sakala-Kaliṅg-ādhipati*, who flourished about the fifth century A.D., issued their charters from the same place.[1] We also know that the history of Kaliṅga about the fifth century was marked by the rivalry between the kings of Pishṭapura (modern Pithapuram in the East Godavari District) in South Kaliṅga and those of Central Kaliṅga, especially the rulers of Siṁhapura.[2] Kings Umavarman and Chaṇḍavarman of the Pitṛibhakta family had one of their capitals at Siṁhapura. The Māṭharas, who originally ruled from Pishṭapura, appear to have ousted the Pitṛibhaktas from Central Kaliṅga. The Ragolu plates,[3] issued by the Māṭhara king Śaktivarman from Pishṭapura, record a grant of land in the neighbourhood of Siṁhapura, while the Ningondi and Sakunaka grants[4] of Prabhañjanavarman and Anantaśaktivarman, respectively the son and grandson of Śaktivarman, were issued from Siṁhapura itself. The Vāsishṭhas of Dēvarāshṭra in Central Kaliṅga, i.e. the modern Yellamanchili area of the Visakhapatnam District, appear to have extended their power over the Pishṭapura region and extirpated the Māṭharas sometime about the beginning of the sixth century A.D. King Śatrudamana of our inscription appears to have ruled earlier than all the rulers mentioned above as having issued their charters from Siṁhapura.

An interesting fact to be noted in this connection is that, while the other *Mahārājas* of the age and area generally claimed to have been the lords of Kaliṅga and were apparently independent

[1] Cf. *The Classical Age*, pp. 211 ff.; above, Vol. XXX, pp. 112 ff.; *Mahāvaṁsa*, VI, 35; Geiger, *Cūlavaṁsa*, trans., Part I, p. 213, note 1.

[2] See *The Classical Age*, loc. cit.

[3] Above, Vol. XII, pp. 1 ff.

[4] Ibid., Vol. XXX, pp. 112 ff.; Vol. XXVIII, pp. 226 ff.

monarchs, *Mahārāja* Śatrudamana acknowledged the supremacy of a *Bhaṭṭāraka* or paramount ruler. The style *Bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-parigṛihīta* applied to a *Mahārāja* reminds us of similar epithets used in relation to certain feudatories of the Gupta emperors.[1] We also know that, during the fourth and fifth centuries, independent monarchs of South India, including certain performers of the Aśvamēdha sacrifice, enjoyed the title *Mahārāja* and that it was the Gupta emperors who popularised among independent rulers all over North India and partly over South India the imperial titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja*.

The feudatories (including those enjoying a semi-independent status) and subordinate allies of the early monarchs of the Gupta family enjoyed the title *Mahārāja* and were often called *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānudhyāta*, i.e. meditating on or favoured by the feet of the overlord. The expression *pāda-parigṛihīta* also occurs instead of *pād-ānudhyāta* in the same context in epigraphic records in the description of certain subordinates of the Gupta emperors.[2] It is therefore very probable that the overlord of *Mahārāja* Śatrudamana was a Gupta monarch. It has also to be noticed that we do not know of any other imperial power to which the *Mahārāja* of Siṁhapura could have possibly owed allegiance in the age in question while Gupta suzerainty is known to have been acknowledged in the same region by Pṛithivīvigraha-bhaṭṭāraka about the middle of the sixth century.[3] The absence of the name of Śatrudamana's overlord in the charter under study and its date given in his own regnal reckoning instead of the Gupta era appear, however, to suggest that the king was enjoying a semi-independent status at the time of issuing the grant.

The Allahabad pillar inscription[4] of Samudragupta (c. 340-76 A.D.) mentions certain rulers of the Kaliṅga region, who were defeated by the Gupta monarch but were reinstalled by him in their respective kingdoms. Whether the rulers of that area acknowledged Gupta supremacy as a result of Samudragupta's expedition cannot, however, be determined although that is not improbable. We have also to note that the ruler of Siṁhapura is not mentioned in the list of kings mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription and that the city may have become prominent after the third quarter of the fourth century when the said epigraph was engraved. One of the rulers of the Kaliṅga region mentioned in the list of Samudragupta's adversaries is Damana of Ēraṇḍapalla. This king can hardly be identified with Śatrudamana of Siṁhapura because not only are the names of the rulers but also those of their capitals are different. In any case, the combined testimony of the Pedda-Dugam plates of Śatrudamana and the Sumandala plates of the time of Pṛithivīvigraha would point to the hold of the Guptas on parts of the Kaliṅga country. If the area in question did not come under Gupta influence during the reign of Samudragupta, it may have been subdued by his son Chandragupta II (376-414 A.D.) or grandson Kumāragupta I (414-55 A.D.) as the later members of the Imperial Gupta family do not appear to have been powerful enough to effect the conquest of such a far off tract. But the *Mahārājas* of the Siṁhapura region must have thrown off the Gupta yoke considerably before the end of the fifth century not long after Śatrudamana's reign.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, the location of **Siṁhapura** has been indicated above. **Duhāgrāma** seems to be no other than modern Pedda-Dugam (literally, 'the bigger Dugam') which is the find-spot of the record. The indentification of the other two villages is uncertain though they appear to have stood in the same neighbourhood. The location of Paṭṭuvagrāma cannot be determined. The Vardhamāna *agrahāra* is stated to have been situated in Giri-Kaliṅga which seems to be the name applied to a hilly district of Kaliṅga. In ancient times, usually the Godavari (sometimes even the Krishna) was regarded as the south-western

[1] Cf. *IHQ*, Vol. XXII, pp. 64-65.
[2] See *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 283, 285, 310, 324, 328, 338.
[3] Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 79 ff.
[4] *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 1 ff.

boundary of the Kaliṅga country. About the fifth century A.D., as we have seen, 'the lords of Kaliṅga' were ruling from Pishṭapura in the south and Siṁhapura and other cities in the Srikakulam region. With the establishment of the Eastern Gaṅga kings, often styled 'lords of Kaliṅga', at Kaliṅganagara (modern Mukhalingam near Srikakulam) about the end of the century, the name Kaliṅga gradually came to be exclusively applied to their kingdom. The Ganjam-Puri-Cuttack region of Orissa, which formed part of the ancient Kaliṅga country at least down to the sixth century, became later known as Tōsalī after an ancient capital of the land identified with modern Dhauli in the Puri District.[1]

TEXT[2]

First Plate

1 Siddham[3] [|*] Vijaya-**Siṅha(Siṁha)purād**=bhagavatō Damanēśvara-

2 svāminaḥ pād-ānudhyātō Bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-parigṛi-

3 hītō mahārāja-śrī-**Śatrudamanadēvaḥ Giri-**

4 **Kaliṅga-Varddhamān-āgrahārē Duhāgrām**[5] **Vasuvāṭakē**

Second Plate, First Side

2[4]

5 **Gōvāṭakē** sa (cha) Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-purōgad=[5] grāmāñ=chharī:-ādi-kuśalaṁ

6 spṛi(pṛi)shṭvā likhaty=asty=ētē mayā grāmakā [ā*]tmana[ḥ] puṇy-ā(ṇy-ā)pyāyana-

7 nimittaṁ Brāhmaṇānāṁ(bhyāṁ) Paṭṭuvagrāma-vāstavyāya(bhyāṁ)

8 Kauṇḍinya-sagōttrāya(bhyāṁ) Taittirīya-savra(bra)hmachāriṇē(bhyāṁ)

9 Yajñaśarmmaṇaḥ puttra(ttrābhyāṁ) Vappaśarmmaṇāya Śarvvaśarmma-

Second Plate, Second Side

10 ṇāya cha[6] trīṇy=api[7] grāmakā dattā ābhyā[ṁ] vrā(brā)hmaṇa-dēya[ṁ] kṛitvā

11 dvija-bhōgō visṛishṭas=tad=yushmābhi[ḥ*] śrōtavyam[8]=ājñā cha kartavyā [|*]

12 attra cha Śarvvaśarmmaṇāya(ṇē) vṛitti-dvaya[ṁ*] Va(Ba)ppaśarmmaṇāya(ṇē)

13 cha vṛittir=ēkā [|*] sarvvē cha samuchita-grāmāṇā[ṁ] pratyāya-

14 mēy-ādim[9]=upanēsya(shya)tha [|*] bhavanti ch=āttra ślōkā[ḥ|*] Yaḥ=kriyāṁ dharmma-

15 sa[ṁ]yuktāṁ manas=āpy=abhinandati [|*] varddhatē sa yath-ēshṭēna (shṭañ=cha)

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[1] For the geography of Kaliṅga, see my article on ancient Orissa, in *JIH*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 263 ff.

[2] From the original plates and their impressions.

[3] Expressed by symbol.

[4] The figure, which is a modern Telugu-Kannaḍa numeral, stands in the margin near the beginning of line 6. A similar figure for 1 is found on the blank side of the first plate.

[5] Read *purōgān*. The word *grāma* appears to have been used in the sense of *grāmēyaka* or *grāmavāsin*.

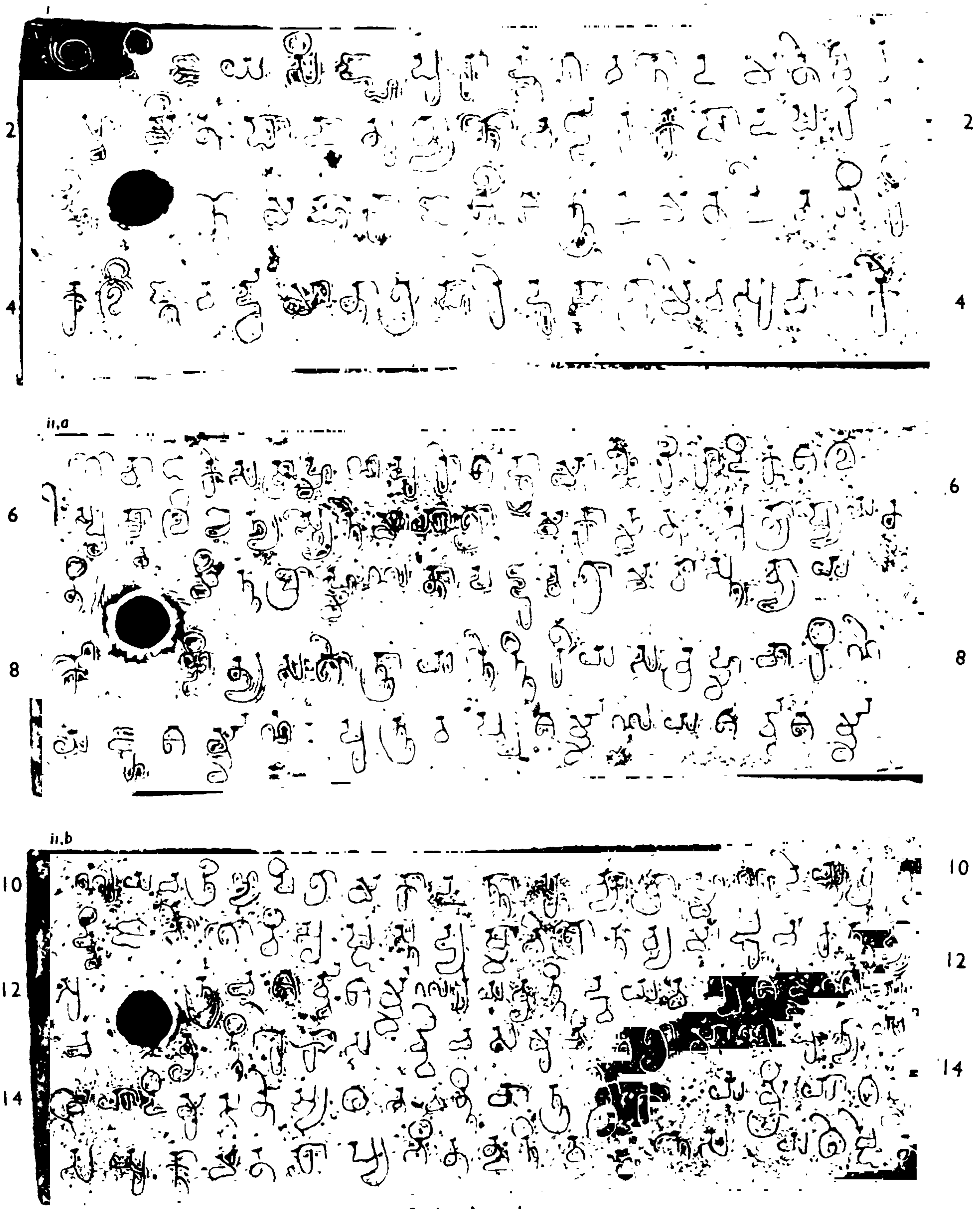
[6] Read *Bappaśarmmaṇē Śarvvaśarmmaṇē cha* or *Bappaśarmma-Śarvvaśarmmabhyāṁ*.

[7] Read *trayō pi*.

[8] Better read *śrōtavyā*. The word *anayōḥ* is understood in this sentence.

[9] Better read *grāmāṇāṁ samuchita-pratyāya-mēy-ādi*. The word *ābhyām* is understood here.

PEDDA-DUGAM PLATES OF SATRUDAMANA YEAR 9

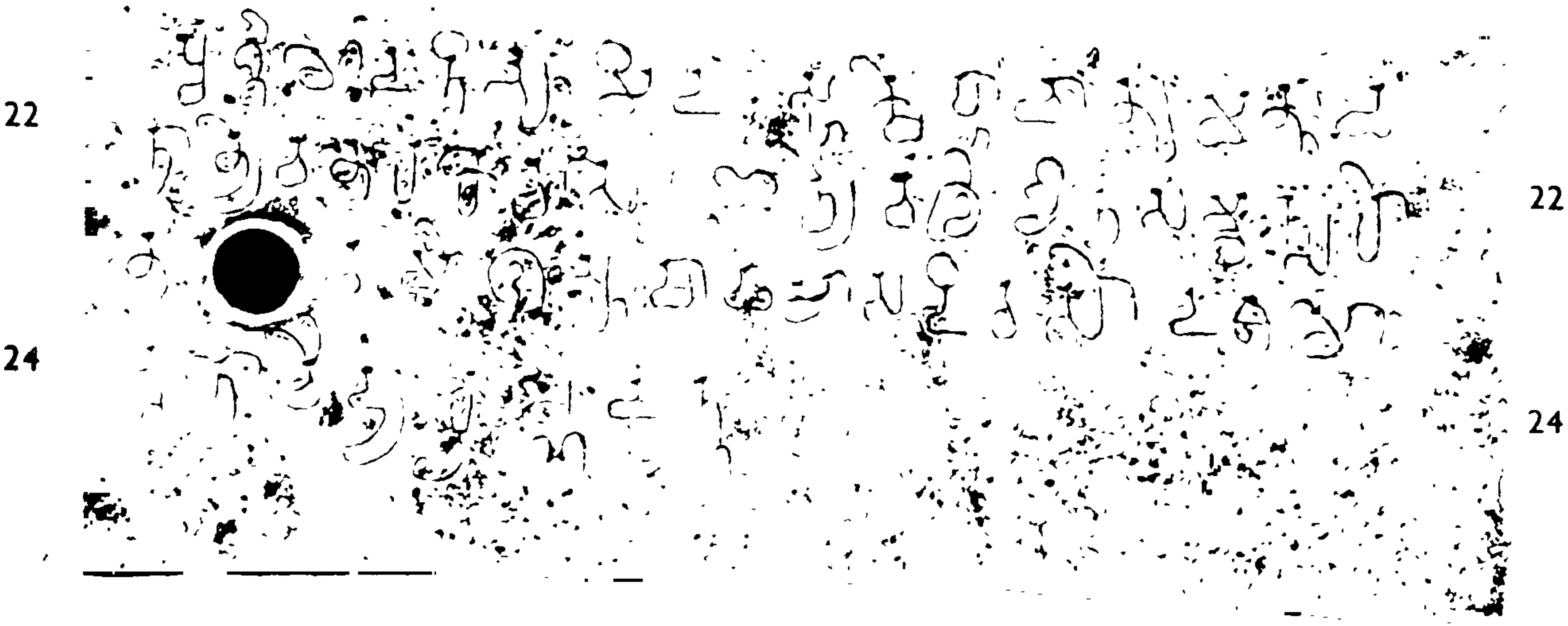


Scale: Actual size

iii,a



iii,b



Third Plate; First Side

3[1]

16 śukla-pakshē iv=āṅśumāṁ[2] | [1*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā dattā[3]

17 vasudhā[4] vasudh-ādhipaiḥ [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmi

18 tasya[5] tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) || [2*] Pūrvva-dattāṁ dvijātibhyō

19 yatnād=raksha Yudhishṭhira | mahīm=mahimatāṁ śrēshṭha

20 dānāch=chhrēyō=nupālanaṁ(nam) [|| 3*] Shashṭiṁ varshsha(rsha)-sahasrāṇi

Third Plate, Second Side

21 sva[r*]ggē mōdati bhūmidaḥ [|*] ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha

22 tāny=ēva narakē vasē[t*] || [4*] ity=ēvaṁ-likhita-samba(saṁva)tsarō

23 **navamō 9 Āshāḍha-māsa-divasō daśamō**

24 dūtō vaidya-Kṛishṇadatta[ḥ ||*]

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[1] The figure (a modern Telugu-Kannaḍa numeral) stands in the margin near the beginning of lines 17-18.

[2] Read *paksha iv=āmśumān.*

[3] There is an unnecessary dash-like mark after the word.

[4] Read *bahudhā.*

[5] Read *bhūmis=tasya.*

No. 16—TWO EASTERN GANGA INSCRIPTIONS AT KANCHIPURAM

(*1 Plate*)

T. V. MAHALINGAM, MADRAS

The two subjoined inscriptions[1] are engraved, one in continuation of the other, on the south wall of the Aruḷāḷa Perumāḷ temple at **Little Kāñchīpuram,** Chingleput District, Madras State. They are edited here with the aid of their impressions kindly placed at my disposal by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The **language** as well as the **script** of both the records is Tamil. Wherever Sanskrit words or phrases occur, they are written in the Grantha script, the rest being in Tamil characters. The orthographical peculiarities do not call for any special remarks.

The **object** of the first inscription is to record the gift of the village of **Uḍaiyakāmam in Antarudra-vishaya** by Sōmaladēvī-mahādēvī, for offerings and worship, to the god Allāḷanātha while she was at **Abhinava-Vārāṇavāsi.**[2] The inscription is dated in the **19th year** of the reign of *Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēśvara* **Anantavarmarāhutadēva** who is stated to have belonged to the **Gaṅga** family. The king is further described as the son of [the god] Purushōttama and a *Paramavaishṇava* who regularly observed the *ēkādaśī-vrata* and constantly meditated upon and practised the meaning of the *mahāvākya*. The inscription quotes other details of the date, viz., Mīna śu·5, Wednesday, Rēvatī. As the year of the commencement of this king's reign is known to be 1211 A.D.[3], the particulars of the date given in the inscription seem to correspond to 1230 A.D., March 20, the *tithi* quoted having ended the following day at ·02. The *nakshatra* Rēvatī is misquoted for Rōhiṇī.

The second inscription records the gift of 128 cows and four bulls by *Kaliṅgēśvara* Aṇiyaṅkabhīmadēva-rāhuta for four perpetual lamps to the Perumāḷ. The *sthānattār* of the temple agreed to measure out the ghee required for the purpose. It is dated in the **20th year** of the reign of the **Chōḷa king Rājarāja III** and contains the following astronomical details: Āḍi 12, Saptamī, Monday, Aśvatī, which correspond to 1235 A.D., July 8, the week day being Sunday and not Monday as quoted.

These two Eastern Gaṅga inscriptions are of more than ordinary interest for two reasons. Firstly on account of the fact that both of them are found engraved on the walls of a temple at Little Kāñchīpuram far away from Orissa and secondly for the reason that, while the first inscription in which the Gaṅga king's wife figures as the donor, is dated in the 19th regnal year of that king without reference to the contemporary Chōḷa king Rājarāja III, the second is dated in the latter's 20th regnal year.

It will be of interest to examine how the two Eastern Gaṅga inscriptions are found at Kāñchīpuram. It would appear that king Aniyaṅkabhīma III (1211-38 A.D.) took advantage of the

[1] *A.R.Ep.*, Nos. 444 and 445 of 1919.

[2] Abhinava-Vārāṇavāsi has been identified by Dr. D. C. Sircar with Abhinava-Vārāṇasī-kaṭaka (modern Cuttack in Orissa). Aniyaṅkabhīma III issued from that place a number of grants in 1230-31 A.D. (cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 235-258; Vol. XXX, pp. 17-23). Antarudra-vishaya, in which the village Uḍaiyakāmam was situated, has been identified with the modern Antarōdha Pargana in the Sadar Sub-division of the Puri District of Orissa (see above, Vol. XXX, p. 22, n. 2).

[3] Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 259.

political confusion that prevailed in South India during the reign of the Chōḷa king Rājarāja III (1216-46 A.D.) and tried to fish in the troubled waters of South Indian politics about 1229-30 A.D. either by himself or more probably at the invitation of over-grown and disloyal Chōḷa vassals like the Kāḍavarāya chieftain Kōpperuñjiṅga [1] The reign of Rājarāja III was marked by many political and economic troubles even from its beginning. Probably about 1229-30 A.D. he invited fresh trouble for himself and his kingdom by withholding the tribute he was to pay to Māṛavarman Sundarapāṇḍya I and despatched a large army against him. Rājarāja III, having been defeated by the Pāṇḍya king, abandoned his capital and proceeded to his relation and friend, the Hoysala king Narasimha II, along with his retinue. On his way he was suddenly overtaken by the Kāḍava chief with the help of a vanguard of forest and foreign (*mlēchchadēśa*) troops, taken captive after a fight and imprisoned in his capital Jayantamaṅgalam (Sēndamaṅgalam). When Narasiṁha heard of these events, he defeated the Pāṇḍya king, carried destruction into the region under the Kāḍavarāya and restored Rājarāja to his throne.

It is very probable that the Eastern Gaṅga king Aniyaṅkabhīma III sent his army to the Tamil country apparently to help the Kāḍavarāya chieftain but really to take advantage of the political confusion in the Chōḷa kingdom.[1] Though there is no direct evidence as such to show that he either assisted the Kāḍavarāya chieftain or actually sent his army to the Chōḷa country, it is indirectly suggested by two pieces of independent evidence. Two Hoysala inscriptions suggest the movement of the Eastern Gaṅga army into the Tamil country and its possible temporary occupation of Kāñchīpuram. One of them recounts the following achievements of Hoysala Narasiṁha II: " His forcible capture of Adiyama, Chēra, Pāṇḍya, Makara and the powerful Kāḍavas why should I describe ? Describe how he lifted up the Chōḷa, brought under his order the land as far as the Sētu and pursuing after the Trikaliṅga forces, penetrated their train of elephants displaying unequalled valour ".[2] Another contains the following details: " The king Vīra Narasiṁha, determined to make an expedition of victory in all directions first went to the east and, being surrounded, uprooted the Magara king, set up the Chōḷa king who sought refuge with him and, having seen [the god] Allāḷanātha, stationed there a body of the *bhēruṇḍas* (the name of a regiment ?) to uproot the evil, returned and, entering the Ratnakūṭa capital, was at peace. Then the body of the *bhēruṇḍas*, according to his order, remained for sometime in Kāñchīpura. And having seen the lord of Kāñchīpura, the remover of the fears of the world, the worshipful Allāḷanātha, and marking both their arms with signs, the servants went forth and, having conquered unequalled hostile forces and the Vindhya mountains, acquired the renown of a present day Agastya for the body of *vīra-bhēruṇḍas*."[3]

It is unfortunate that neither of the two inscriptions referred to above contains any date ; but their approximate date can be fixed with the help of the details contained in them and in other inscriptions, and that is 1230 A D.[1] Among the many achievements attributed to Hoysala Vīra-Narasiṁha II in the first of the two Hoysala inscriptions referred to. mention is made of his pursuit of the Trikaliṅga forces which were obviously the army of the Eastern Gaṅga king. It is not quite necessary to assume that Vīra-Narasiṁha invaded the Kaliṅga country itself. Possibly when the Eastern Gaṅga army invaded South India and occupied Kāñchīpuram it was defeated by the Hoysala king and driven out of the Tamil country. The possible raid and temporary occupation of Kāñchīpuram by the army of Aniyaṅkabhīma is further indicated by the second Hoysala inscription which categorically mentions Vīra-Narasiṁha's invasion and uprooting of the Magara kingdom (*Magara-rājyaṁ nirmūlya*), his setting up in his kingdom the Chōḷa king who had sought

[1] [See below, pp. 99 ff.—Ed.].
[2] *EC*, Vol. V, Cn. 203.
[3] Ibid., Cn. 211.

his protection (*śaraṇāgata-Chōḷa-rājaṁ pratishṭhāpya*) and his stationing at Kāñchīpuram of the army of the *bhēruṇḍas* for uprooting evil-doers (*dushṭa-nirmūlan-ārthaṁ tatra bhēruṇḍa-varggaṁ sthāpayitvā*).[1]

One does not know what the *dushṭa* element at Kāñchīpuram at that time was, if it was not the Trikaliṅga army. Certainly it could not have been that of the Magaras, who are referred to separately in the inscription and whose territories lay farther west (in the present North Arcot and Salem regions), or the Kāḍavarāya chieftain whose hostile activites against Rājarāja III were more in the south at that time. The possibility of the *dushṭa* element at Kāñchīpuram being the Trikaliṅga army is suggested by the latter half of the inscription which says that the *bhēruṇḍa-vargga* after remaining at the place for sometime went forth and conquered unequalled hostile forces and the Vindhya mountains (*nirggatya tasmāt parabalam=atulaṁ Vindhyam=adriṁ vijitya*) The *para-bala* (foreign army) could have been that of the Eastern Gaṅga king Aniyaṅkabhīma, which was the *dushṭa* element at Kāñchīpuram. This surmise seems to be supported by the first of the two inscriptions edited here, dated the 20th March 1230 A.D.[1]

It is a point to be noted that though the grant was made to a celebrated Vaishṇava temple in the heart of the Chōḷa kingdom, the inscription is dated not in the regnal year of the then Chōḷa king Rājarāja III, but in the 19th regnal year of the Eastern Gaṅga king. It is not easy to explain away the circumstance,[1] though the document could have been prepared at the Eastern Gaṅga capital, unless we take that Rājarāja III was then a prisoner at Śēndamaṅgalam with his vassal Kōpperuñjiṅga, and the Chōḷa country was without a king. But the Eastern Gaṅga occupation of Kāñchīpuram was only temporary as may be seen from the two Hoysala inscriptions referred to above, which suggest that it was put an end to by the Hoysala army which drove the hostile forces from the place and occupied the city.[2]

T hough the Eastern Gaṅga army was dislodged from Kāñchīpuram in the course of 1230 A.D., *Kaliṅgēśvara* Aniyaṅkabhīma's devotion to the god Allāḷanātha of the place was so great that, according to the second inscription edited here, he made in 1235 A.D. a gift of 128 milch cows and 4 bulls for four perpetual lamps for the Perumāḷ, for which the *sthānattār* of the temple agreed to measure a *nāḻi* of ghee by the *Ariyeṇavallā-nāḻi*. It is significant that this inscription is dated in the 20th year of the reign of Chōḷa Rājarāja III. It suggests that, after Rājarāja's release from prison in 1230 A.D., Aniyaṅkabhīma III recognised him as the Chōḷa king and did not interfere in the politics of the Chōḷa country. No indication is available in the inscription as to whether the Kaliṅga king was at Kāñchīpuram at the time of this grant. Possibly he made the grant *in absentia* from Abhinava-Vārāṇavāsi itself in the same way as his wife Sōmaladēvī had done five years earlier, unless it is assumed that he visited the place in 1235 A.D. as a pious pilgrim.[1]

Inscription No. 1

TEXT[3]

1 Svasti [|*] Chatu[r*]ddaśa-bhuvan-ādhipati-śrī-Purushōttama-charaṇ-ādēśa(śā)t [|*] Samara-mukh-ānēka-ripu-di(da)rppa-marddana-bhujabala-parākranma-[4]

2 ma-paramavaishṇava-para[5]mabhaṭṭāraka-jaganmūlakāraṇa-śrī-Purushōttama-putra-traiva-sundharā-samundha(ddha)raṇa-praba(cha)ṇḍa-dō-

[1] [See below pp. 99 ff.—Ed.].

[2] *EC*, Vol. V, Cn. 203 and 211.

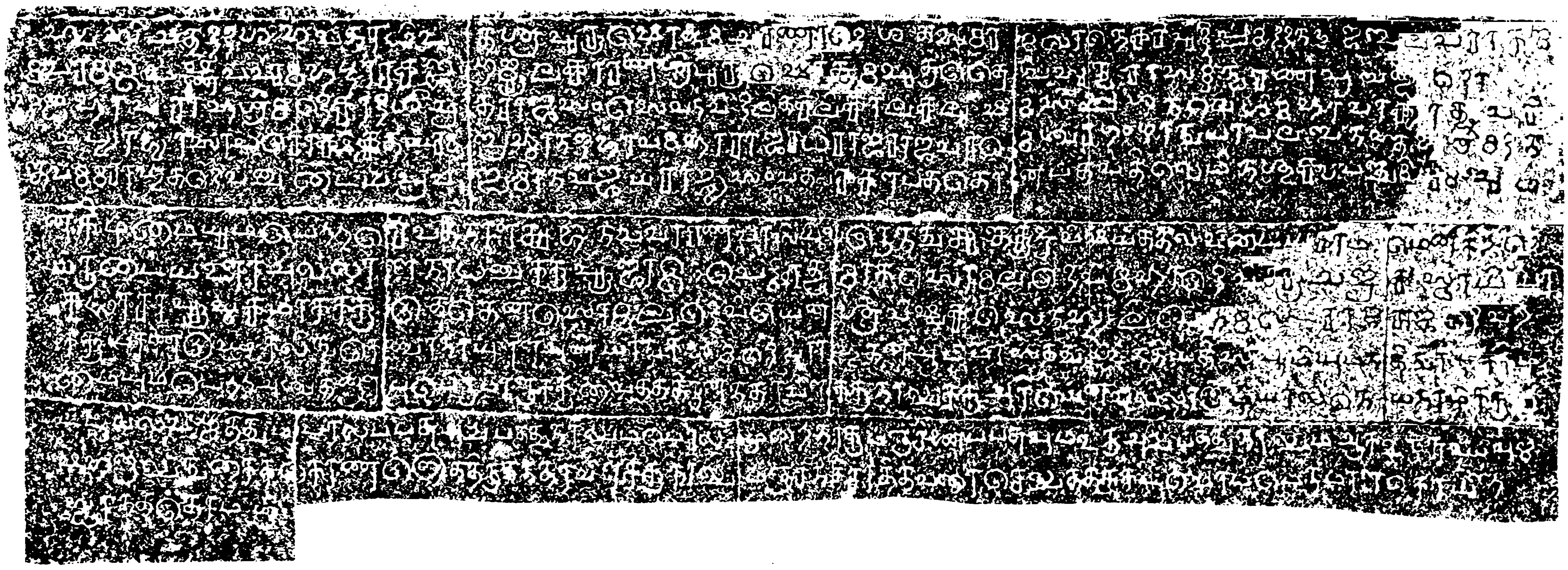
[3] From an impression.

[4] This *nma* is redundant.

[5] This *ra*, which was first omitted by the scribe, seems to have been later engraved on *pa*.

No. I

No. II



Scale : One-fourth

3 **rddaṇḍa**-[ma*]hāvarāha-śrīmad-ēkādaśī-vratarāja-saṁsēvana-**vidalita**-Kalikāla-**kalusha**-masi-spa[r*]śana-lēśa-mahāvāky-ārtha-pari-

4 **charyy**-ābhyās-āparōkshī[kṛi]ta-paramabrahm-ānanda-bhāva-mahārājādhirāja-**rājaparamēśvara-Gaṁg**-ānvay-āvala[m]bana-sta[m*]bha-śrīmad-**Ana-**

5 **ntava[r*]mma-rāhutadēvaṇ**uḍaiya prava[r*]ddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-**saṁvat[s]araṁ-gaḷ pattoṇbada(dā)vadilē Mīna-śukla-pañchamiyum Budha-**

6 **ṉ kiḻamaiyum peṟṟa Rēvati-nāḷ** Abhinava-**Vārāṇavāsiyil** irundu **Antarudra-vishayattil Uḍaiyakāmam**=eṉgira [pe]

7 **yar=uḍaiya** ūr Allāḷanāthaṉukku pūjā naivēd[y-ā][r*]tthamāga **Sōmaladēvi-mahādēvi** ā-chandra(ndr-ā)rka-sthāyiyā-

8 **ga** dhārā-pūrvvakamāga-kkuḍutten Sōmaladēviyeṉ [|*] Śrī-**Vishvaksēnasya likhanam** ||[1]

TRANSLATION

Hail! At the command of (*the god*) Purushōttama, the lord of the fourteen worlds; **in the 19th year** of the increasingly victorious reign of *Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēśvara* **Ananta-varma-rāhuta**dēva, who has destroyed by the prowess of his arm the arrogance of the enemy **in many a** battle, who is a *Paramavaishṇava* (*and*) *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, who is the son of (*the god*) **Purushōttama** the original cause of the universe, who is the (*veritable primeval*) Great Boar that **raised** high the three worlds, who by his observance of *ēkādaśī* the best of all the *vratas* **is free from** the slightest touch of the black evils of the Kali age, who has attained the supreme bliss of **Brahman** by constant devotion to and practice of the meaning of the *Mahāvākya*, and **who is the** pillar supporting the family of the **Gaṅgas**, on **Wednesday, Mīna-śukla-pañchamī, Rēvatī**, while staying at **Abhinava-Vārāṇavāsi**, Sōmaladēvī-mahādēvī grants, with libation of water and for as long as the moon and sun endure, the village of Uḍaiyakāmam in Antarudra-**vishaya**, for worship and offerings, to the god Allālanātha. (*Thus*) I, Sōmaladēvī, (*give*). (*This is*) **the writing** of Vishvaksēna.

Inscription No. II[2]

TEXT

8 **Rājarājadēvar-**

9 **kku**(ku) **yāṇḍu** 20 **Kaliṅgēśvaran=āyuḷḷa Aṇiyāṅkabhimadēva-rāhutaṉ Āḍi-māsattu 12[n]tiyadi saptamiyumn**[3] **Tiṅga[ṭ]-kki(ki)ḻa-**

10 **maiyum peṟṟa Aśvati**-nāḷ Pp(Pe)rumāḷukku vaitta tiruṇandāviḷakku nālukku Ariyeṇa-vallā-ṇāḻiyāl ney nāḻikku vi-

11 ṭ[ṭ]a pala-varggattu ppāl-ppa(pa)śu aṟu-pattu-nālum polimuṟai-nāgumñ[4]-chiṉai-ppaśuvum uru[5] aṟu-pattu-nālum āga uru[5] 128 ṟi-

12 shabha-ṇāluṅ-kaikkoṇḍu i-ttiru-nandāviḷakku nālum ñ[6] chandir-ādi[t*]tavarai cheluttakkaḍavōm Perumāḷ kōyiṟ(yil)-

13 sthānattōm śrī [| *]

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[1] The punctuation mark is denoted by the sign known as *piḷḷaiyār śuḻi*.

[2] This inscription is engraved in continuation of No. 1.

[3] This *n* is redundant.

[4] This *m* is redundant.

[5] The word *uru* is not used while mentioning the other group of 64 cows above.

[6] This *ñ* is redundant.

TRANSLATION

In the 20th year of **Rājarājadēva**, on **Monday, Āḍi 12, saptami, Aśvati**, we, the *sthānattār* of the Perumāḷ temple, agree to supply (*daily*) as long as the moon and sun endure, a *nāḻi* of ghee measured by the *Ariyeṇavallā-nāḻi* for burning four perpetual lamps before (*the god*) Perumāḷ, for which purpose 128 cows made up of 64 milch cows and 64 heifers and pregnant cows and four bulls were given by **Aniyaṅkabhīmadēva-rāhuta**.

No. 17—NOTE ON TWO EASTERN GANGA INSCRIPTIONS AT KANCHIPURAM

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

In the foregoing article, Dr. T. V. Mahalingam suggests that the Eastern Gaṅga monarch Anaṅgabhīma III (*c.* 1211-38 A.D.) took advantage of the chaotic condition prevailing in the Chōḷa territory as a result of the temporary imprisonment, in 1230 A. D., of Chōḷa Rājarāja III (1215-46 A.D.) by the Kāḍava king Kōpperuñjiṅga I and that for a time the Eastern Gaṅga army entered Kāñchīpuram to be driven out soon afterwards by the Chōḷa king's relative, Hoysala Narasiṁha II (*c.* 1220-35 A.D.).[1] He further contends that, since one of the Kāñchīpuram inscriptions bears a date in the regnal reckoning of Anaṅgabhīma III, the locality must have been for the time being under the Gaṅga king. But the suggestions appear to be unwarranted in view of certain known facts of South Indian history during the period in question, which Dr. Mahalingam has ignored totally.

In the first place, about a hundred inscriptions discovered in the Godavari,[2] Krishna,[3] Guntur,[4] Kurnool,[5] Cuddapah[6] and Nellore[7] Districts prove that the entire tract lying to the north of the Chōḷa dominions formed a part of the empire of the Kākatīya monarch Gaṇapati (1199-1261 A.D.), a contemporary of Chōḷa Rājarāja III.[8] That the Kākatīyas were expanding their power towards the south is proved by two of Gaṇapati's own inscriptions, dated 1250 A.D., at Kāñchīpuram itself.[9] It is interesting to note that Kāḍava Kōpperuñjiṅga II, son of Kōpperuñjiṅga I, claims in his Drākshārāma inscription,[10] dated Śaka 1184 (1261-62 A.D.), to have been 'the executor of the commands of Gaṇapati-mahārāja', i.e. a subordinate of Kākatīya Gaṇapati. The Eastern Gaṅga army therefore could not have penetrated as far south as Kāñchīpuram without conquering thousands of square miles of Kākatīya territory and there is absolutely no proof to show that Anaṅgabhīma III was ever engaged in a succesful war with Gaṇapati.

Secondly, as Mr. V. Venkatasubba Ayyar has shown, Hoysala Narasiṁha II assumed the titles 'establisher of the Chōḷa kingdom' and 'destroyer of the demon Kāḍavarāya' after an engagement with Kāḍava Kōpperuñjiṅga I in 1224 A.D. and that he had defeated the Magada (Magara) chief and the Pāṇḍya king and planted a pillar of victory at Rāmēśvaram by Śaka 1145 (1223-24 A.D.) prior to the said engagement.[11] Most of the achievements of Hoysala Narasiṁha II, referred to by Dr. Mahalingam, have therefore to be assigned to a date more than five years before 1230 A.D. to which he is inclined to ascribe them.

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[1] For a discussion on the question of Eastern Gaṅga occupation of Kāñchī, see also above, Vol. XXX, pp. 19 ff.

[2] Rangachari's List, Nos. Gd. 72, 84A, 118, 125, 317, 325.

[3] Ibid., Nos. Kt. 31, 38, 92A, 136, 161-74, 180, 209A, 227, 232.

[4] Ibid., Nos. Gt. 86, 88, 101, 116, 118, 180, 185, 234, 238, 243, 247, 339, 352, 370, 415-16, 464, 475, 498, 500, 502, 555, 586cdegh, 624, 815, 854.

[5] Ibid., Nos. Kl. 262, 264, 269, 274, 287-89, 294, 297, 300-01.

[6] Ibid., Nos. Cd. 540, 654, 850, 905.

[7] Ibid., Nos. Nl. 85, 87, 129, 587, 590-01.

[8] Cf. Sewell, *Hist. Ins. S. Ind.*, pp. 133-34, s.v. 1216 and 1218 A.D.

[9] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 197 ff. ; *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 814.

[10] *SII*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1341, 1342, 1342*b*.

[11] See ibid., Vol. XII, p. x ; cf. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 507 ; *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Dg. 25 and p. 20 ; No. 228 of 1929 ; B. K. No. 91 of 1940-41.

Thirdly, Hoysala Narasiṁha II is known to have been ruling on March 10, 1229 A.D.[1] from Kāñchīpuram which was the eastern limit of his possessions,[2] while a number of Hoysala generals are mentioned in the Kāñchīpuram inscriptions with dates ranging between the 14th and 24th regnal years of Rājarāja III, i.e. between 1230 and 1240 A.D.[3] No. 408 of 1919 refers to the presence of the Hoysala general Ammaṇṇa at Kāñchī on the 25th February 1230 A.D. (14th regnal year of Rājarāja III, Mīna-śu 11, Monday), while No. 404 of the same year to that of another Hoysala general named Goppayya in the 15th regnal year (1230-31 A.D.) of Rājarāja III. It has to be noticed that it was these Hoysala generals[4] who were responsible for the defeat of Kōpperuñjiṅga I and the consequent release of Rājarāja III. Between 1229 and 1231 A.D. therefore it was the Hoysalas who were dominant at Kāñchīpuram. It is thus very difficult to believe that the place was occupied by the army of Anaṅgabhīma III in 1230 A.D. Under the circumstances, Dr. Mahalingam's identification of the *dushṭa* element at Kāñchīpuram, which was uprooted by the Hoysala army, with the Eastern Gaṅga forces seems to be unwarranted.

A Vriddhachalam inscription,[5] dated in the 14th regnal year of Rājarāja III, corresponding to 1229-30 A.D., records a benefaction of a person who was the chief of the body-guards of Kāḍava Kōpperuñjiṅga I. Hence the capture of the Chōḷa king at the hands of the Kāḍava chief seems to have occurred at a later date. We have also inscriptions of the reign of Rājarāja III dated the 15th and 17th February, 6th May, 3rd July and 5th August of 1230 A.D.[6] The date of the capture of Rājarāja III is placed by scholars[7] in 1231 A.D. or 'a little earlier'. In Dr. Mahalingam's opinion, Rājarāja III was in captivity for a short time in March-April 1230 A.D. and the Eastern Gaṅga forces entered Kāñchīpuram exactly at that time. A strange coincidence indeed!

It will be seen that this time factor is the very basis of Dr. Mahalingam's theory, although the fact cannot be ignored that the equation of the 19th year of Anaṅgabhīma III with 1230 A.D. is by no means certain. We know that none of the other records of this Eastern Gaṅga king is dated in his regnal reckoning. They bear dates only in the Śaka era and the Aṅka reckoning. If, considering the style of dating favoured by the Eastern Gaṅgas during the period in question, the date of the Kāñchīpuram inscription, viz. the year 19, is referred to the Aṅka reckoning, it would correspond to the 16th regnal year of Anaṅgabhīma III and to 1227 A.D. But it should also be remembered that the date of the king's accession, generally believed to have taken place in 1211 A.D., is itself uncertain.[8] Thus Dr. Mahalingam seems to stand on an extremely shaky foundation.

Fourthly, Dr. Mahalingam forgets that Kāñchīpuram was a place of pilgrimage and that at other holy places also there are records dated in the regnal reckoning of kings who were not really the rulers of the kingdom to which the areas in question belonged because the pilgrims responsible for them may have been their officers or subjects. It may also be noted in this connection that sometimes partisans of a king who had ceased to rule over a territory continued to mention him as the lord of the land in preference to the new ruler of the country.[9]

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[1] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XII, Tp. 42. The date quoted in the record is Śaka 1152 (current), Virōdhi, Chaitra-su 15, Saturday. For *briha-vāra* meaning Saturday, see A. Venkatasubbiah, *Some Śaka Dates in Inscriptions*, pp. 60 ff.

[2] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IV, intro., pp. 21-22.

[3] See *SII*, Vol. XII, pp. x-xi; cf. Nos. 408, 404, 616 369, 615, 611 and 612 of 1919.

[4] Cf. Sastri, *The Cōlas*, Vol. II, p. 183; *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XII, Gb. 45. *Ammaṇṇa* and *Appaṇṇa* appear to be variant forms of the same name.

[5] Above, Vol. VII, pp. 163-64.

[6] Cf. Sewell, op. cit., p. 140.

[7] Cf. ibid., p. 140.

[8] See above, Vol. XXX, pp. 200-01.

[9] Cf. *JAS*. Letters, Vol. XX, pp. 43 ff.; *The Age of Imperial Unity* (*The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. II), p. 131. It has also to be noticed that, while the first inscription seems to have been drafted at the Gaṅga capital, the second was apparently drafted by the priests of the temple at Kāñchipuram.

Attention in this connection may be drawn to three inscriptions at Drākshārāma in the Godavari District, which is known to have formed an integral part of the Kākatīya empire during the reigns of Gaṇapati (1199-1261 A.D.) and his successor Rudrāmbā (1261-91 A.D.). These are Nos. 193[1], 206[2] and 262[3] of 1893, respectively bearing dates in the 72nd (Śaka 1211), 37th (Śaka 1175) and 6th (Śaka 1144) years of the reign of a king named Rājādhirāja. There is no doubt that he cannot be identified with any of the Kākatīya rulers whose dominions comprised the Drākshārāma region during the period in question.

A similar case seems to be offered by No. 201[4] of 1905 found at Tripurantakam in the Markapur Taluk of the Kurnool District, Andhra State. This record is dated in the year Raudri (1260-61 A.D.) as well as in the 15th regnal year of the Chōḷa king Rājēndra III, although there are numerous inscriptions of the Kākatīyas showing that the area formed a part of the Kākatīya empire.

An inscription has been recently found on a stone built into the wall of the granary in the Raṅganātha temple at Srirangam.[5] It mentions a *Pradhāni* of Hoysala Vishṇuvardhana I and is dated in the year Khara (1111 A.D.) as well as in the 15th regnal year of the Hoysala king. There is no proof to show that the Hoysalas were in actual occupation of the Srirangam area during the life time of the Chōḷa emperor Kulōttuṅga I (1070-1120 A.D.).

A Drākshārāma inscription[6] records a donation of Jayaṅkoṇḍachōḍi, queen of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga of Kaliṅga, on the *vyatīpāta* day of the month of Siṁha in Śaka 1050 (1128 A.D.) without reference to any other ruler. If one reads only this inscription of the locality, it may be concluded that the Drākshārāma region formed a part of the empire of the said Gaṅga monarch. But we have several other inscriptions[7] at the same place bearing exactly the same date but equating the year with the 2nd or 3rd regnal year of Vishṇuvardhana.

As has already been shown above,[8] it was not necessary for a person to visit a distant holy place to make a grant in favour of the deity worshipped there. In the twelfth century, the Kadamba chief Jayakēśin II of Goa is known to have granted a village in the Dharwar District in favour of the god Sōmanātha in Kathiawar, apparently without visiting the temple himself. A Damodarpur copper-plate inscription of the time of Budhagupta refers to a grant of land made by an inhabitant of a village in North Bengal, in his own locality, in favour of two deities worshipped apparently at Varāhachhatra (Varāhakshētra) in Nepal, although it is uncertain whether he had visited the holy place.[9]

The real significance of Hoysala Narasiṁha's claim of success against the Trikaliṅga forces cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. But it may be as empty a boast as his other claim regarding the conquest of the Vindhyan region.

It has been suggested above[10] that Sōmaladēvī, wife of Gaṅga Anaṅgabhīma III, was a sister or daughter of Rājarāja III, although her name may point to her birth from a Kannaḍa

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[1] Rangachari's List, No. Gd. 98; *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 1019.

[2] Rangachari, op. cit., No. Gd. 111, *SII*, op. cit., No. 1033.

[3] Rangachari, op cit., No. Gd. 167; Sewell, op. cit., p. 136. The dates have been wrongly read in *SII*, op. cit., No. 1118.

[4] Rangachari's List, No. Kl. 294.

[5] This is No. 440 of *A.R.Ep.*, 1954-55, App. B.

[6] *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 1194.

[7] Ibid., Nos. 1191, 1195, 1196.

[8] See Vol. XXX, p. 22, n. 5. For even ordinary people performing pilgrimage by proxy, see Sreenivasachar *Corpus of Inscriptions*, Nos. 50-51.

[9] Cf. above, Vol. XV, pp. 138 ff.; *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 328 ff.; *The Classical Age* (*The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. III), pp. 417-18.

[10] See Vol. XXX, p. 22, n. 4.

princess. We know that the name of a queen of Hoysala Narasiṁha II was also Sōmaladēvī[1] and that the said Hoysala king gave one of his daughters in marriage to the Chōḷa king Rājarāja III.[2] As the practice of naming grandchildren after their grandparents was a popular one,[3] it is not impossible to think that Sōmaladēvī, wife of Anaṅgabhīma III, was a daughter of Rājarāja III by the daughter of Hoysala Narasiṁha II through his queen Sōmaladēvī. If such was the case, the presence of the inscriptions, edited above by Dr. Mahalingam, at Kāñchīpuram can be easily explained.

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[1] Pd. 153; Sastri, *The Cōlas*, p. 191.

[2] Sewell, op. cit., pp. 135 (s. v. 1220 A.D.), 341

[3] A daughter of Eastern Chālukya Rājarāja I was named Kundavvā after his own mother. See also Geiger, *Cūlavaṁsa*, trans., Part I, p. 211.

No. 18—SIRPUR PLATES OF MAHASUDEVARAJA[1], YEAR 7

(*1 Plate*)

S. L. KATARE, NAGPUR

The charter consists of three plates, of which the first is damaged, nearly half of its right portion being broken off and lost. The plates were first noticed by Hiralal in the revised edition of his *Inscriptions in the C. P. and Berar.*[2] They were then in the possession of Ramratanlal Agrawal, Talukdar of Sirpur, but seem to have been later on acquired by Pandit Lochan Prasad Pandeya of Balpur. The Pandit sent the inscription for examination to the office of the Government Epigraphist for India who noticed it in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1945-46.[3] It seems that, when the plates were with Ramratanlal Agrawal, they were taken out from their original ring bearing the seal of Mahāsudēvarāja and were misjoined to a seal which must have originally belonged to some charter of Mahājayarāja.[4] Each of the plates has in it a round hole (about half an inch in diameter) at a distance of about an inch from its left edge. Each plate measures 5·5″×3·2″ ; and the three plates together weigh 46 *tolas*. The plates are smooth ; their edges are neither thickened nor raised to give protection to the writing. Though a portion of the first plate is broken away and lost, the writing of the record is well preserved. The first plate is inscribed on one side only, while the second and the third are inscribed on both the sides. The third plate has only one line of writing on its second side. There are altogether 25 lines of writing. The average height of the letters, which are well-formed and carefully engraved, is about ¼″.

The characters are of the box-headed variety of what Fleet calls ' the Central India alphabet ',[5] in which the charters of the Śarabhapura kings were engraved. It may be pointed out that the letters on the plates of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī rulers, Tīvaradēva and Mahāśivagupta,[6] particularly those on the Bārdūlā[7], Lodhiā[8] and Mallār[9] plates, are angular and elongated in comparison with those on the records of the Śarabhapura kings. The top horizontal bar of the box-head in the letters is also slightly projected on both the sides in the case of the former. The language of our inscription is Sanskrit and, except the benedictory and the imprecatory verses at the end, the composition is in prose. The *upadhmānīya* has been used in *gōpradaḥ=paramabhāgavatō* in line 3 and *dhiyaḥ=*

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[1] [The real name of the king was Sudēva. *Mahāsudēvarāja* is similar to *Sudēvamahārāja*.—Ed.]

[2] See p. 106-A, No. 177(b).

[3] See p. 12, No. 52. [The text of this inscription was published by Pandit Pandeya in *Mahakosala Historical Society's Papers*, Vol. II, 1937, pp. 42-43.—Ed.]

[4] [This conjecture of the author is not easy to prove as we have several other instances of a king's charter being endowed with the seal of his predecessor. See *JBORS*, Vol. XV, pp. 87 ff. ; above, Vol. XXIX, p. 184. The name of Sudēva's predecessor was really Jaya. The legend (in two lines) on the seal reads :

Prasanna-tanayasy=ēdaṁ vikkram-ōtkhāla-vidvisha[*ḥ* | *] *śrīmatō Jayarājasya śāsanaṁ ripu-śāsana*[*ṁ*](*nam* ||)
—Ed.]

[5] *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 18-19, 192, 196.

[6] [His real name was Śivagupta.—Ed.]

[7] Above, Vol. XXVII, Plate between pp. 290 and 291.

[8] Ibid., Plate between pp. 324 and 325.

[9] Ibid., Vol. XXIII, Plate between pp. 120 and 121.

pravadanti in line 15. Attention may also be drawn to the doubling of *k* followed by *r*, as in *vikkrama* in line 1 ; the doubling of the consonant preceded by *r* in many cases ; and the doubling of *v* in *savvat* (*saṁvat*) in line 24. There are a few mistakes of spelling, e.g. *tāmbra* for *tāmra* in line 11.

The charter was issued from **Śarabhapura** by king **Mahāsudēvarāja**, described as a *paramabhāgavata*, on the **10th day of the second Bhādra in the 7th year** of his reign and records the confirmation of the grant of a village, the name of which is lost in the broken portion of the first plate. The village was formerly granted by the venerable Nanna to *Kāraṇika* Kansippasvāmin of the Pārāśara *gōtra* and the Taittirīya *śākhā*. The resident agriculturists of the village were informed that the grant was being renewed by the king after making the village *a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-prāvēśya* (not to be transgressed by regular and irregular troops) and *sarvva-kara-visarjjita* (free from all taxes). They were further enjoined to pay to the donee his due share.

This is one of the three charters of Mahāsudēvarāja issued in the 7th year of his reign, the two others being the Ārang[1] and the Kauvātāl[2] plates. Of the six copper-plate grants of his time so far known, five, including the one edited here, were issued from Śarabhapura and they were engraved by Drōṇasiṁha. The sixth, viz. the Kauvātāl plates, as well as the Ṭhākurdiyā plates of Mahāpravararāja,[3] both of which were issued from Śrīpura, modern Sirpur in the Raipur District of Madhya Pradesh, were engraved by Gōlasiṁha. This shows that Mahāsudēvarāja had Drōṇasiṁha as his official scribe at Śarabhapur and Gōlasiṁha at Śrīpura.

Mahāsudēvarāja belonged to the dynasty of the so-called Śarabhapura kings whose history and chronology have been a matter of controversy among scholars. The names of the kings of this family so far known from the inscriptions are : Narēndra, son of Śarabha[4] ; Mahājayarāja, son of Prasanna[5] who is also known from a number of gold and silver coins[6] on which his name occurs as Prasannamātra ; Mahāsudēvarāja who was the son of Mānamātra (descended from Prasanna according to the Khariar[7] and Ārang[8] plates) or of Mahādurgarāja[9] according to the Kauvātāl[10] plates ; and Mahāpravararāja, son of Mānamātra[11]. The real name of the father of Mahāsudēvarāja, as revealed by the Kauvātāl plates, was Mahādurgarāja. Mānamātra was therefore his secondary name. Whether Prasannamātra was also a similar secondary name is not possible to

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[1] Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 22, n.4.

[2] *Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 49 ; *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1945-46, p. 12, No. 53 and Plate.

[3] [The real name of the king is Pravara.—Ed.]

[4] *IHQ*, Vol. XIX, p. 145. It has been suggested (cf. also *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, p. 86 ; *The Classical Age*, p. 219) that this Śarabha is identical with Śarabharāja, maternal grandfather of Gōparāja of the Eran inscription (Gupta year 191) of the time of Bhānugupta (*CII*, Vol. III, p. 91). There is nothing to substantiate this identification except the common names. [The identification seems to be quite satisfactory in the present state of our knowledge.—Ed.]

[5] Hiralal, op. cit., p. 106-A ; No. 177-b ; *CII*, Vol. III, p. 193.

[6] *IHQ*, Vol. IX, pp. 595-96 ; Vol. XV, pp. 475-76 ; *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, p. 87, note 3; *JNSI*, Vol. XII, pp. 8-10.

[7] Above, Vol. IX, p. 173.

[8] Ibid., Vol. XXIII, p. 22.

[9] [His real name was Durga.—Ed.]

[10] *Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 40 ; *A. R. Ep.*, 1945-46, No. A. 53.

[11] Above, Vol. XXII, p. 22.

say at present. Another king who apparently belonged to the same family and is known from a number of gold coins[1] of the same type and fabric and with the legend in the box-headed characters of the 'scooped out' or 'closed' variety, as found on the coins of Prasannamātra, was Mahēndrāditya. He seems to have ruled before Śarabha and may have been a contemporary of Samudragupta (middle of the fourth century A.D.), who claims to have defeated king Mahēndra of Kōsala.[2] The suggestion, offered on the strength of the seal of the Khariar and Ārang plates, that Mānamātra was the son of Prasannamātra is doubtful. Scholars who think that the said seals represent Mānamātra as born in the family of Prasanna appear to be right.[3] The older view that Mahāpravararāja was the younger brother of Mahāsudēvarāja was based upon the possibility of Mahāpravararāja having transferred his capital from Śarabhapura to Śrīpura, which he himself may have founded[4], is now disproved by the Kauvātāl plates issued by Mahāsudēvarāja from Śrīpura in the 7th year of his reign, in which year were also issued the present charter and the Ārang plates. This shows that both Śarabhapura and Śrīpura were seats of the government of Mahāsudēvarāja. This also disproves the conjecture, based upon the above hypothesis, that the need to shift his capital to a more centrally situated place like Śrīpura was felt by Mahāpravararāja as he had 'extended his kingdom in the west'. Consequently, the suggestion that the dynasty of the so called Śarabhapura kings came to an end after Mahāpravararāja as a result of his defeat by the Pāṇḍava king Tīvaradēva of Kōsala can no longer be sustained, as it is not possible to say which of the two brothers, Mahāsudēvarāja and Mahāpravararāja, was the elder and which of them was defeated by Tīvaradēva.[5]

Nanna, who had formerly granted the village, and which grant was being confirmed by Mahāsudēvarāja by the present charter, cannot be satisfactorily identified. The respectful manner in which he is spoken of in the record shows that he was of some consequence. He may have been a predecessor of Mahāsudēvarāja or an officer like Rāhudēva of the Pīparḍūlā[6] plates of Narēndra

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[1] *JNSI*, Vol. X, pp. 137 ff. The first coin of Māhēndrāditya was published by Mr. Prayag Dayal in *Numismatic Supplement*, No. XLIV, No. 309, and he assigned it to the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta I. Mr. Ajit Ghosh (ibid., No. XLVI, p. 22 n.) thought that it was probably a coin of Kumāragupta of the Bhitari seal. A fresh hoard consisting of one gold coin of Mahēndrāditya and 11 gold coins of Prasannamātra was recently discovered at Bhandara in the Chanda District of Madhya Pradesh (cf. *JNSI*, Vol. XVI, p. 216). This is the first hoard which contains the coins of both Mahēndrāditya and Prasannamātra and all the facts taken into consideration lead to the conclusion that Mahēndrāditya of the coins was a king of Kōsala and belonged to the house of Prasanna and that he flourished before Prasannamātra. Pandit I. P. Pandeya suggested his identification with Mahēndra of Kōsala who was defeated by Samudragupta and is mentioned in the Allahabad pillar Inscription (ibid., Vol. XII, p. 9, n.1). Mr. Rode, who published the Kharial hoard of Mahēndrāditya's coins, assigned them to the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta I (ibid., Vol. X, pp. 137-39) and Dr. Altekar, while commenting on the article of Mr. Rode, thought that the coins were issued by some ruler of Mahākōsala, who had adopted the *biruda* of Mahēndrāditya (ibid., p. 142). Prof. Mirashi in a long note on these coins differed from all others and made an ingenious attempt to identify Mahēndrāditya with the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta I (ibid., Vol. XI, p. 108 ff.). I have examined the coins of both Mahēndrāditya and Prasannamātra in the Nagpur Museum and have no hesitation in saying that Mahēndrāditya of these coins was a king of Kōsala.

[2] [This date is too early for Mahēndrāditya. See above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 83. The *āditya*-ending names, which appear to have been popularised by the Guptas, is not expected in other families so early as the middle of the fourth century A.D. Mahēndrāditya of Kōsala seems to have been named after the Gupta monarch Kumāragupta I Mahēndrāditya.—Ed.]

[3] Cf. Bhandarkar's List, p. 263. [The passage *Prasann-ārnava-sambhūta-Mānamātr-ēndu* means to say that Mānamātra was born from Prasanna just as the moon is born from the ocean. The moon's birth from the ocean is indicated by its epithets like *arnav-ōdbhava, sindhuja*, etc. It is thus almost certain that Mānamātra was a son of Prasanna or Prasannamātra.—Ed.]

[4] Above, Vol. XXII, p. 17.

[5] [There is some reason to regard Pravara as a successor of Sudēva because the earlier kings are known to have ruled from Śarabhapura, Sudēva from both Śarabhapura and Śrīpura and Pravara only from Śrīpura which was also the capital of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśis who succeeded the rulers of this dynasty.—Ed.]

[6] *IHQ*, Vol. XIX, pp. 140-41.

and *Pratihāra* Bhōgilla of the Ārang[1] plates of Mahāsudēvarāja, each of whom had granted a village which was later confirmed by a charter by the kings in question.

The kings of Śarabhapura[2] appear to have been, in the beginning, the feudatories of the Guptas and Śarabha, father of Narēndra, like Gōparāja of the Eran stone inscription[3] of the Gupta year 191, was probably governing one of the eastern provinces of the Gupta empire. The Allahabad pillar inscription[4] of Samudragupta speaks of Mahēndra of Kōsala as one of the kings defeated by him. This bears a clear testimony to the extension of the Gupta influence in South Kōsala. The successors of Śarabha had the status of *sāmanta* and are praised in their records as *sāmanta-makuṭa-chūḍāmaṇi.*[5] They had their seats of government at Śarabhapura and Śrīpura. Towards the end of the Gupta rule when the empire was plunged into confusion because of the Hūṇa inroads, these kings appear to have assumed an autonomous or semi-independent status. The suggestion that the Śarabhapura kings were the feudatories of the Vākāṭakas[6] does not rest on a sound foundation. The use of the box-headed characters by these kings could not necessarily be due to Vākāṭaka influence or domination when it is known that the box-headed characters of the 'scooped out' or 'closed' variety were used in the Eran inscription[7] of Samudragupta and the Udayagiri inscription[8] of Chandragupta II. The statement in the Balagbat[9] plates of Prithivīshēṇa II that the king of Kōsala was a feudatory of Vākāṭaka Narēndrasēna and that of the Ajanta inscription[10] which describes Harishēṇa, probably, as the conqueror of Kōsala along with several other countries need not necessarily be taken to imply that the Śarabhapura kings were the feudatories of the Vākāṭakas. Kōsala appears to have had much wider extent than the territories governed by the Śarabhapura kings.[11] There is nothing to suggest that they ever ruled over the Chanda District or even the whole of the Bilaspur and Bastar Districts of Madhya Pradesh.[12]

TEXT[13]

First Plate

1 Ōṁ[14] svasti [|*] **Śarabhapurād**=vikkram-ōpanata-sāmanta-ma[kuṭa-chūḍā-maṇi][15]-

2 prabhā-prasēk-āmbu-dhauta-pāda-yugalō ripu-vilāsi[nī-sīmant-ōddharaṇa][15]-

[1] Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 20-21.

[2] For the identification of this city with Sarpagarh in the former Gangpur State in Orissa, see above Vol. XXIII, p. 17 ; Vol. XXVI, p. 229, f.n.2. Hiralal favoured Sirpur in the Raipur District of Madhya Pradesh (ibid., Vol. XI, p. 186, n. 5).

[3] *CII*, Vol. III, p. 93.

[4] Ibid., p. 7.

[5] [The author has misunderstood the meaning of the epithet *vikram-ōpanata-sāmanta-makuṭa-chūḍāmaṇi-prabhā-prasēk-āmbu-dhauta-pāda-yugala* which suits independent rulers only.—Ed.]

[6] Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 17 ff.

[7] *CII*, Vol. III, Plate II-A.

[8] Ibid., Plate II-B.

[9] Above, Vol. IX, p. 269.

[10] *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, No. 14, p. 14.

[11] Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXII, pp. 161 ff.

[12] The Bhandara (Chanda District) hoard of gold coins containing one coin of Mahēndrāditya and 11 of Prasannamātra need not be taken as evidence of the extension of the territories of the Śarabhapura kings over the Chanda District as it is likely that the coins travelled to that place which was not far away from the Śarabhapura dominions.

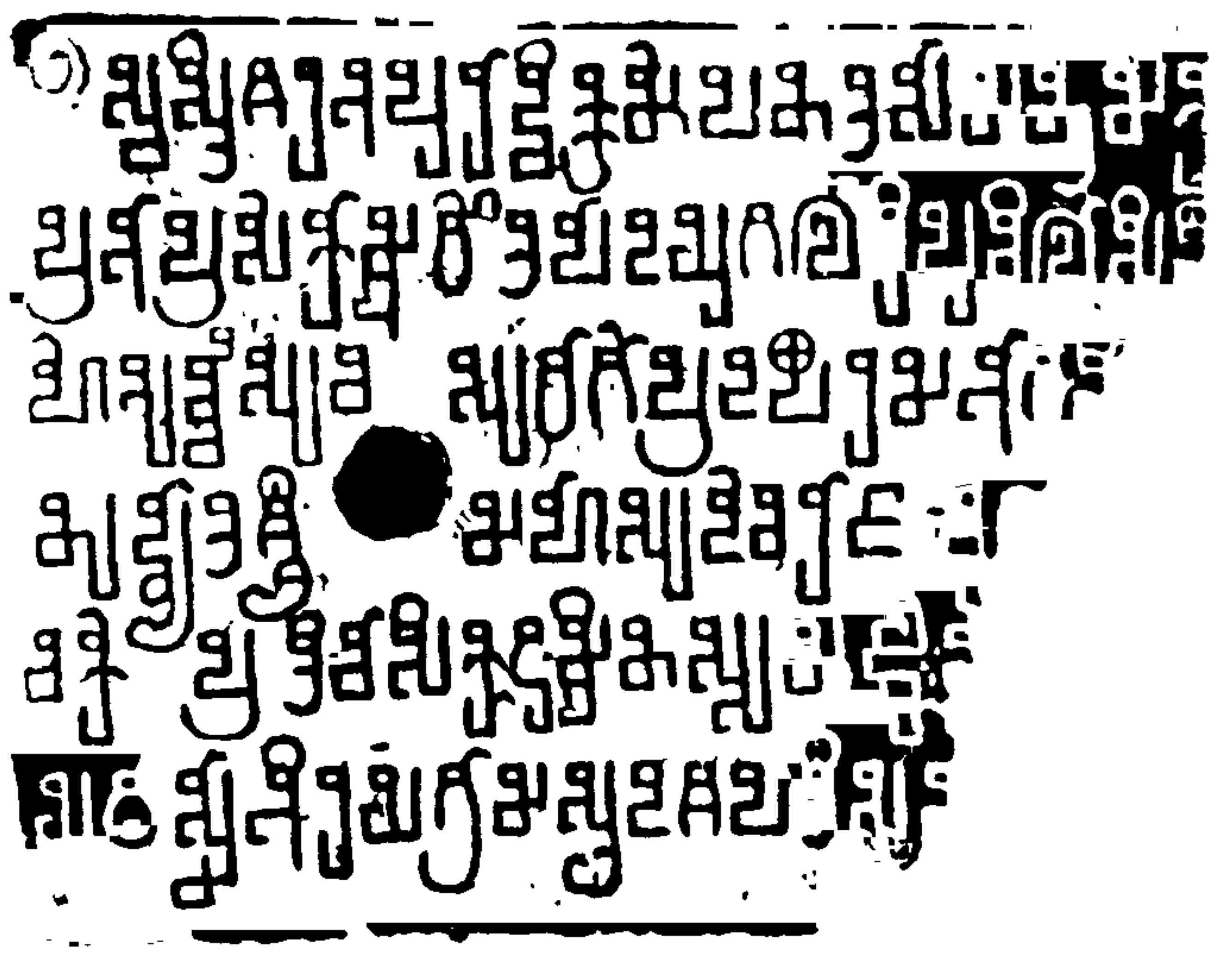
[13] From inked impressions supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

[14] Expressed by symbol.

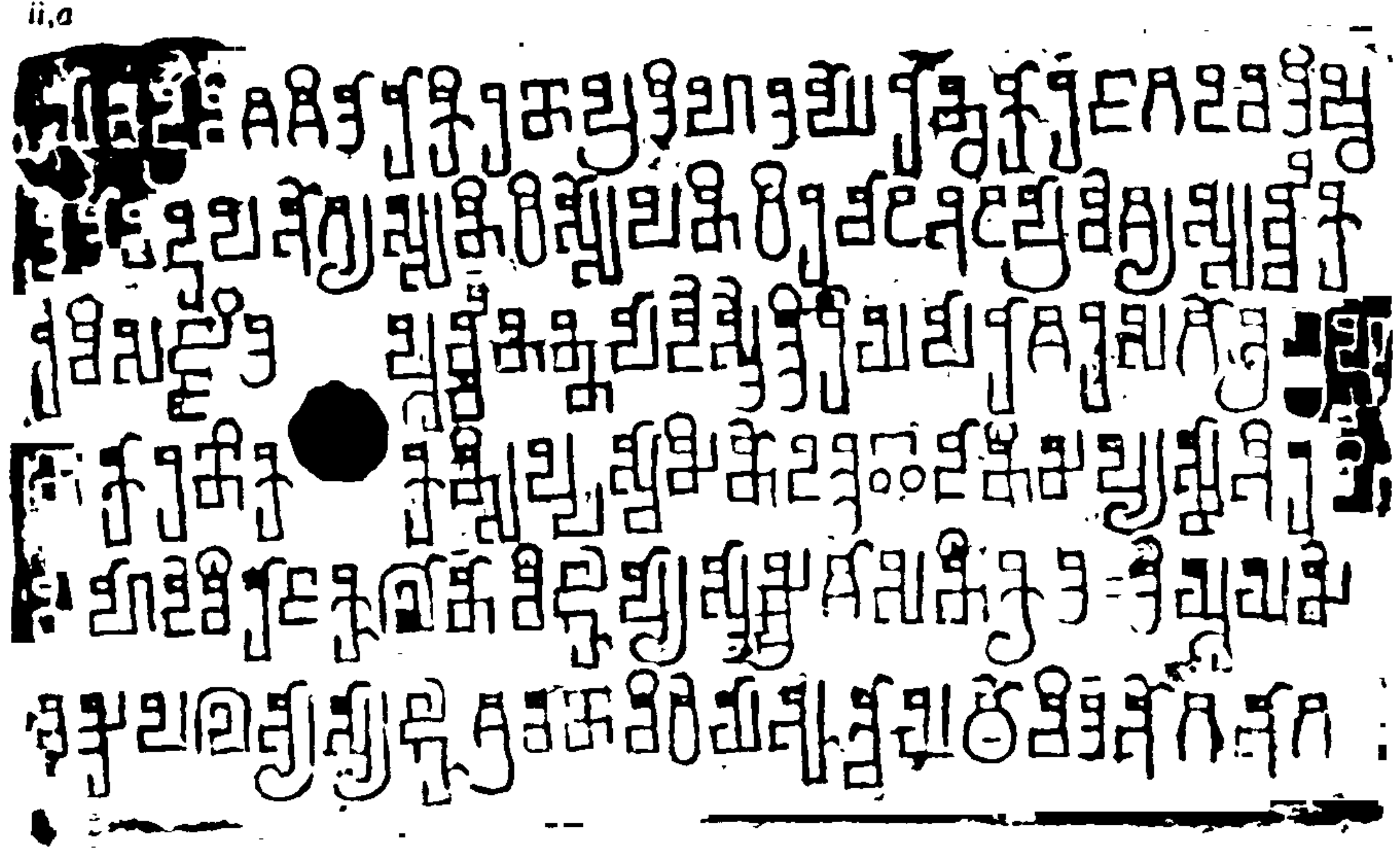
[15] A portion of the first plate is broken off. Thus six letters of line 1, seven of line 2, eight of line 3, and nine each of lines 5 and 6 are lost. But the lost letters can be restored with the help of other charters of the king.

SIRPUR PLATES OF MAHASUDEVARAJA, YEAR 7

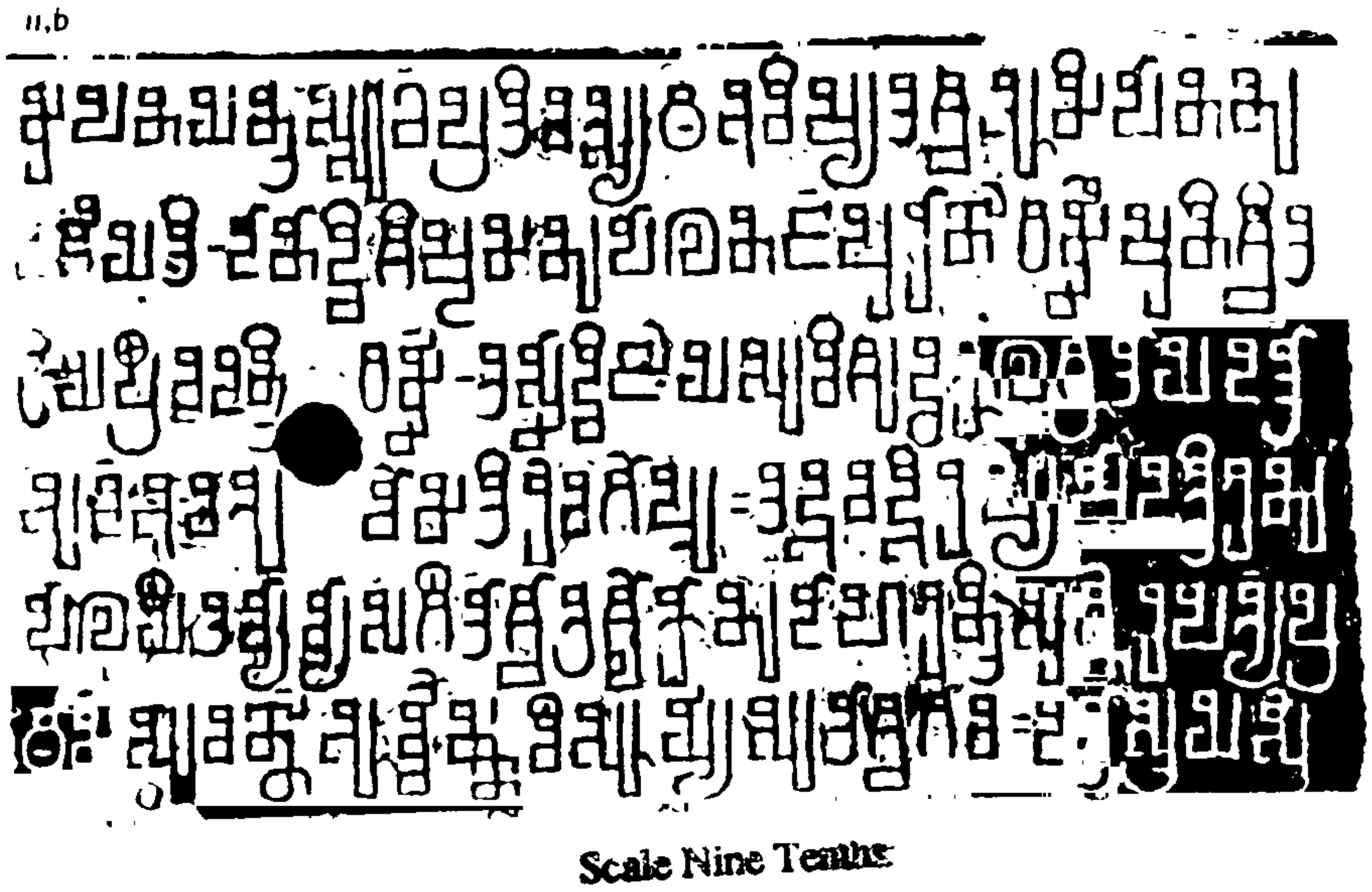
i



ii,a

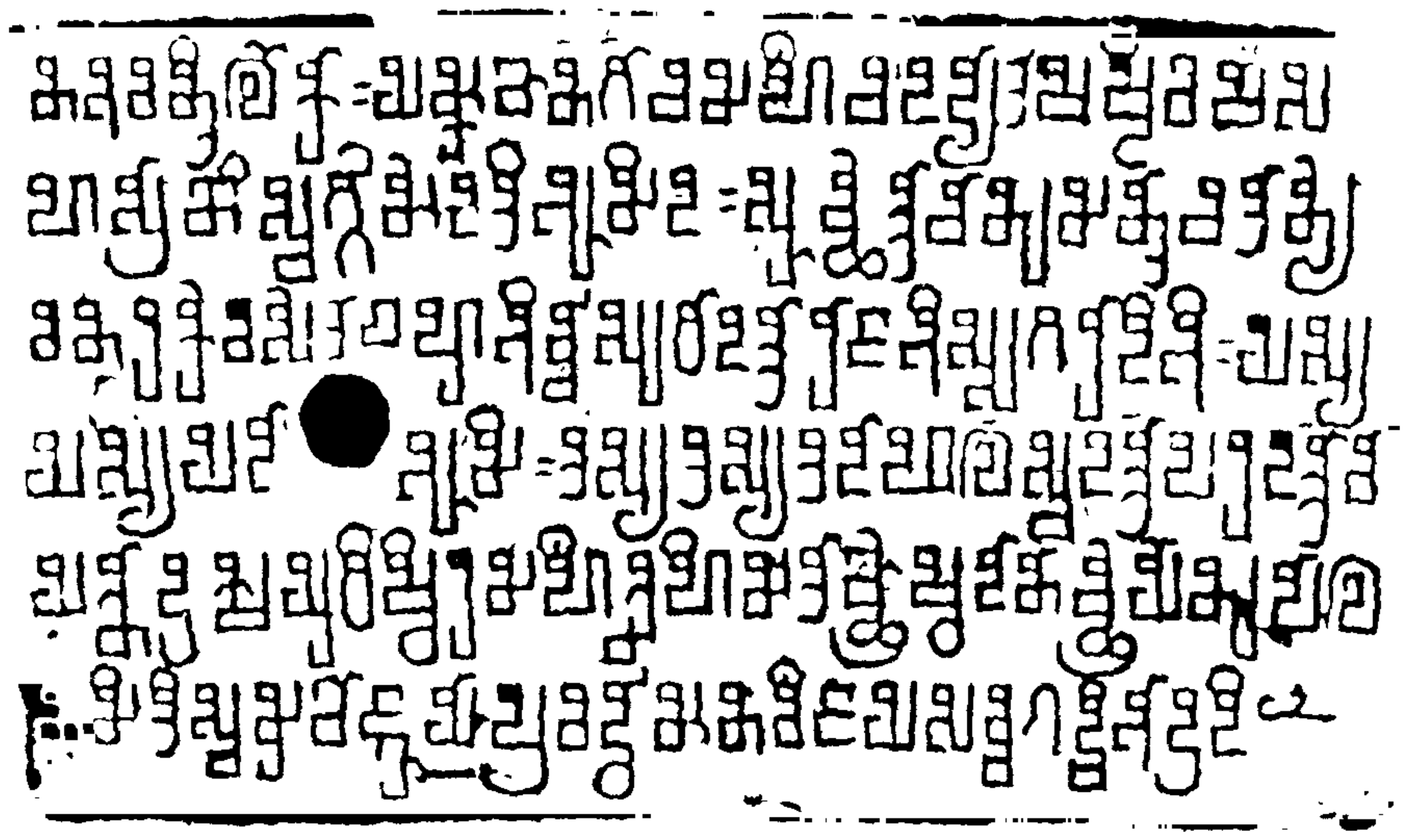


ii,b

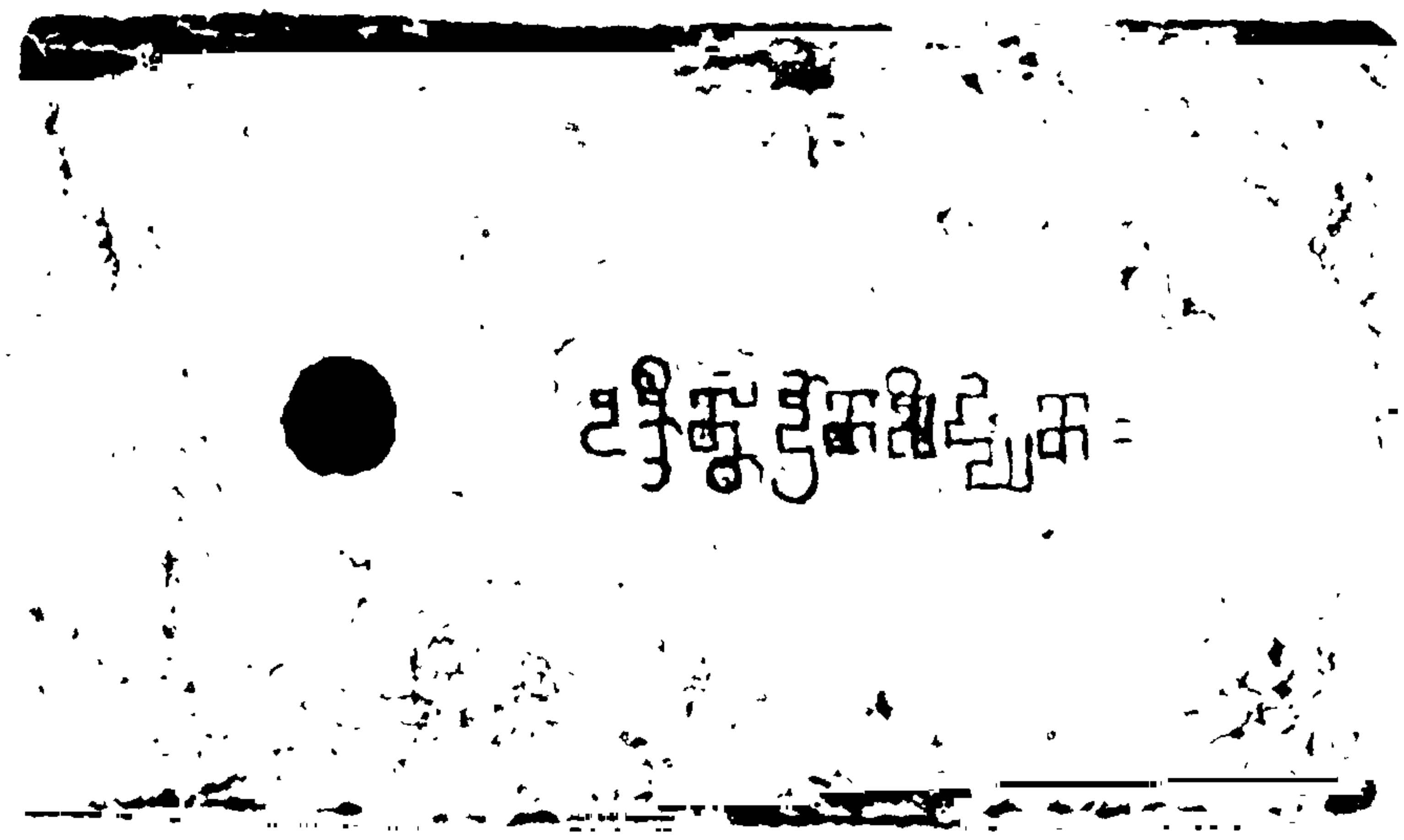


Scale Nine Tenths

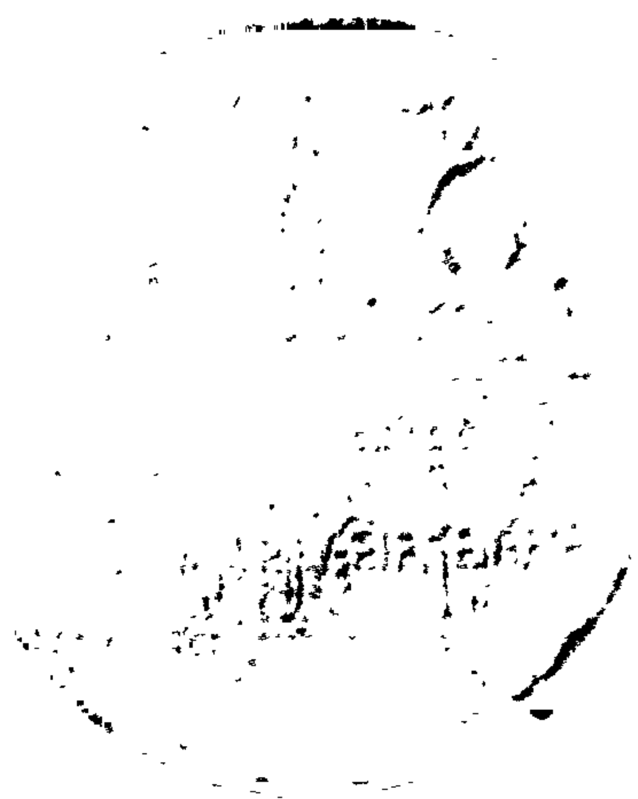
iii,a



iii,b



Seal



(from a photograph)

3 **hētur=vvasu**-vasudhā-gō-pradaḥ=parama-bhāga[vatō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ā][1]-

4 **nuddhyātaś=śrī-Mahāsudēvarājaḥ** vu[. . . . .][2]

5 **vakē** prativāsi-kuṭumbinas=samājñā[payati | viditam=astu vō][1]

6 **yath=āsmābhir=ayaṁ** grāmastṛi(s=tri)daśapati-sa[dana-sukha-pratishṭhā-karō][1]

Second Plate, First Side

7 **yāvad=ravi-śaśi-tārā-kiraṇa**-pratihata-ghōr-āndhakāraṁ **jagad=avatishṭha-**

8 **tē tāvad-upabhōgyas**=sa-nidhis=s-ōpanidhir=a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-prāvēśyas=**sarvva-ka-**

9 **ra-visarjjita**[ḥ*] pūrvvaṁ Nanna-pādais=Taittirīya-Pārāśara-sagōtra-Brāhma-

10 **ṇa-kāraṇika-Kansippasvāminō(nē)** **datta** idānīm=apy=asmābhir=api

11 **mahādēvī-rājakulānāṁ** vijñāpyāstāmbra(t=tāmra)-śāsanīkṛitaḥ tē yūyam=ē-

12 **vam=upalabhy=āsy=ājñā-śravaṇa**-vidhēyā bhūtvā yath=ōchitaṁ bhōga-bhāga-

Second Plate, Second Side

13 **m=upanayantas**=sukhaṁ prativatsya(sa)tha [||*] Bhavishyataś=cha bhūmipān=anu-

14 **darśayati** | Dānād=viśishṭam=anupālanajaṁ purāṇā dharmmēshu niśchita-

15 **dhiyaḥ**=pravadanti dharmmaṁ(rmmam) | Tasmā[d*]=dvijāya suviśuddha-kula-śrutāya dattāṁ

16 **bhuvaṁ** bhavatu vō matir=ēva gōptu[m*] ||[3] Tad=bhavadbhir=apy=ēshā dattir=anu-

17 **pālayitavyā** [||*] Vyāsa-gītāṁś=ch=ātra ślōkān=udāharanti [|*] Agnēr=apatyaṁ pra-

18 **thamaṁ** suvarṇṇaṁ bhūr=vvaishṇavī sūryya-sutāś=cha gāvaḥ [|*] dattās=trayas=tē-

Third Plate, First Side

19 **na bhavanti lōkāḥ(kā)** yaḥ=kāñchanaṁ gāṁ cha mahī[ṁ] cha dadyāt [||*][4] Shashṭi-varsha-sa-

20 **hasrāṇi** svarggē mōdati bhūmidaḥ [|*] āchchhēttā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ē-

21 **va narakē** vasēt [||*][5] Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ [|*] yasya

22 **yasya** yadā bhūmiḥ ta(mis=ta)sya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) [|*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā

23 **yatnād=raksha** Yudhishṭhira [|*] Mahītma(m=ma)hīmatāñ=chchhrēshṭha dānāch=chhrēyō=nupāla-

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[1] See p. 106, note 15.

[2] This portion of line 4, which is broken off, contained the name of the village and probably also the district in which it was situated.

[3] Metre : *Vasantatilakā*.

[4] Metre : *Indravajrā*.

[5] Metre *Anushṭubh* for this and the following two stanzas.

24 nam=iti [||*] Sva-mukh ājnayā **pravarddhamāna-vijaya-savva(saṁva)** 7 **dvi-Bhādra-di 10** [||*]

Third Plate, Second Side

25 Ukti(tkī)rṇṇaṁ Drōṇasiṅghēṇa(**siṁhēna**) ||

No. 19—ASANKHALI PLATES OF NARASIMHA II, SAKA 1225

(*5 Plates*)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

A set of inscribed copper plates was discovered about the beginning of 1919 from the house of a Santal inhabitant of Pargana Asankhali in the Mayurbhanj State, now the District of that name in Orissa. The Santal is said to have found it several years earlier. U. N. Chakladar, a Tahsildar in the Mayurbhanj State Service, submitted the plates to Kamakhya Prasad Basu who was then the Sub-Divisional Officer of Mayurbhanj. The officer tried to decipher the inscription with the help of Nagendra Nath Vasu who was then serving as Honorary Archaeologist to the Mayurbhanj State, and actually prepared a short note on the record, although it was never published. I am grateful for the above information to Mr. P. Acharya who also supplied me with an extract from the unpublished article by Kamakhya Prasad Basu. The plates are now the property of the Museum at Baripada, chief city of the former Mayurbhanj State and headquarters of the present Mayurbhanj District. In 1941-42, the plates were received for examination at the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, and several sets of their impressions were prepared by the office mechanic. I am editing the inscription from one set of these impressions.

In the manuscript note on the Asankhali plates by Kamakhya Prasad Basu, the set is described as follows: "Its weight is 15 seers. It has seven plates containing 14 pages, of which the 12 inside pages are inscribed. These seven plates are secured by a stout ring of copper which passes through the perforations of the plates at the top. The plates are each 14″ × 9″. The copper ring has a lotus attached to it, on which is found a seated bull. There are the mystic symbols of the trident, *ḍamaru* and half moon on the lotus on both sides of the couchant bull." The impressions at our disposal show that the record was engraved on six plates. Of these the first and the sixth are inscribed on one side each, while the second, third, fourth and fifth plates have writing on both the sides. There are altogether 212 lines of writing on the plates. Of these the inner sides of the first and sixth plates contain 20 and 17 lines respectively. The first and the second sides of Plate II as well as the second side of Plate IV have 22 lines each, while the first side of Plate IV and the two sides of Plate V contain each 21 lines of inscription. The two sides of the third plate have no less than 23 lines each. Five of the inscribed plates are consecutively numbered. In the margin behind the ring-hole on the inner side of plate I is written *gaṁ 1*. The second sides of the following four plates have similarly in the margin *gaṁ 2*, *gaṁ 3*, *gaṁ 4* and *gaṁ 5* respectively. The sixth plate, only the inner side of which is inscribed, contains no such number. The letter *gaṁ* seems to be a contraction of the name of the deity Gaṅgēśvaradēva, the foremost amongst the recipients of the land granted by the charter under discussion. The Kendupatna plates of Narasiṁha II, dated Śaka 1217, are also similarly numbered; but in their case the numbers are preceded by the letters *kuma* (only *kū* in one case) which seem to be a contraction of the official designation of *Kumāra-mahāpātra* Bhīmadēvaśarman donee of that charter.[1]

The palaeographic and orthographic peculiarities of the inscription under discussion are the same as those of the other published records[2] of Narasiṁha II. They resemble very closely the characteristics of the palaeography and orthography of the Nagarī copper-plate inscription of

[1] Cf. *Journ. As. Soc.*, Letters, Vol. XVII, p. 34 and Plate IV.

[2] Cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 185 ff.

Anaṅgabhīma III, which have been fully discussed above.[1] The consonants *p* and *y* are undistinguishable. Similar is the case with superscript *n* and superscript *t*, with subscript *v* and subscript *dh*, and sometimes with *v* and *n* and *r* and *ch*. The conjunct *ndh* is in some cases written like *rth* (cf. lines 209-10) and *rṇṇ* is often like *rlṇ*. The final forms of *t* and *n* occur many times in the record. In many cases such half consonants have been used instead of joining them with the following consonants in conjuncts. *V* and *b* are indicated by the same sign. In a number of cases, medial *ē* has been written as in Nāgarī and not in the usual Bengali or Oriya fashion. Of initial vowels, *au* occurs once in line 198 ; but *a*, *ā*, *i*, *u* and *ē* occur in a number of cases. As already noticed, the inscription employs the numerical figures from 1 to 5. It is interesting to note that the figure 2 resembles the shape of an English or Telugu 3, while 3 is written almost like the present Nāgarī and Bengali 2. This is also the case with other medieval Orissan records such as the Kendupatna plates of Narasiṁha II (Śaka 1217), the Puri plates of Bhānu II (Śaka 1234) and the Polsara plates of Arkeśvara (Kaliyugābda 4248).[2] The letter *ḷ* occurs in line 192.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. It is written in both prose and verse. The rules of *sandhi* often remain unobserved even in verses. There are a few cases of *sandhi* where a sibilant has been preferred to a *visarga* (cf. *surais=saha* in line 135). Often the last consonants of the *vargas* have been changed to *anusvāra* in *sandhi*. The reduplication of some consonants after *r* is found occasionally (cf. both *rva* and *rvva* in line 138). Final *m* has in all cases been changed to *anusvāra* at the end of the second and fourth feet of verses.

The inscription is dated in the **Śaka year 1225** and in the **Aṅka year 31** corresponding to the 25th regnal year (omitting, according to rule, the first, sixth, sixteenth, twentieth, twentysixth and thirtieth years) of the Gaṅga king Narasiṁha II (*circa* Śaka 1200-27, i.e. 1278-1305 A. D.). The actual date was **Mēsha (i. e. Vaiśākha)-badi 6, Tuesday**. The date is irregular. If the Śaka year is taken as current, Vaiśākha-baḍi 6 would fall on Wednesday, the **24th April 1302 A.D.**, but, if it was an expired year, the date would fall on Monday, the **8th April 1303 A.D.**

The introductory portion of the charter consists of 105 verses with a number of stray names between verses 6 and 7. This part is also found, with slight variations, in the other records of king Narasiṁha II who issued the charter under discussion. It has been shown that the later monarchs of the Imperial Gaṅga family copied the introductory part of the records of their predecessors and added to it a few verses about their own reigns composed by their court poets. Thus, of the introductory portion of the charters of Narasiṁha II, the earlier part down to verse 79 is also found in the Nagarī plates of Anaṅgabhīma III, great-grandfather of Narasiṁha II. It has been fully discussed above[3] and need not be dealt with here. Verse 80 of our record says that king Anaṅgabhīma III died after a reign of 34 years. According to the *Aṅka* reckoning, adopted by the later rulers of the Imperial Gaṅga dynasty, 34 *Aṅka* years would correspond to 28 actual years. The king is usually believed to have ascended the throne in Śaka 1133 (1211-12 A.D.) and ended his rule in *circa* Śaka 1160 (1238-39 A. D.). Verse 81 introduces king Narasiṁha I, son of Anaṅgabhīma III from the queen Kasturādēvī. Verse 84 says that, as a result of the exploits of Narasiṁha I, the waters of the river Gaṅgā became as black as that of the Yamunā owing to the collyrium in the eyes of the Javana or Yavana women of Rāḍhā and Varēndra being washed by their tears and mixed into the waters. This refers to the success of the Gaṅga king against the Muhammadans of Bengal. According to the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*[4] of Minhāj-uddīn Sirājī, the Rāī of Jājnagar (i.e. the Gaṅga king of Orissa) commenced molesting the Lakhanavatī territory (i.e. the Muslim

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[1] Ibid., pp. 236-37.

[2] Cf. ibid., p. 64.

[3] Ibid., pp. 240 ff.

[4] See Reverty's translation, Vol. I, pp. 738-40, 763 ; *JASB*, 1903, pp. 266-67.

kingdom of Bengal having its capital at Lakshmaṇāvatī near Gaur in the Malda District) in Hijra 641 (June 21, 1243, to June 9, 1244 A.D.). In the month of Shawāl (March 13 to April 10) of that year Malik Ṭughril Ṭughān Khān, ruler of Bengal, led an expedition against the Jājnagar kingdom and reached Katāsin (on the Mahānadī, lat. 20° 32′ N, long. 84° 50′ E) within that kingdom. But the Muslim army was completely defeated by the Jājnagar forces and Malik Ṭughril Ṭughān Khān retired from the place without having effected his object and returned to Lakhanavatī. In order to avenge the attack on Katāsin, the Rāī of Jājnagar invaded the Muslim kingdom of Bengal next year and on Tuesday, the 13th of Shawāl, Hijra 642 (March 14, 1245 A. D.) the army of Jājnagar appeared before the gate of Lakhanavatī. The Orissan forces are said to have been led by a general called Sābantar (Sāmantarāya, which was really a title and not a name) who was the son-in-law of the Rāī (king Narasiṁha I). He drove the Musalmān forces as far as the gate of Lakhanavatī. The forces of Jājnagar, according to the Muslim author, had, however, soon to return to their own country. The success of Narasiṁha I against the Muhammadans of Bengal is also referred to in Vidyādhara's *Ēkāvalī*.[1] There is possibly a reference to the performance of the *Tulāpurusha-mahādāna* ceremony by Narasiṁha I in verses 85-86. Verse 86 refers to the fact that the king constructed the temple of the Sun-god at Kōnākōṇa (modern Konarak), although the magnificent building is humbly mentioned as a *kuṭīraka* or hut. According to verse 88, Narasiṁha I ruled for 33 years (i.e. *Aṅka* years, corresponding to 27 actual years). As Narasiṁha I is believed to have ascended the throne in Śaka 1160 (1238-39 A. D.),[2] he may have ended his reign in *circa* Śaka 1186 (1264-65 A.D.). The next verse says that his successor was his son Bhānu I born of the queen Sītādēvī who was the daughter of the king of Mālava. Queen Sītā's father must have been a ruler of the Paramāra dynasty of Malwa, although he cannot be identified with any amount of precision. Verse 90 refers to king Bhānu's 16 *Pātras* or ministers and verse 94 to the 100 *śāsanas* (areas of land granted as revenue-free holdings) created by the king. Verse 95 says how Bhānu I died after a rule of 18 *Aṅka* years (15 actual years). This would place his reign between *circa* Śaka 1186 and 1200 (1264-78 A.D.). Verse 96 speaks of Jākalladēvī,[3] who was the queen of Bhānu I and the mother of the next ruler Narasiṁha II, issuer of the charter under discussion. Verse 97 says how the reigning monarch was the destroyer of enemies and the saviour of his family, while verse 99 refers to the 100 *śāsanas* that he granted at the request of his mother.

The grant was made when king Vīra-Narasiṁhadēva, endowed with a string of titles beginning with 'the lord of the fourteen worlds', was staying at the Bhairavapura *kaṭaka* (city, camp or residence). The passage *Gaṅgādēvī-mandir-āntar-vvijay-āvasarē* used in this connection suggests that the occasion of the grant was a royal visit to the temple of the goddess Gaṅgā at Bhairavapura. In the passage quoted above, the word *vijaya* has been used in its Oriya sense of 'staying' and *vijay-āvasarē* means 'while staying', 'at the time of his stay'. The epithet *chaturdaśa-bhuvan-ādhipati* is really intended for the god Purushōttama-Jagannātha of Purī, whom the Gaṅga kings regarded as their overlord since the dedication of the kingdom in the god's favour by Anaṅgabhīma III in the first quarter of the thirteenth century.[4] By abbreviating an epithet originally meaning a subordinate of the god in the above way, quite familiar to students of Indian history,[5] Gaṅga Narasiṁha II seems to have attempted to endow it with an equivocal meaning just as a semi-independent feudatory of a weak imperial ruler often did.[6]

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[1] *JASB*, 1903, p. 124.

[2] Ibid., p. 120.

[3] She is stated to have been born in the Chālukya family ; but her father cannot be identified.

[4] See above, Vol. XXX, pp. 17 ff. For the epithet *chaturdaśa-bhuvan-ādhipati* applied to the god Purushōttama-Jagannātha, see the Kanchipuram inscription edited above, p. 96, text line 1.

[5] See ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 79.

[6] Cf. ibid., Vol. XXIX, p. 186.

The *mudala*, a Telugu word meaning 'an order' and here indicating the royal order in regard to the grant itself or its execution,[1] passed through the *Purō-Parīksha-Pātra* Raṅgū Vājapēyin. The word *vājapēyin* indicates 'a performer of the Vājapēya sacrifice', although later the epithet was claimed also by the descendants of a *vājapēyin* and became stereotyped as a cognomen of the family. It is difficult to determine whether in the present case Raṅgū himself or one of his ancestors was the real performer of the sacrifice. *Pātra* indicated an officer of the ministerial rank, while *Parīksha* (same as *Parīkshaka*) possibly meant an inspector attached to some administrative department. The word *purō*, prefixed to the official designation, may be the same as Sanskrit *pura* and the inspector may have been attached to the capital city ; but it may also be the same as Sanskrit *puras* suggesting that the officer in question was the chief of his class. The order of execution of the grant seems to have been given in the presence of three persons, viz. Viśvanātha, Mālā and Vidyādhara. The grant was made on behalf of Hīrādēvī who was a queen of king Narasiṁha II and the mother of the king's son (cf. *taj-jasya sva-kumārasya*) Gaṅgarājadēva. This prince having apparently died a premature death, his bereaved parents (king Narasiṁha II and queen Hīrādēvī) were willing to make in his name a grant of 341 *vāṭikās* of land in favour of gods and Brāhmaṇas so that the merit accruing to the pious act might lead their dead son to heaven (cf. *svarga-prāptayē*). There were altogether five plots of land which was granted to a deity named Gaṅgēśvaradēva and to no less than 104 Brāhmaṇas of various *gōtras*. The writer of the document, who was the king's record-keeper (*śāsan-ādhikārin*), as well as the engraver of the plates also received their perquisites in land.

The first plot of the gift land was an area originally covered with jungle which had, however, been cleared before the grant was made (cf. *kṛitt-āraṇya-bhū-bhāga*). The area of this piece of land, situated in the Vaṁśōdāchaura *vishaya* (district), was determined according to the *nala* ('measuring rod' from which in Oriya 'measurement of area') of the *Purō-Pratihasta* Allāladāsa-karaṇa. Allāladāsa was a *karaṇa* or scribe or more probably a Karaṇa by caste as the scribe is usually styled in the records as the *śrī-karaṇa*. In the designation *Purō-pratihasta*, the word *pratihasta* means 'a representative'. It seems that Allāladāsa-karaṇa was the chief amongst the representatives of the principal officer in charge of the measurement of lands.[2] The eastern limit of the above piece of reclaimed forest land touched the west of the Vaṁśōdā road, while its western boundary was marked by a *sāla* tree. To the south, it touched the northern limit of Vaṁśōdāgrāma and in the north a plot of land belonging to two persons named Vidāi and Ravī. The land within these boundaries measured 54 *vāṭikās*.

The second plot of land was also a reclaimed forest area similar to the above and situated nearby. It had its eastern boundary touching the west of the Vaṁśōdā road, while the western limit was marked by another *sāla* tree. In the south, it touched the northern fringe of a piece of land belonging to two persons named Gōvinda-kara and Koṇāi and, in the north, the southern fringe of the land of a man named Kitāi or Kitāika. The land within these four boundaries measured 55 *vāṭikās*.

The third plot of the gift land consisted of a locality called Gaṅgēśvarapura which is described as homestead land. It was also situated in the same region and was bounded on the east by the highway (*rājapatha*) to the west of the Vaṁśōdā road and on the west by a *sāla* tree. It is again said that, in the west, it touched a piece of land in the possession of two persons named Gōpāla and Champadāsa, while its eastern limit is said to have been a *sāla* tree. It will be seen that, in the

[1] Technical terms like this also occur in other later Gaṅga records. For a discussion on them, see *J. A. Loc.*, Letters, Vol. XVII, pp. 35-36 ; above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 187-88.

[2] He was possibly different from the *Purō-śrīkaraṇa* Allāla-nāyaka mentioned in the Alalpur copper-plate inscription of the same king (above, pp. 17 ff.). It is, however, interesting to note that this person was also similarly associated with the measurement of land.

case of Gaṅgēśvarapura, the eastern and western boundaries are separately and differently mentioned, but that the northern and southern boundaries of the place have been omitted. The enumeration of the boundaries in the other cases would suggest that the reference to the western and eastern boundaries in the second instance actually means respectively the southern and northern limits of Gaṅgēśvarapura which thus seems to have been bounded in the east by the *rājapatha* near the Vaṁśōdā road, in the west by a *sāla* tree, in the south by the land of Gōpāla and Champadāsa and in the north by another *sāla* tree. This piece of land called Gaṅgēśvarapura measured 103 *vāṭikās* and 8 *mānas*.

The fourth plot of the gift land touched, in the east, the western limit of the Kumārabhōgya *haṭṭa* (market-place) lying to the east of the land belonging to two persons named Gaṅganārāyaṇa and Purakōṇāi. The western boundary was marked by a *sāla* tree. In the south, the land reached an *aśvattha* tree standing at the end of the land of Vidāi-Pānīyagrāhin, while its northern boundary touched a field in the possession of Gopāla and Champadāsa mentioned before in connection with the third plot of land. The expression *Pānīya-grāhin* (modern *pāṇigrāhī* which is a surname among Oriya Brāhmaṇas) means 'a recipient of water' literally, but 'a recipient of a grant' actually. This is because, according to Indian custom, a ceremonial gift of land, etc., was solemnised by offering water in the hands of the donee.[1] When a grant was made to a large number of Brāhmaṇas, the chief amongst the donees seems to have been called *Pānīyagrāhin* especially. In the present record, though all the donees are referred to as *Pāṇi(nīya)grāhi-mahājana*, their list is headed by a Brāhmaṇa with Pāṇi(nīya)grahī as his surname. The plot of land in question measured 68 *vāṭikās* and 4 *mānas*.

The fifth plot of land comprised the locality called Kumārapura. It was bounded in the east by the highway to the north of Kumārabhōgya (the *haṭṭa* or market-place of this name mentioned above) and in the west by a *sāla* tree. Its southern boundary touched the northern limit of the land of Gōpāla and Champadāsa mentioned before in connection with the third and fourth plots, while its northern end was marked by a *hijjala* tree. The land within these boundaries measured 66 *vāṭikās*.

Thus the five plots, measuring respectively (1) 54 *vāṭikās*, (2) 55 *vāṭikās*, (3) 103 *vāṭikās* and 8 *mānas*, (4) 68 *vāṭikās* and 4 *mānas*, and (5) 66 *vāṭikās*, made a total of 346 *vāṭikās* and 12 *mānas*. Out of this area, land measuring 5 *vāṭikās* and 12 *mānas* was subtracted for covering *gōhari*, *gō-patha* and *gō-prachāra*. The word *go-prachāra* means pasture land, while both *gōhari* and *gō-patha* indicate broad pathways for cattle. The remaining land measured 341 *vāṭikās* out of which an area of 100 *vāṭikās* was granted in favour of the god Gaṅgēśvaradēva. Whether this deity was installed in the temple of Gaṅgādēvī at Bhairavapura referred to above or at the locality named above as Gaṅgēśvarapura and whether he was named after the dead prince Gaṅgarājadēva cannot be satisfactorily determined. Of the remaining 241 *vāṭikās* of land, an area of 208 *vāṭikās* was allotted to 104 Brāhmaṇas, each one of them having a share of 2 *vāṭikās*. The list, however, contains 101 names and 3 names appear to have been omitted inadvertently. That the omission was not detected was possibly due to the fact that often several persons had the same names. To a deity to be installed in a temple in the *śāsana* (land granted by the charter under discussion) was granted land measuring 4 *vāṭikās*. Two colleges for Vedic and grammatical studies to be started in the *śāsana* received respectively 7 and 10 *vāṭikās*. For making (or covering periodically with thatch) a *maṇḍapa* (public building), a grant of 3 *vāṭikās* was made. Another grant of 5 *vāṭikās* was made for the excavation of a tank in the *śāsana*. The *śāsan-ādhikārin* Kāmadēvaśarman who

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[1] Cf. *Agni Purāṇa*, ch. 209, 49-50 : *Dravyasya nāma gṛihṇīyād=dadan=iti tathā vadēt* | *tōyaṁ dadyāt=tatō hastē dānē vidhir=ayaṁ smṛitaḥ* ||

was a Brāhmaṇa belonging to the Pūtimāsha *gōtra* received 2 *vāṭikās*. The *śāsan-ādhikārin* was apparently the head of the king's record department, who seems to have written the document. Kāmadēvaśarman, as suggested before, probably received the piece of land as his perquisite. He no doubt succeeded Allālanāthaśarman, known from the earlier records of the king including the Alalpur inscription edited above, and appears to have been a member of the same family, as both are said to belong to the Pūtimāsha *gōtra*. Another area of 2 *vāṭikās* was allotted to the *śrī-karaṇa* (i.e. scribe) Nāgū-nāyaka, who seems to have engraved the plates or drew the letters on them to facilitate the work of the engraver. Thus altogether 341 *vāṭikās* of land were granted to gods, Brāhmaṇas and others with the hope that this meritorious act would lead the king's dead son Gaṅgarājadēva to heaven. The *śāsana* was styled Gaṅgarājadēvapura after the prince and was made a perpetual rent-free holding endowed with the right to enjoy land and water as well as fish, tortoise and old trees. Seven traders belonging to different markets were attached to the grant as rent-paying subjects. But their names are not specified.

A mention of the names of the Brāhmaṇa donees, called *pāṇigrāhi-mahājana*, as well as their *gōtras* and titles is necessary as they, along with the other personal names mentioned in the charter and referred to above, throw some interesting light on the social history of medieval Orissa. The expression *pāṇi-grāhin* is no doubt the Oriya corruption of Sanskrit *pānīya-grāhin* explained above. The *gōtras* represented by the donees are Bhāradvāja, Ātrēya, Vatsa, Gautama, Vaśishṭha, Kauṇḍinya, Pārāśara, Śāṇḍilya, Āṅgirasa, Kṛishṇātrēya, Kauśika, Sāṅkhyāyana, Māṇḍavya, Bhārgava and Aupamanyava. With the exception of Brāhmaṇas of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, who are mentioned at the beginning and at the end of the list, the names of the other *gōtras* are only once mentioned and are followed by the names of the Brāhmaṇas belonging to each one of them. The Brāhmaṇa heading the list of the donees is called Gōpāla-pāṇigrāhī; but the names of the other donees are invariably preceded by a title or surname. The expression put before the names of most of the Brāhmaṇas is *Pāṭhin* meaning a student of one Vēda, while the expressions *Paṇḍita* and *Tripāṭhin* (student of three Vēdas) are prefixed to the names of some. One name is preceded by the word *Upāsanī* and two by *Vābhī*. The word *upāsana*, from which *upāsanī* is derived, generally means 'worship' and 'religious meditation'; but according to the *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*, III, 45, it also indicates 'sacred fire'. *Upāsanī* in the present case may be the same as *Agnihōtrin* indicating 'a Brāhmaṇa maintaining the sacred fire'. Upāsanī is known to be a surname among the Brāhmaṇas of Mahārāshṭra even today. The word *vābhī* is hard to explain; but, considering the similarity and confusion between the forms of *v* and *n* in some cases, one may suggest the reading *nābhī* possibly indicating the head of a community. Besides Gōpāla-pāṇigrāhī, the other donees bore the names: Ananta, Gurudāsa, Sahadēva, Raghudāsa, Kēśavadāsa, Haradāsa (borne by two Brāhmaṇas), Jalēśvara (borne by three Brāhmaṇas), Jagannātha, Gaṇēśvara, Sashṭhidāsa (borne by two Brāhmaṇas), Kūrmadāsa, Vāsudēva, Vidyādhara, Chāmpadāsa, Gōvinda (borne by two Brāhmaṇas), Chaṇḍidāsa, Sannū, Chitrakara, Lakshmīdhara (borne by two Brāhmaṇas), Vishṇudāsa (borne by three Brāhmaṇas), Ravī (borne by three Brāhmaṇas), Kīrttinātha, Mitāi (borne by five Brāhmaṇas), Gōvindaratha, Svayambhū, Chōdū, Utsavakara, Ramāi, Brāhmaṇadāsa, Āptī (borne by two Brāhmaṇas), Priyaṅkara, Dāṁōdara, Māṇika, Ganū, Vṛiddhī, Nārāyaṇa (borne by two Brāhmaṇas), Kanū (borne by two Brāhmaṇas), Aḷālū, Mantāi, Mādhavakara, Nākū, Viśvapāṇi, Kōṇāi, Bhānukara, Guṇākara (borne by two Brāhmaṇas), Chāṁdū, Harī, Brahmāi, Śivakara, Ravidāsa, Gauridāsa, Sarvēśvara, Jāgēśvara, Sātū, Ānandī (Āṇandī, borne by two Brāhmaṇas), Kachū (borne by three Brāhmaṇas), Kādū, Hṛidayakara, Dēvidāsa, Jāi, Dharmū, Nāgū, Rudrakara, Bhāskara, Champāi (borne by two Brāhmaṇas), Vasundhara, Purushōttama, Vāmadēva, Ratnākara, Kālidāsa, Māṇikadhara, Sṛishṭī, Śaṅkhadhara, Kitāi, Diśanī, Ruāru, Gaṇapati and Kīrttipāṇi. The popularity of names like Mitāi, Kachū, Champāi, etc., is interesting to note.

Of the **geographical** names mentioned in the introduction, some have already been discussed above[1] in connection with the Nagarī inscription of Anaṅgabhīma III. Rāḍhā and Varēndra, described indirectly as the land of the Javanas (Yavanas or Muhammadans), have to be identified respectively with South-western and Northern Bengal, while, as already noticed, Kōṇākōṇa, where the temple of the Sun-god was built by Narasiṁha I, is modern Konarak in the Puri District. The Bhairavapura *kaṭaka* cannot be satisfactorily identified. But Vaṁśōdāgrāma, as Kamakhya Prasad Basu rightly suggested, is apparently the present Basta which is a railway station on the South-Eastern Railway in the Balasore District. The Vaṁśōdāchaura *vishaya*, in which the five plots of the gift land were situated, was no doubt the district round this locality. Basta seems to be a corruption of Vaṁśōdā through the intermediate form Bānsdā. There is a place called Bansda-Sadanandapur near the Basta railway station. The *rājapatha* near Vaṁśōdāgrāma, mentioned in the inscription, seems to be the old Puri road running half a mile to the west of the present Puri road built in the thirties of the nineteenth century by Rājā Sukhamay Rāy and Rāṇī Śaṅkarī Dēvī of Calcutta. The old Puri road passed *via* Jalesvar, Khunta, Basta, Rupsa, Ramachandrapur and Rēmuṇā. According to the Bengali works on the life of Chaitanya, the saint reached Rēmuṇā after crossing the Suvarṇarēkhā *via* Jalesvar and Bansda. Of the intermediate stations mentioned in this connection, Amarda is a village in the Mayurbhanj District (former Mayurbhanj State) and Ramachandrapur is a village near the Haldipara railway station.

TEXT[2]

[Metres : Verses 1-3, 5-6, 9-11, 15, 20, 24-31, 33, 40-41, 48, 50, 54, 56-58, 60-61, 64, 67, 73-74, 76-77, 88, 90, 94, 100, 104-05 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verses 4, 21, 37,42, 53, 66, 87 *Sragdharā* ; verses 7, 23, 49, 65, 85 *Mālinī* ; verses 8, 13, 34, 38-39, 44-46, 51, 59, 68, 75, 78-79, 83-84, 86, 93, 95, 101-03, 113 *Vasantatilaka* ; verses 12, 16, 18-19, 22, 32, 36, 43, 52, 55, 62-63, 69-71, 80, 96-99, 106-12 *Anushṭubh* ; verses 14, 17, 35, 72 *Upajāti* ; verse 47 *Indravajrā* ; verse 81 *Gīti* ; verse 82 *Mañjubhāshiṇī, Prabōdhitā* or *Sunandinī* ; verses 89, 92 *Mandākrāntā* ; verse 91 *Svāgatā*.]

First Plate

1 Ō [na]mō Nārāyaṇāya || Lakshmī-pāda-sarōruha-dvayam=adaḥ śrēyā[ṁ]si dāsīshṭa vaḥ prasphūrja[n*]-nakha-raśmi-

2 kēsara-satā(ṭā)-bhāsvan-nakh-ālī-dalaṁ ||(lam |) vispashṭa[ṁ] prativimvi(bimbi)taḥ praṇamanaiḥ krīḍ-āparādh-ōdbhavaiḥ Kṛishṇō ya-

3 n-nakha-dīptishu bhramaratān=dhattē sa [La*]kshmī-priyaḥ || [1*] Kshīr-āvdhē(bdhē)r=mmathitāt sur-āsura-gaṇaiḥ prādurbhavantī Ramā Śambh[u]-

4 Vra(Bra)hma-Purandara-prabhṛitishu prakhā(khyā)ta-kīrttishv=api || (|) paśyatsv=Aṁvu(bu)-janābham=īśam=avṛiṇōl=lōka-tray-āhlādinaṁ bhṛiṅg-ālī sahakāra-

5 m=ēti hi va[nē] phu[llē]=nya-śākhiny=api || [2*] Tan-nābhī-sarasīruh-ōdbhava-Vidhēr=Atrir=vva(r=bba)bhūv=āmutaḥ Cha(taś=Cha)ndraś=chandrikayā prakāśi-

6 ta-jagat saṁbhūtavān=nētrayōḥ || (|) trailōkya-grasan-aika-daksha-timira-grāsitva-sāmyē=pi yō lakshma-vyāji dadhat=tamaḥ pra-

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[1] See Vol. XXVIII, p. 248.

[2] From impressions.

7 tivapuḥ sūryy-ādhikō nirmmalaḥ || [3*] Śrīdēvī-sōdaratvād=amṛita-sakhatayā **kalpa-vṛiksh**-ānujatvāl=lōk-ānanda[ṁ*] vidhātā ti-

8 mira-visha-haraḥ sarvvad=aiv=ōpabhōgyaḥ ||(|) tat-tat-sa[ṁ]sargga-lābhāt=tad-adhigata-guṇaṁ sv-āṁga-nish[ṭha]n=dadhānaḥ svasvai(sy=ai)tan=nirmma-

9 latvaṁ jagati vijayatē darśayan=nūnam=i[ṁ]duḥ || [4*] Vaṁśē tasya narēśvarāḥ samabhavana(van) tēshāṁ gu[ṇā]ṁchchha(ṇāś=chha)ndasaḥ prōtphulā(llā)

10 iva [ya]t-purāṇa-matagāḥ ta(gās=ta)tr=āpi nō sammitāḥ ||(|) tanta(t-ta)t-kāshya(vya)-pi(pa)tha-śritās=tri-bhuvanē mū[r*]ttin=dadhā-

11 nā iva [bhrāmya]nt=īva sa-chētanā[ḥ*] śruti-gṛihē viśramya viśramya cha || [5*] Pra[tyē]kaṁ śaśi-vaṁśa-bhūpati-bhuja-

12 vyāpāra-saṅkī[r]tanāṁ(naṁ) kartuṅ=kaḥ [ksha]matē kshitau va(ba)hu-mukhō yatr=Ārjjunaḥ(na)sy=aiva hi ||(|) dōdra(r-da)ṇḍ-ārjita-kī[r*]tti-varṇṇa[na]-para[ṁ*] tad=Bhā-

13 rataṁ prābhavat=tasmād=āhvaya-mātrama(m=ā)di-nṛipati-śrēṇi-kramāl=likhyatē || [6*] tathā hi Chandrād=Vu(d=Bu)dhaḥ | Vu(Bu)dhād=Analaḥ | Ana-

14 lāt=Purūravāḥ | Purūravasō Vvā(Vā)yuḥ | Vāyōr=Naghu(hu)shaḥ | Naghu(hu)shād=Yajā(yā)tiḥ | tatas=Turvvasuḥ | tatō Gāṅgēyaḥ | ta-

15 tō Virōchanaḥ | tataḥ Samvē(Saṁvē)dyaḥ | tatō Bhāsvān | tatō Dattasēnaḥ | tataḥ Saumyaḥ | tatō(taḥ) Aśvadattaḥ |

16 tataḥ Saurāṅgaḥ | tasmāch=Chitrāṅgadaḥ | tataḥ Sīradhvajaḥ | tatō Dharmmaishī [|] tataḥ Parīkshit | tatō Jayasē-

17 naḥ | tatō [Vi]jjayasēnaḥ | tatō Vṛishadhvajaḥ | tataḥ Pragalbhaḥ | tataḥ Śaktiḥ | tataḥ Kōlāhalaḥ [|] sa ēv=Ā[na*]ntava[rmmā]

18 abhavat || Dhana-kanaka-samṛiddhō Gaṅgavāḍiḥ prasiddhaḥ sakala-vishaya-bhūtaḥ svarggi-vargg-ōpabhōgyaḥ | tad-adhipa-

19 tir=ath=ādyō=**nantavarmmā** nṛipēndraḥ |[1] samabhavad=iti rūḍhā[2] Gaṅga-nāmnā tad-ādyāḥ || [7*] Kōlāhalaḥ samara-m[ū]rddhni tatō nṛi-

20 pāṇāṁ bhūtō yataḥ sa cha pū(pu)rañ=cha[3] tadīyam=atra ||(|) **Kōlāhala**[4](l-ā)hvayam=abhūt sura-sadma-tulyaṁ tasmin kramē nṛipatibhir=vva(r=bba)hu-

Second Plate, First Side

21 bhir=vva(r=bba)bhūvē || [8*] Rājya-śrī-bhṛiti **Nārasiṁha**-nṛipatau jyēshṭhē kim=atr=āsmahē dōr-daṇḍ-ārjita-bhū-tal-ōtthita-Ramā-kaṇṭha-grah-ānandinaḥ | kiṁ

22 ch=āsmākam=iyaṁ bhuj-āsi-latikā saṁvēshṭatāṁ vē(vai)riṇāṁ kaṇṭh-āraṇyam=iyaṁ cha kīrtti-latikā dyān=nas=samārōhatu || [9*] Bhrāmyadbhiḥ

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[1] The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[2] *Rūḍhō* was originally engraved.

[3] Elsewhere (above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 240) we preferred the reading *Sarapurañ=cha* suggesting that Anantavarman's chief city named Sarapura became famous as Kōlāhala. But the idea seems to be that both Anantavarman and his capital (not named) became famous under the name Kolāhala.

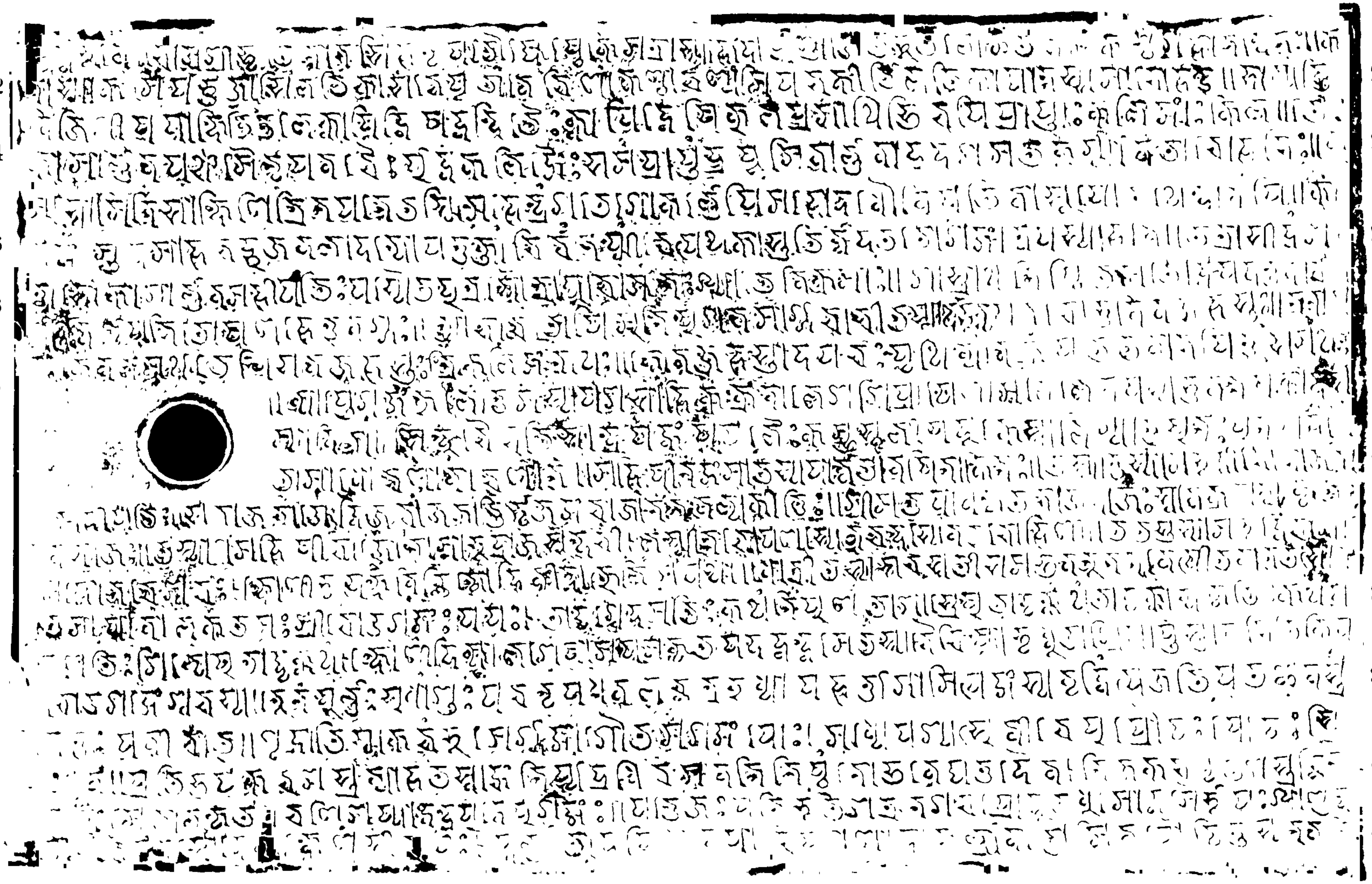
[4] This *la*, which was at first omitted, is written below the line.

ASANKHALI PLATES OF NARASIMHA II, SAKA 1225—PLATE I



SCALE, THREE-FOURTHS

ii,a



23 vi(bhir=vi)jigīshayā kshiti-talē kv=āpli(pi) dvishad-vanditaiḥ kv=āpi dvēshi-kula-pramāthibhir=api prāptāḥ Kaliṅgāḥ kila || (|) taiḥ

24 **Kāmārṇṇava**-pañchamair=nṛipa-varair[1]=yuddhaṁ Kaliṅgaiḥ samaṁ prāptaṁ drashṭum=iv=ārṇṇavād=udagamat Kūrmm-āvatārō Hariḥ || [10*] [Kū]-

25 rmma-svāmini sākshiṇi Trinayanē tasmin=Mahēndraṁ gatē Gōkarṇṇē=pi mah-ōdadhau viyati vā sūryyē tath=ēndāv=api ||(|) Kā-

26 liṅgīm=bhuvam=āharad=bhuja-va(ba)lād=any-ōpanu(bhu)ktāṁ chiraṁ lakshmīṁ v=ēty=atha kā stutir=vvada tatō Gaṅg-ānvayasy=āhavē || [11*] Tatr=āsīd=vaṁśa-ka-

27 rtt=āsau **Kāmārṇṇava**-mahīpatiḥ [|*] yasy=aitat-putra-pautrādyā rājānaḥ khyāta-vikramāḥ || [12*] Śāstr-ārtha-nishṭhita-matir=dvishad-anta-kārī [sa]-

28 rvv-ārthi-varga-paritōshaṇa-hēttu(tu)-va[r]ggaḥ || (|) āchāratō=pi muni-puṁgava-mārgga-chārī tasmād[2]=abhūn=nṛipa-varō bhuvi **Vajrahastaḥ** || [13*] Nna(Na) nāma-

29 taḥ kēvalam=arthatē(tō)=pi sa Vajrahastaḥ Tri(stas=Tri)kaliṅga-nāthaḥ ||(|) kō Vajrahastād=aparaḥ pṛithivyāṁ vajraṁ patat(tad)=vārayituṁ samarthaḥ

30 || [14*] Vyāptē Gaṅga-kul-ōttamasya yaśasā hi(di)k-chakravālē śaśi-prāyēṇ=ā-malilē(nē)na yasya bhuvana-prahlāda-sa-

31 mpādinā || (|) sindūrair=ati-sāndra-paṅka-paṭalaiḥ ka(ku)mbha-sthalī-paṭṭakēshv=ālimpanti punaḥ punaś=cha hari-

32 tām=ādhōraṇā vāraṇān || [15*] Mahishī Naṅgamā tasya Pārvvat=īva Pinākinaḥ ||(|) tasmāt=tasyām=abhūd=vīrō **Rājarā**-

33 **ja**-mahīpatiḥ || [16*] Sa Rājarājō dvija-rāja-kāntirbhṛi(r=bhu)jaṅga-rāj-ānana-varṇya-kīrttiḥ ||(|) śrīmattay=ādha[ḥ*]kṛita-rājarājaḥ sva-vikrama-nya[k*]kṛita-

34 dēva-rājaḥ || [17*] Tasy=āpra(gra)-mahishī rājño nāmn=ābhūd=Rājasū(su)ndarī | Lakshmīr=Nnārāyaṇasy=ēva Chandrasy=ēva tu Rōhiṇī || [18*] Tatas=tasyām=abhūd=dēvaś=**Chō**-

35 **ḍagaṅgō** nar-ēśvaraḥ | kshōṇī-bhṛit-paksha-vichchhi[tyau] div=Īndrāt=kuliśa[ṁ*] yathā || [19*] Dhātrī tasya Sarasvatī samabhavan=[n]ūna[ṁ*] na vē(chē)t=pītavān tat-sā[ra]-

36 svatam=āryya-vā(bā)laka-tamaḥ śrī-Chōḍagaṅgaḥ payaḥ ||(|) tādṛig-Vēda-matiḥ kathaṁ nipuṇatā śāstrēshu tādṛik=kathaṁ tādṛik=kāvyakṛitiḥ katha[ṁ] pa-

37 riṇatiḥ śilpēshu tādṛik=kathaṁ|(tham ||) [20*] Kshōṇī[ṁ] dik-pāla-śēshām=ayam=akṛita pada-dvandvam=ētasya vairi-kshmā-bhṛich-chūḍā-śriy=āptaṁ stutir=iti kiya-

38 tī Chōḍagaṅg-ēśvarasya ||(|) nūnaṁ pūrṇṇaḥ sudh-āṁśuḥ para-nṛipa-dhavala-chchhatra-vu(bu)dhyā(ddhy=ā)paharttā mām=ity=aṅgasya vṛiddhiṁ tyajati yata iva stra(tra)-

39 sta-chittaḥ p[r]avīrāt || [21]* Gṛih[ṇ]āti sma karaṁ bhūmer=Ggaṅgā-Gautamagaṅgayōḥ | madhyē paśyatsu vīrēshu prauḍhaḥ prauḍha[3]-[stri]-

40 **yā** iva || [22*] Pratibhaṭa-kara-śastra-vyāhata-sv-āṅga-niryad-rudhiram=avani-nishṭhaṁ nō bhavēd=yat=tad=aiva | nija-kara-dhṛita-śastra-chchhi[nna]-

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[1] A *visarga* sign, originally engraved after *rai*, is scored off.

[2] *Da* has been written over an erasure.

[3] A *visarga*, originally engraved after *ḍha*, was penned through.

41 [bhinn-āṅga]m=ētān=akṛita dharaṇi-śayyā[n]=dvandva-yuddhēshu Gaṅgaḥ || [23*] Yat-tējaḥ-paribhūta-śatru-nagara-prōdbhūta-dhūm-ōdgamair=bhūyaḥ Khāṇḍa[va]-

42 [dāha-śaṁki]-manasō dēvāḥ kshaṇaṁ bhīra[va]ḥ | svalṭā(r-nnī)tād=asi-dhārayā [ripu-ga]-ṇād=ākarṇṇya vārttām=iva prauḍhin=tasya nuva[nti]

Second Plate, Second Side

43 [Gaṁga-nṛipatēr]=bhīti[ṁ] vihāya dhruvaṁ(vam) || [24*] Krōdh-ōdya[d*]-dvipa-mēgha-mālini mada-srōtasvatī-durggamē chañchat-khaḍga-taḍitpa(t-pra)bhāva-ninadan-nā-

44 r[ā]cha-vajō(jr-ō)dagē(yē) ||(|) mat-sainyē jalad-āgama-pratinidhau jētu[ṁ] prava-rttēta kaḥ śūrō=p=īti vada[ṁ]s=Trilōchana-vē(vi)bhur=va(r=ba)ddhō=munā saṅga-

45 rē || [25*] Ni[r*]mmathy=Ōtkala-rāja-sindhum=apara[ṁ] Gaṅg-ēśvara[ḥ] prāptavān=ēkaḥ kīrtti-sudhākara[ṁ] pṛithutama[ṁ] lakshmīn=dharaṇyā sama[ṁ](mam) | mādyad-danti-saha-

46 sram=aśva-niyutaṁ ratnāny=asa[ṁ*]khyāni vā tat-sindhōḥ kim=imaṁ prakarsham=atha vā vrū(brū)mas=tad-unmāthinaḥ || [26*] Pādau yasya dhar-āntariksham=akhi-

47 la[ṁ] nābhiś=cha sarvvā diśaḥ śrōtrē nētra-yuga[ṁ*] rav-īndu-yugalaṁ mūrddh=āpi cha dyaur=asau ||(|) prāsādaṁ Purushōttamasya nṛipatiḥ kō nāma karttu[ṁ]

48 kshamaḥ ta(mas=ta)sy=ēty=ādya-nṛipair=upēkshitam=ayaṁ chakrē=tha Gaṅg-ēśvaraḥ || [27*] Lakshmī-janma-gṛihaṁ payōnidhir=asau pa(sa)mbhāvitasya sthitir=nō dhā-

49 m[n]i śvasu(śu)rasya pu(pū)jyata iti kshīr-āvdhi(bdhi)-vāsā[d*]=dhruvaṁ||(vam |) nirvvi-ṇṇaḥ Purushōttamaḥ pramuditaḥ ta(tas=ta)d-dhāma-lābhād=Ram=āpy=ētad-bha[r*]tṛi-gṛihaṁ [vara*]m=pitṛigṛihā-

50 ta(t) prāpya pramōd-ānvitā || [28*] Tva[ṁ] Kū[rmm-ā]dhipa niśchala tvam=api bhō vyām-ē(l-ē)ndra dhauryam=vaha[1]| tva[ṁ*] pṛigvi(thvi) sthina(ra)tāṁ bhaja tvam=adhunā vra(bra)hmāṇḍa gāḍaṁ(ḍha)m=bhava ||(|) śrī-

51 Gaṅg-ādhipa-va(ba)ddha-siṁha-visaraṅgā(d-ghō)shāj=jagad-vyāpinō dig-nāgēshu bhayāch=chalatsu jagatī kampēta vā yat kramāt || [29*] Āramyā-nagarāt=Kaliṁga-

52 ja-va(ba)la-pratyagra-bhagn-āvṛiti-prākār-āyata-tōraṇa-prabhṛititō Gaṅgā-taṭasthā[t*] tataḥ | Pārth-āstai(strai)r=yudhi jarjarīkṛita-namad-Rādhē-

53 ya-gātā(tr-ā)kṛitir=Mandār-ādhipani(ti)r=ggatō raṇa-bhuvō Gaṅgēśvar-ānudrutaḥ || [30*] Vra(Bra)hmāṇḍādya(d=ba)hē(hi)r=asya kīrttiḥ(tti)-rpa(pa)ya-

54 sā liptaṁ na vā bhāvinē dattaś=ch=ārthi-janāya hēma-nichayaḥ saṅkampa(lpi)nai(nē) vā va(ba)huḥ | nirddagdh-āri-pura[2]ś= cha

55 bhāvita-navas=tasya pratāpi(pai)r=nna vā kiṁ vā nō kṛitavān=ayaṁ stuti-padaṁ śrī-Chōḍagaṅg-ēśvaraḥ || [31*] Varshāṇāṁ

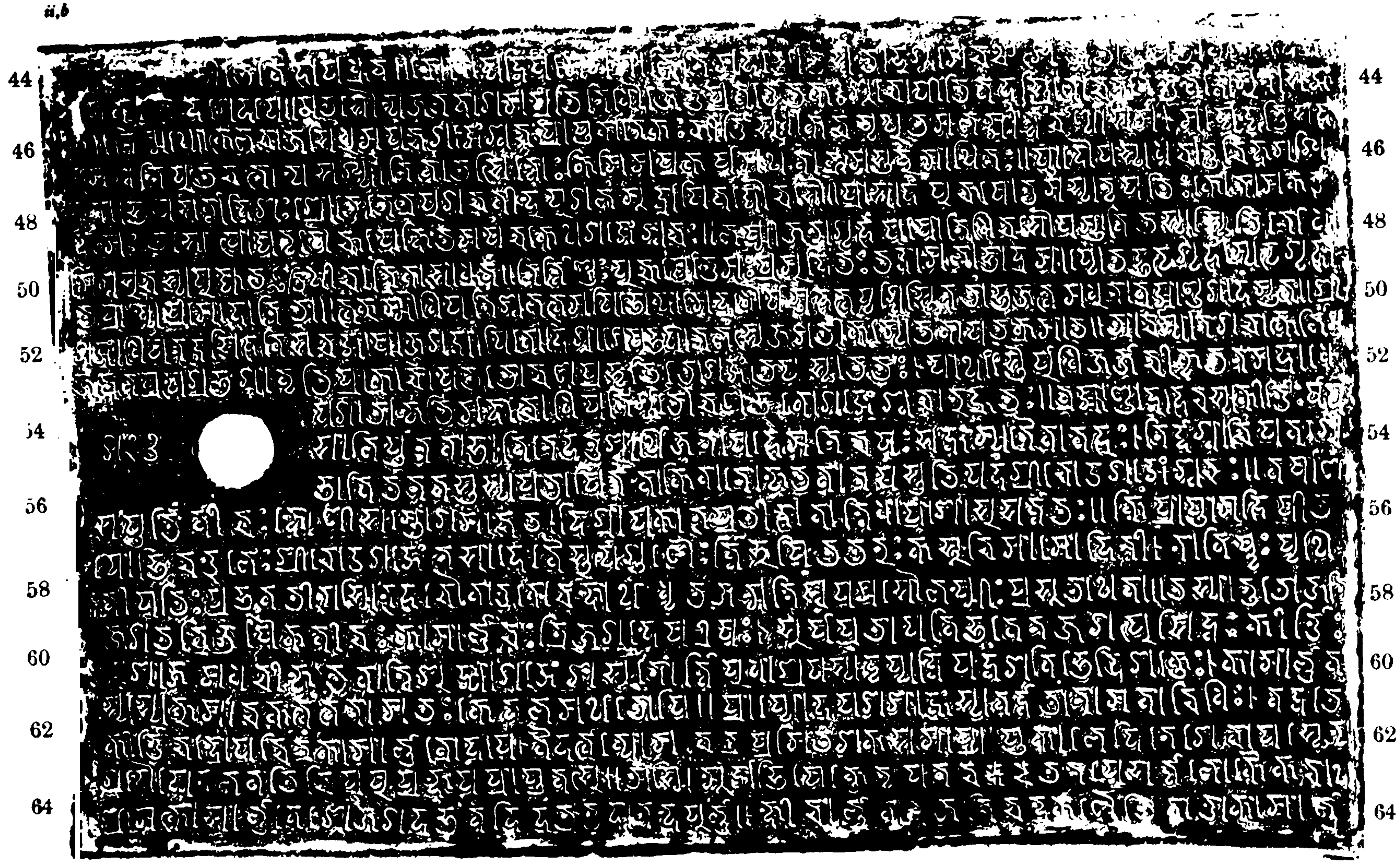
56 saptatiṁ vīraḥ kshōṇī-sambhōgam=ācha[ra*]t | dig-nāyakān pratīhāvā(rā)n=vidhāy=āśāsu sarvvataḥ || [32*] Kiṁ prāptā mahishī ta-

57 pōbhir=attu(tu)laiḥ śrī-Chōḍagaṅgēna sā dēvai[ḥ*] stutya-guṇaiḥ(ṇai)r=vvibhūshita-tanuḥ Kastūrimā(kā)mōdinī | n=ā-Vishṭaḥ(shṇuḥ) pṛithi-

[1] Read *dhairyaṁ vaha*.

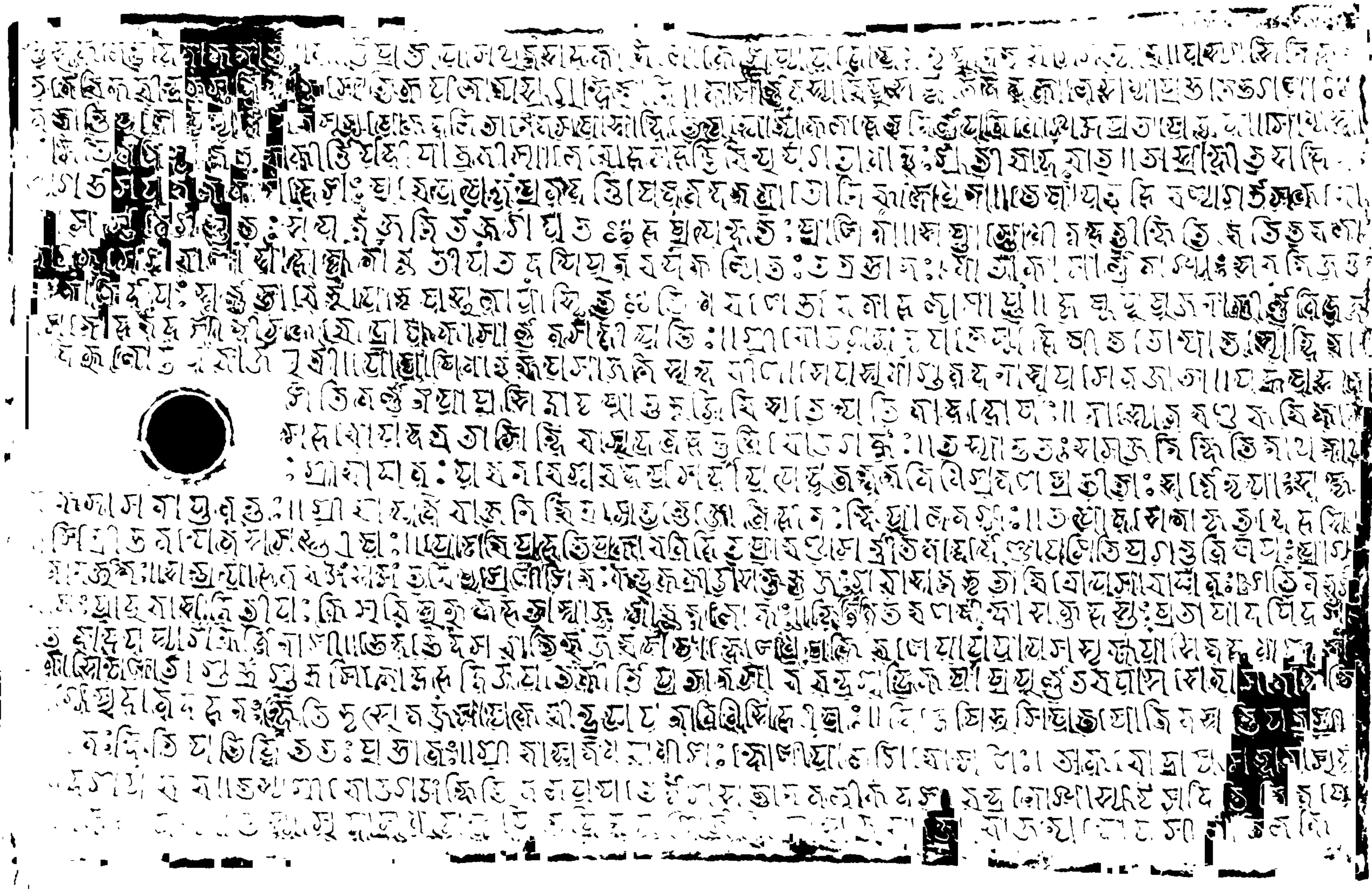
[2] A *visarga*, originally incised after *ra*, was later penned through.

ASANKHALI PLATES OF NARASIMHA II, SAKA 1225—PLATE II



Scale: Three-fourths

iii,a



58 **vī-patiḥ** prabhavat=īty=asmin Harau vā tu(bhu)vō raksh-ārthaṁ dhṛita-janmani svayam=asau Lakshmīḥ prasūt=ātha vā || [33*] Tasyān=tatō=jani

59 jagat-tritay-aika-vīraḥ **Kāmārṇṇavaḥ** tri(vas=tri)-jagadēshu[1] ēshaḥ | sūryaṁ pratāpa-vibhavēna jagat-p[r]asiddha[2]-kīrttiḥ

60 śaśāṅga(ṅka)m=adharīkṛitavān=viśuddhyā [|| 34*] Gaṅg-ēśa-sūnōr=vviyu(bu)dh-āśrayasya dṛipya[d*]-dviya(sha)d-vaṁśa-vibhēdi-śaktēḥ | Kāmārṇṇava-

61 sya(sy=ā)sya Kumārakatvaṁ na nāmataḥ kēvalam=arthatō=pi || [35*] Prāpy=ōdaya[ṁ*] śaśāṅkasya varddhatāṁ nāma vāridhiḥ | va[r*]ddhatē

62 kīrtti-chandrō=ya[ṁ*] chitraṁ Kāmārṇṇav-ōdayē |[| 36*] **Vēd[3]-artvu(rttu)-vyōma-chandra-pramita-Śaka-samā-prāpta-kālē** din-ēśē chāpasthē=nya-

63 grah-aughē na(ba)lavati ripushu prakshayaṁ prāptavatsu ||(|) asmin=mūrddh-ābhishiktē nṛipa-vara[4]-tanayē sarvva-lōk-aika-rā(nā)tha(thē)

64 śrīmat-Kāmarṇṇav-ēśē jagad=abhavad=idaṁ tat-tad-ānanda-pūrṇṇaṁ(rṇṇam) || [37*] Kshīr-ārṇṇavād=ajani chandra-kal=ēti vā[r*]ttā Kāmārṇṇa-

Third Plate, First Side

65 [vā*]t=tu sakal-ēndu-divākār-ābhaṁ||(bham |) kīrtti-pratāpa-mithunaṁ sahakāri lōkē ślipya(shya)ty=ahō para-nṛipān=anurāga-śūnyān || [38*] Yasy=āsi-nirvva(rdda)li-

66 ta-vairi-kar-īndra-kumbha-nirmmukta-mauktika-phalāny=asru(sṛi)g-ukshitāni ||(|) Kāmārṇṇavasya ripu-saṅgha(saṁha)ti-hai(hē)tv-a-kālē(la)-sa[ṁ]dhyā-prabhāta-bhagaṇā i-

67 va bhānti yuddhō(ddhē || 39) Dṛipyad-vairi-chamūr=mmayā kavalitā n=aiva[ṁ*] may=āsvādit=ēty=anyōnyaṁ kalahē ttu(tu) nirṇṇaya-vidhau khaḍga-pratāp-ēchchhayā ||(|) mādhyasthya-

68 ṅ=gamit=ēva ni[r]mmalatarā kīrttir=yadīyā vra(bra)vīmy=ālē(lō)chy=ēha mahadbhir=ity=upagatā dhāttu(tu)ḥ śrutī ch=ādarāt || [40*] Asrākshīt sa Hira-

69 ṇyagarbham=aparaṁ(rē) lōkaṁ(kē) Mahēśaḥ pur=ēty=a(ty=u)tpanva(nna)ṁ pravadanti yē va(cha) vadana-vrātō niruddhō=dhunā || (|) tēshāṁ yat=tu hiraṇyagarbhaṁ=akarō-

70 t=Kāmārṇṇav-ēśas=tataḥ sampannaṁ janitaṁ jagad=yata iha pratyakshataḥ prāṇināṁ(nām) || [41*] Sapt-āmbhōdhīn=vahantī kshitir=a[5]ti=taralā

71 nāga-kūrm-ēśvarāṇāṁ sāhājya(yya)ṁ vāṁchchha(chha)t=īyaṁ tad=api punar=ayaṁ kal-pitaḥ ta(tas=ta)tra bhāraḥ | Dhātā Kāmārṇṇav-ākhyaḥ sa cha nija-ttu(tu)-

72 lanāṁ nirdayaḥ svarṇṇa-bhārair=bhūyō bhūyas=tulāyāṁ sthita iti dharaṇēr=bhāra-vā(bā)-halyam=āptuṁ(ptam) || [42*] Hṛishṭa-pushṭa-jan-ākīrṇṇaṁ vidvaj-ja-

73 na-manōharaṁ(ram |) daś-āvdī(bdī)m=akarōd=rājyaṁ Kāmārṇṇava-mahīpatiḥ || [43*] Śrī-Chōḍagaṅga-nṛipatēr=mmahishī tatō=nyā tasy=Ēndirā

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[1] Read °*jagad-ēka-vadānya*=.

[2] A *visarga* had been originally engraved after *ddha* but was afterwards deleted.

[3] The Nagarī plates correctly read *Nand*° instead of *Vēd*°. See above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 242.

[4] The letters *kara* had been at first engraved after *vara* and then deleted.

[5] *Ri* was originally engraved ; but the medial *i* sign seems to show marks of erasure.

74 ravi-kul-ōdbhava-rāja-putrī ||(|) y=ādy=āpi Dhāttu(tu)r=upam=ājani sundariṇā[ṁ*] s=ēyaṁ sudh-āṁśu-vadanā svayam=ēva jātā || [44*] Yad-rūpa-sī(śī)la-

75 gati-varṇṇanayā prasiddhā dṛishṭānta-bhūd=Gi(r=Gi)risut=ēty=ati-vāda-dōshaḥ [|*] n=āsty=ēva chaṇḍa-ruchi-kā-

76 ma-harō yad=atra tām=Indirām=udavaha[d=bhu]vi Chōḍagaṅgaḥ || [45*] Tasyān=tataḥ samajani kshiti-nātha-nātha-

77 ḥ śrī-Rāghavaḥ para-narēśvara-darpa-mardī [|*] yat-paṭṭa-va(ba)ndhana-vidhi-śravaṇa-prabhītāḥ sarvvē nṛipāḥ sva-hṛi-

78 di kampam=avāptavantaḥ || [46*] Śrī-Rāghavē rājani chitram=-ētat=tējō-vihīnaḥ kshiti[1]-pāla-varggaḥ ||(|) tat-pāda-sēvā-kṛita-dēha-si-

79 ddhir=mitrībhavaty=ēva samasta ēshaḥ || [47*] Prauḍh-āri-prahati-prakāra-vihita-prāchaṇḍya-mantrīta(bha)varddō(d-dō)rdaṇḍā(ṇḍ-ō)pamiti-praglbha-vishayaḥ prāg=bhū-

80 tavān=Arjunaḥ ||(|) sa[mpra]ty=āhava-raṅga-saṅgata-ripu-śrēṇī-śiraḥ-kanduka-krīḍ-āsakta-bhujaḥ śar-āsana-bhṛitāṁ chitr-ōpamā Rāghavaḥ [|| 48*] Jagati Va(Pa)raśu-

81 rāmaḥ prādurāsīd=dvitīyaḥ kimu ripu-kula-hantā sv-ājñay=āchchhanna-lōkaḥ ||(|) kshiti-vitaraṇa-dīksh-āsakta-hastaḥ pratāpād=api daśa-

82 śata-vā(bā)ha(hur)=yasya śatrur=vvināśī || [49*] Bhēdaṁ bhēdam=arāti-kuñjara-ghaṭā-kshōṇ[ī]dhra-paṁkti[ṁ*] raṇē pāyaṁ pāyam=asṛik-payāṁsi va(ba)hudhā śrī-Rā-

83 ghav-āsi[ḥ*] kshaṇāta(ṇāt) | śubhraṁ śubhram=iv=ōdvahad=vijayatē kīrtti-pratānam=paraṁ chandraś=chandrikayā prapūrṇṇatarayā sa[ṁ*]sēvyamān-ākṛitiṁ(tiḥ)

84 || [50*] Durggēshu dāva-dahanaḥ kshitibhṛitsu vajraṁ mādyat-kar-īndra-ghaṭanā-vidhi-siṁha ēshaḥ ||(|) vidvēshi-bhūmi-patayō nivasanti yatra śrī-

85 Rāghavaḥ kshiti-patir=vvitataḥ(ta)-prabhāvaḥ || [51*] Śrī-Rāghava-dharādhīśaḥ kshōṇī-pāla-śirōmaṇiḥ | akarōd=rājyam=avdā(bdā)nām=uddā-

86 mō daśa paṁcha cha || [52*] Tasya śrī-Chōḍagaṅga-kshiti-valaya-patēr=vvaṁśa-santāna-vallī-kaṁda-śrī-Chandranō(lē)khā sphuṭam=Aditir=iva pē(prē)-

87 yasī Kasya(śya)pasya ||(|) tasyām=uddāma-dhāma-kshayita-dinamaṇir=jaj[ñ]ivānsa(n=Rā)-jarājō rājanya-kshōda-mī(lī)lā-tilaki-

Third Plate, Second Side

88 ta-mahima-vyāpta-dik-chakravālaḥ || [53*] Tasmin=dig-vijaya-prayāṇa-rasikē saṁrambha-śumbhach-chamū-saṁkshuṇṇa-kshiti-va(cha)kra-pāṁśu-paṭala-

89 prāg-bhāravaty=amva(mba)rē | bhū-saṁsparśa-ghṛiṇā-vaśād=dinarma(ma)ṇēr=uchchai[ḥ] plū(plu)taṁ saptibhiḥ sv-abhyastaṁ sura-pi(si)ndu(ndhu)rēṇa dharaṇī-paṭṭē rad-ōdghaṭṭa-

90 naṁ(nam) || [54*] Chōḍagaṅga-narēndrasya sūnur=uddāma-vikramaḥ | Rājarāja iti khyātō rāja-rājō mahīpatiḥ || [55*] Viśvaṁ krōḍayati pragalbha-vayasi prālē-

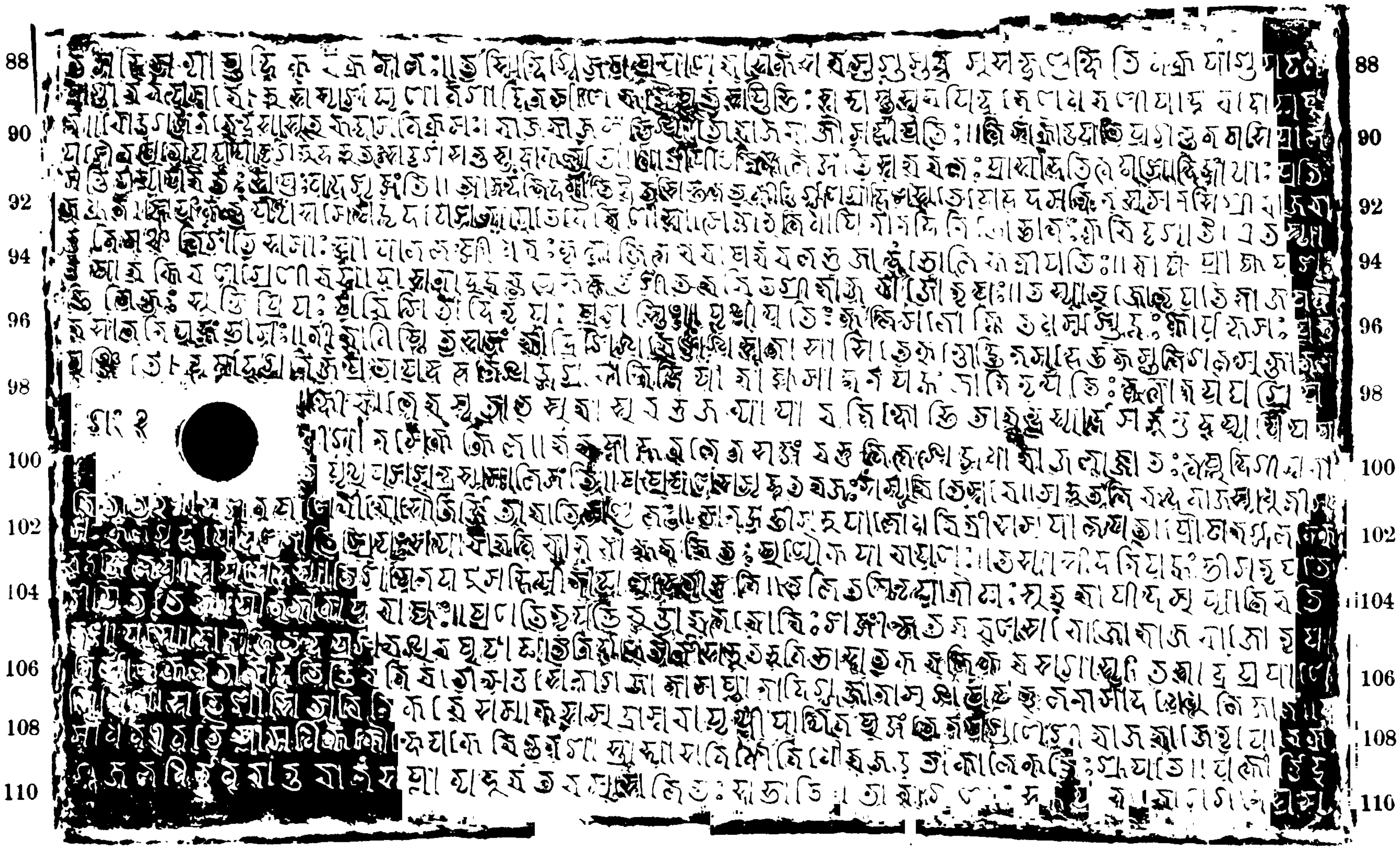
91 ya-śaila-tyu(dyu)tau yad=yad=yādṛig=abhūd=abhūtaḥ(ta)-sadṛiśaṁ santas=tad=ākarṇṇya-tāṁ||(tām|) dhātrī pīṭhatri(ti)[2] liṅgati svar-achalaḥ prāsādati tvad-yaśō diṅ-nāthāḥ prati-

[1] *Ti*, which was originally omitted, is written above the line in a small size.

[2] *Tribliṅga* had been originally engraved; but *ka* was afterwards deleted.

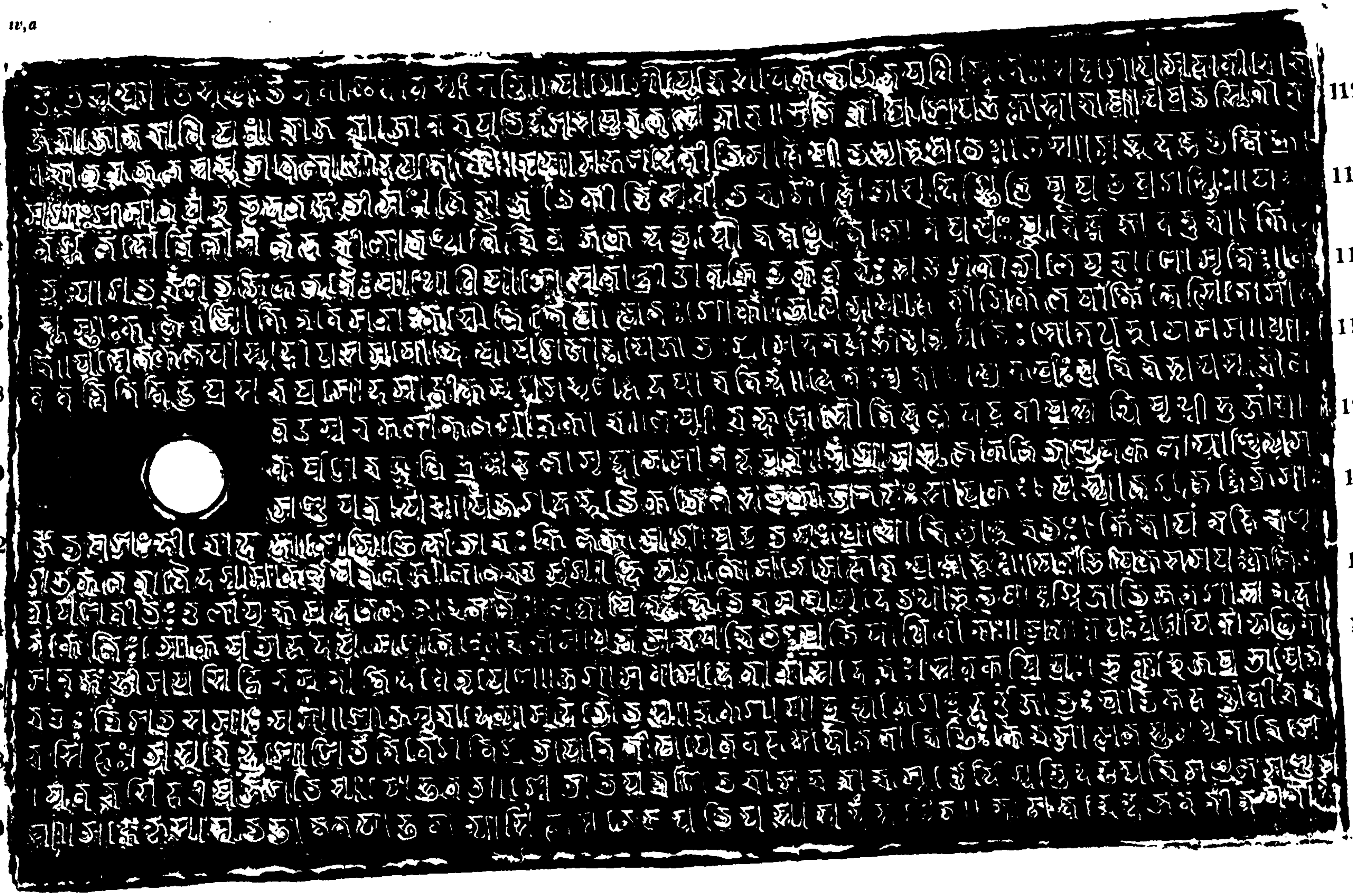
ASANKHALI PLATES OF NARASIMHA II, SAKA 1225—PLATE III

iii.b



Scale three fourths

iv,a



92 ma(mā)nti yasya paritaḥ srashṭuḥ pada[ṁ*] śṛiṅgati [56*] Ānandaṁ vidadhāti chētasi bhavata-(vat)-kīrttirgga(r=ggu)ṇa-grāhi [ṇas=]sūtē dōhadam=arthinaṁ(naḥ) su-manasi śrī-Rājarā-

93 ja dhruvaṁ(vam) | [s=ē]yaṁ karṇṇa-patha[ṁ] samētya hṛidayē śalyāyatē vairiṇā[ṁ] sv-ātmē(m-ī)chchh-ānuvidhāyinā[ṁ*] na hi nijō bhāvaḥ kvachi[d*] dṛiśyatē |[| 57*] Ētasyā[ṁ*]

94 bhuvi pañchaviṁśati-samāḥ kshmā-pāla-lakshmī-dhavaḥ kṛitvā jitvara-chāpa-chaṁchala-bhujā-daṁbhōlir=u[r*]vvī-patiḥ ||(|) rājyaṁ prājya-yaśaḥ(śas)-

95 tushāra-kiraṇa-śrēṇī-rasād=āsanād=u[dga]chchhat-Puru[hū]ta-gīta-charita-śrī-Rājarājō nṛi-paḥ || [58*] Tasy=ānujō nṛipati-rāja-padē=

96 bhishiktaḥ s-ūkti-priyaḥ parimit-ādi-nṛipa[ḥ](pa)-praśastiḥ (|) pṛithvī-[pa]tiḥ kali-mal-ō[jjhi]ta-dharmma-śuddhaḥ kārya-kshamaḥ prabhu-

97 r=asāv=**Aniyaṅkabhīmaḥ** || [59] Vīr-ādhishṭhita-saṅgar-ādri-śikharē śaṁkha-svan-āsā(śā)sitē kunt-ōdbhinna-mah-ēbha-kumbha-vigalan-mukt-āvala(lī)-

98 puñjitē | harshād=ugra-nija-pratāpa-dahanē khaḍga-śru(sru)chā vidvishāṁ rājñām=ānana-paṅkajāni nṛipatiḥ hu(tir=hu)tv=ānayad=ya[ḥ*] śriyaṁ(yam)

99 || [60*] Kshīr-āvdhē(bdhē)r=amṛitāt sur-āsura-bhuja-vyāpāra-vikshōbhitāch=chandrasy=ā-rddham=abhūt=tad=apy=api(dhi)yayā-

100 dī(v=Ī)śānam=ēkaṁ kila ||(|) chaṁchadvā(d-bā)hu-va(ba)lēna saṅgara-bhuvi tvat-khaḍga-dhārā-jalāj=jātaḥ tv=a(tas=tv=a)shṭu(shṭa)-dig-īśvarā-

101 t(n) pṛithu-yaśaś=chandras=ma(s=sa)māliṅgati | [61*] Yat-prayāṇa-samṛi(mu)dbhūta-rajaḥ-sampūritē=mva(mba)rē ||(|) abhūtat-viruda-vājasya[1] dhūlī-mada-

102 chitā tanuḥ || [62*] Daśa varshāṇi vīrō=sau nirjjit-ārāti-maṇḍalaḥ ||(|) Anaṅgabhīma-bhūpālō dharitrīṁ samapālayat |[| 63*] Prauḍh-ānarggala-vikra-

103 maḥ kula-gṛihaṁ yō daṇḍa-nīti-śriyaḥ saty-āchāra-vichāra-chāru-charitaḥ puṇy-aika-pārāyaṇaḥ ||(|) tasy=āsīd= Aniyaṅkabhīma-nṛipatē-

104 r=arddh-āṅga-la[kshmī][ḥ*] svayaṁ snēhasy=ātiśayēna paṭṭa-mahishī Vāghalladēvī bhuvi || [64*] Ttu(Tu)lita-pitṛi-ghā(gu)ṇ-aughaḥ sūnur=āpī(sī)d=amupyā(shyā) nirati-

105 śayita-tējā yauvan-āvāpta-rājyaḥ ||(|) praṇati(ta)-nṛipati-chūḍā-ratna-rōchih-[pi*]śaṅgī-kṛita-charaṇa-sarōjō **Rājarājō** nṛipā-

106 laḥ || [65*] Yasy=ōdyad-vāji-vṛinda-prakhara-khura-puṭ-āghāta-nirdārit-ōrvī-sa[ṁ*]bhūtaṁ bhūvi(ri)-bhāsvat-kara-nikara-sagā(mā)sphu(syū)ta-sādra(ndra)ṁ prayāṇē [|*]

107 vistīrṇṇa[ṁ*] karṇṇa-tāl-āhatibhir=avirat-ōnmatta-sēnā-gajānām=ashṭhā(shṭā)nā[ṁ*] dig-gajānā[ṁ*] mukha-paṭa-ttu(tu)lanām=ādadhē dhūli-jālaṁ(lam) || [66*] Ya-

108 smin śāsati śāsit-āri-nikarē samyaka(myak)-samudr-āmva(mba)rā[ṁ*] pṛithvī[ṁ*] pārthiva-puṅgavē naya-guṇai[ḥ] śrī-Rājarājē nṛipē ||(|) chakraṁ

109 Mādhava ēva taikshṇyam=adhika[ṁ] kaukshēyakē chintanaṁ śāstr-ābhyāsa-vidhau vidhau cha jaḍatā kālē kaliḥ śru(śrū)yatē || [57*] Yat-kīrtti-du-

110 gdha-jaladhir=bhuvarā(n-ā)ntarālaṁ sa[ṁ*]plāvya [dū]rataram=utsa(chchha)litaḥ sa bhāti ||(|) tārā-gaṇāḥ sphuṭa-ruchō gaganē sama-

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[1] Read *abhūd=dvirada-rājasya.*

Fourth Plate, First Side

111 ntāt sūkshm-āti-sūkshma-tara[lā] iva visphuranti || [68*] Tyāgē śauryyē cha satyē [cha*] Karṇṇ-Ārjuna-Yudhishṭhiraiḥ | sadṛiśō=yaṁ mahā-vīrō Rā-

112 jarājō nar-ādhipaḥ || [69*] Rājarājō nara-patir=ddaśa sapta cha tva(va)tsarān ||(|) bhuvi rājya-śriyaṁ bhuktvā svārājyāya pratasthivān

113 || [70*] Chālukya-kula-sambhūtā vēlā saundaryya-vāridhē[ḥ] | nāmnā **Mahlaṇadēv=īti** mahishī tasya bhū-patēḥ || [71*] Tasyām=abhūd=adbha(dbhu)ta-vikra-

114 ma-śrīḥ śrīmān=ayaṁ bhū-bhṛid=**Anaṅgabhīmaḥ** | virājatē kīrtti-sudhā-taraṅgair=ddhautāsu dig-bhittishu yat-praśastiḥ || [72*] Yasy=ā-

115 narggala-dōr-vvilāsa-laharī-lāvaṇya-vairi-vraja-krandat-paura-vadhū-vilō[cha*]na-pu(pa)yaḥ-pūrair=ddharā danturā | kiṁ[chi]-

116 t-[t]yāga-taraṅga-ta(bha)ṅgi-kalanaiḥ pāthōdhi-yā[n]-ōtsavād=vrīḍā-vakrita-kandharaḥ sa bhagavān=mēnē(n=manyē) pu[rā]ṇō mṛi(mu)niḥ || [73*] Ka-

117 s=tvambhaḥ (m=bhōḥ) Kalir=asmi kinnū(n=nu) vimanāḥ kasmai nivēdy=ātmanaḥ śōk-āmbhōdhim=apāharāmi kalayā kiṁ vētsi nō māṁ Ha-

118 riṁ||(rim |) yady=ēvaṁ kalay=āsmadīya-samay-ō[t*]kshēpāya Gaṅg-ānvayē jātaḥ śrīmad-Anaṅgabhīma-nṛipatiḥ sō=nartha-bhūtō mama || [74*] Dhyān-ā-

119 va(nu)va(ba)ndhi-nivi(bi)ḍa-prasara-pramōda-mādhvīka-mugdha-masṛiṇaṁ hṛiday-āravindaṁ||(ndam |) dēvaḥ purāṇa-pururshah(shaḥ) parirabhya yasya rōla[ṁ]-

120 va(ba)-ḍamva(mba)ra-kalā[ṁ] kalayāṁchakāra || [75*] Lakshmī-rakshaṇa-sauvidalla-padavī[ṁ*] pratyarthi-pṛithvībhujāṁ prā[ṇ-ā]-

121 karshaṇa-rajju-vibhrama-ttu(tu)lāmṛi(m=u)ddāmam=ānandayan ||(|) saṁgrāma-sthala-kēli-tāṇḍava-kalā-pāṇḍityam=ā-

122 maṇḍayan |[1] yasy=āya[ṁ] jagad-adbhut-aika-vilasat-krīḍā-naṭaḥ sāyakaḥ |[| 76*] Yasy=ānarggala-vikram-ā-

123 rjita-yaśaḥ-kshīr-ōda-dān-ō[r]mmibhir=dātāraḥ kila Kāmagō-prabhṛitayaḥ prōtsāritā dūrataḥ | kiṁ ch=āyaṁ cha hiraṇya-

124 garbha-kalanā-vaidagdhyam=ākarṇṇayan lajjā-lōla-chatur-mukh-ākshi-yugalō manyē mahān Padmabhūḥ || [77*] Yēn=ābhishēka-samayaḥ kalita-

125 trayēṇa nītaḥ tu(tas=tu)lā-purusha-dāna-kal-ānuva(ba)ndhaiḥ ||(|) lavdhā(bdh=ā)pi na[ḥ] kshitir=amushya mudē tath=ābhūt(bhūd)=yādṛig=dvijāti-jana-śāsana-dā-

126 na-kēliḥ |[| 78*] Ākarshatā hṛidayam=ēṇa-vilōchanā[2]nām=ādhunvatā cha paritaḥ prati-pārthivānāṁ||(nām |) arth-ānvayaḥ(ya)-praṇayinā kṛitinā-

127 m=Anaṅgabhīma-prasiddhir=amu[nā] vidadhē nṛipēṇa || [79*] Jagāma dhāma dēvānāṁ sa dēvaḥ sēvaka-priyaḥ | bhuktvā bhuja-pratāpēna

128 chatuḥ-tri(tus-tri)ṁśat-samāḥ kshamāṁ(mām) || [80*] Śrī-Kas[tū]rādēvyām=Aditau tasmāch=cha Kaśyapād=urvyāṁ(vyām |) jagad=uddharttuṁ jātaḥ pātaka-hantā vīra-[Na]-

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[1] The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[2] *Nā* had been originally omitted and was written in the lower margin of the plate with an indication that it has to be inserted in its proper place in line 6 counted from the bottom of this side of the plate.

129 rasiṁhaḥ |[| 81*][1] Asur-ēndra-śōṇita-nivēśa-viśra(śru)t-āpaninīshay=aiva vaha[2]-dāna-vāribhiḥ | karam=ātmanas=tam=adhunā viśō-

130 dhā(dha)ya[n*] **Narasiṁha** ēsha jagati sphuṭō=bhavat || [82*] Śvēt-ātapatra-śi(si)ta-chāmara-chāru-mūrttēr=dig-danti-danta-parimaṇḍala-maṇḍapa-

131 sya ||(|) aṅkē kṛi[ta][3]sya suta-bhāvanayā Bhavānyā siṁh-āsanē jayati yasya padaṁ sad=aiva || [83*] Rāḍhā-Varēndra-Ja(Ya)vanī-nayan-āñja-

Fourth Plate, Second Side

132 n-āśru-pūrēṇa dūra-vinē(ni)vēśita-kālima-śrīḥ | tad-vipra[la]mbha-ta(ka)raṇ-ādbhuta-vi(ni)-staraṅgā Ga[ṅg=ā]pa(pi) nūnam=amunā Yamun=ādhun=ābhūt || [84] Bhuja-

133 bhuvi girayō=shṭau yasya bhūm-īndra-bharttuḥ kshiti[4]-bharaṇa-samarthāḥ kiñ=cha dik-kuñjar-ēndrāḥ ||(|) atulayad=iha sa svachchē(ñ=chēt) tulāpūrushēṇa [kva]

134 bhavatu kanak-ādrir=dēvatānā[ṁ*] gṛihā(hō)=bhūt |[| 85*] Kurvva[n] prakāśam=aniśaṁ dvijasāch=cha kṛitvā Mēruṁ ntṛi(tu)lā-purursha(sha)-mukhya-mah-ārtha-

135 dānaiḥ | sthātuṁ surais=saha mahat=kalayatri(y=ātra) Kōṇākōṇē kuṭīrakam=achīkarad=Ushṇaraśmēḥ || [86*] Ashṭ āśā-chakravāla-bhramaṇa-va(ra)ṇa-

136 mah-āyāsa-saṁbhāvita-kshut kshār-ēksh-ūdanvada(d-ā)sy-ōpagamitam=api vā laṁghayitvā sur-āvdhiṁ(bdhim) | sarpiḥ saṁsarpad-āyur=dadhi-madhu-

137 ram=ath=āsvādya dugdhēna tṛiptā yat-kīrttiḥ kānta-mūrttiḥ śa(sa)lila-nidhim=ath=ā-kāmam=āchāmat=īva || [87*] Kṛitvā nirmmathita=dvishāṁ vasumatī-

138 m=avvā(bdā)ṁs=trayastriṁśataṁ bhuktvā bhōgam=anuttamaṁ narapati[r*]=dōr-garvva-sarvaṅkashaḥ ||(|) snēh-ātyanta-vinā-kṛitō=ntima-dasā(śā)m=āsādya dīp-[ō]-

139 pamaḥ |[5] prāptaḥ kāla-pataṅga-puṅgava-vaśu(śaṁ) yātas=sa nirvāṇatāṁ(tām) || [88*] Tasya śrīmān su-dina-vidhayē Mālav-ēndr-ātmajāyā[ṁ*] S[ī]-

140 tādēvyām=ajani tanujō bhānuvat(vad)=**Bhānudēvaḥ** ||(|) padm-ōllāsaṁ vidadhad=atulā-ṁ kairava-glānim=uchchair=Vṛitra-dhvansī(dhvaṁsī) para-dhara-

141 ṇi-bhṛin-mauli-vinva(nya)sta-pādaḥ || [89*] Pratyujjīvana-kāraṇair=jama(na)padasy=ābhyasta-nīty-āgamair=dṛishṭ-ādṛishṭa-phala-

142 pradēna vidhinā nityaṁ nirast-āribhiḥ | pātraiḥ shōḍaśabhir=viśuddha-charit-āmōgha-pratijñair=ayaṁ sī(sā)-

143 mrājyē mahitō mahā-mahima-bhṛil=Lakshmīpatēr=āṅga(jña)yā || [90*] Va(Ba)ddha-mushṭir=api nirbhara-dātā vēpanō=pi sama-

144 r-aika-dhurīṇaḥ | ugra-mūrttir=api kṛishṇa-śarīrō yat-karēṇa kalitaḥ karavālaḥ |[| 91*] Pāyaṁ pāyaṁ havir=aviratam prastutē ya-

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[1] The fourth foot of the verse, the metre of which is *Gīti*, is short by one syllable. To rectify this defect we may read *vīrō* for *vīra°*.

[2] Read *bahu°*. After this, the *akshara dhā* had been incised and afterwards deleted.

[3] *Ta* is written below the line.

[4] After *ti*, the *akshara vi* had been engraved and then struck off.

[5] The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

145 sya yaṅgē(jñē) jātē=jīrṇṇē Harir=atitarāṁ yāti nidrāṁ **samudrē** ||(|) **dhūm-ōdgārī lavaṇa-** **salilaṁ** pīyatē vāḍavō=gniḥ prō-

146 tya(dyach)-chhūlaḥ samajani Śivaḥ **kālakūṭ-āśanō=pi** || **[92*] Vrū(Brū)ma[ḥ] kim=asya** tulanā-laghut-ōpanīta-tat-tat-paraḥ(ra)-kshitibhṛitaḥ ki-

147 la dāna-śauryaṁ||(ryam |) sadbhyō=padēśa-**kanak-āchala-kāma-dhēnu-kalpa-drumān=adita** nirjita-sampadas=tān |[| 93*] **Ā-chandr-ārkka-phal-ōpa-**

148 bhōga-sulabhāny=aty-uchcha saudh-āvalī-śōbhā-visphuritāni śāsana-śatāny=**ēsha ksham-** **ādhīśvaraḥ** | su-chchhāyāni rasāla-pūga-

149 **kadala**-prāyaiḥ(yai)s=taru(rū)ṇāṁ gaṇaiḥ kṛitvā tāmra-vilēkhitāni vidhivat sach-**chhrō-** **triyēbhyō** dadau || [94*] Chintāmaṇau sura-mahī-

150 ruha-kāmadhēnāva(nvōr=a)shṭādaś-āṅkam=adhitishṭhati Bhā[nu]dēvē ||(|) jyāyān=**amīshu** bhavitā katamō mam=ēti dhātur=vichāra-vaśa-

151 gō nṛipatirva(r=ba)bhūva || [95*] Chālukya-kula-sa[ṁ*]bhūtā śrimaj-Jākalladēvikā ||(|) **Lakshmīr**=Nārāyaṇasy=ēva Bhānudēvasya tā-

152 **[dṛi]śī** |[|96*] Tasyā[ṁ*] sūnur=abhūd vīraḥ śrī-**Nṛisiṁha**-mahīpatiḥ | **Gaṅga-vaṁśa-** **samuddharttā** ha[r*]ttā vairi-mahītalaṁ(lam) || [97*] **Yath=Ā[r*]ju-**

153 nas=**tathā** śastrē śāstrē Vāchaspatir=yathā | dānē Karṇṇō va(ba)lē **Bhīmaḥ saundaryē** Kusumāyudhaḥ || [98*] Tēna dattaṁ dvijā-

Fifth Plate, First Side

154 tibhyaḥ śāsanaṁ ga(śa)ta-saṁkhyakaṁ||(kam |) **mahā-dānāni** dānāni **śrīman-mātur=** anuj[ñ]ayā |[|99*] Vīra-śrī-Narasiṁhadēva-nṛipatau siṁh-ā-

155 san-ādhishṭhitē bhūmī-pāla-kirīṭa-kōṭi-kiraṇa-pradyōtit-āṁghri-dvayē | **pratya[rthi]-kshitipā** vidīrṇṇa-hṛidayā tī(bhī)tyā

156 prahīṇa-śriyaḥ prāṇa-trāṇa-parāyaṇāḥ samabhavan pṛithvī-dhar-āvāsinaḥ |[| 100*] **Yasmin** praśāsati bhuvaṁ kula-bhūdhar-ēndrā-

157 ḥ ||[1] Kūrmō bhujaṁgama-patir=dig-anīka-pārśva(ś=cha |) **bhū-bhāra-gaurava-kṛit-āti-śirō-** vikārā viśrānti-lābham=abhajanta

158 kṛit-āśishaś=cha || [101*]. Vīr-āsanaṁ samadhitishṭhati **kuṁjarāṇāṁ vīrō vahēd=raṇa-** dhurāṁ bhuvi kō=tra nāma | indr-āyudha-

159 **prabha-[bhu]ja-dvaya-sadvitīyē kampan=tanōti** karavāla-lū(la)t=āpi yatra || **[102*] Yaḥ** khaḍga-chaṇḍa-sa(ma)hasā ripu-rājakānām=āhṛitya

160 sampadam=amartya-tarōḥ samānāṁ(nām) | bhū-dēva[sā]d=akṛita bhūtala-**bhūshaṇēna dān-** āṁbhas=ā[r*]drita-lasat-kara-pallavēna || [103*] Tasy=**ātha kshiti-**

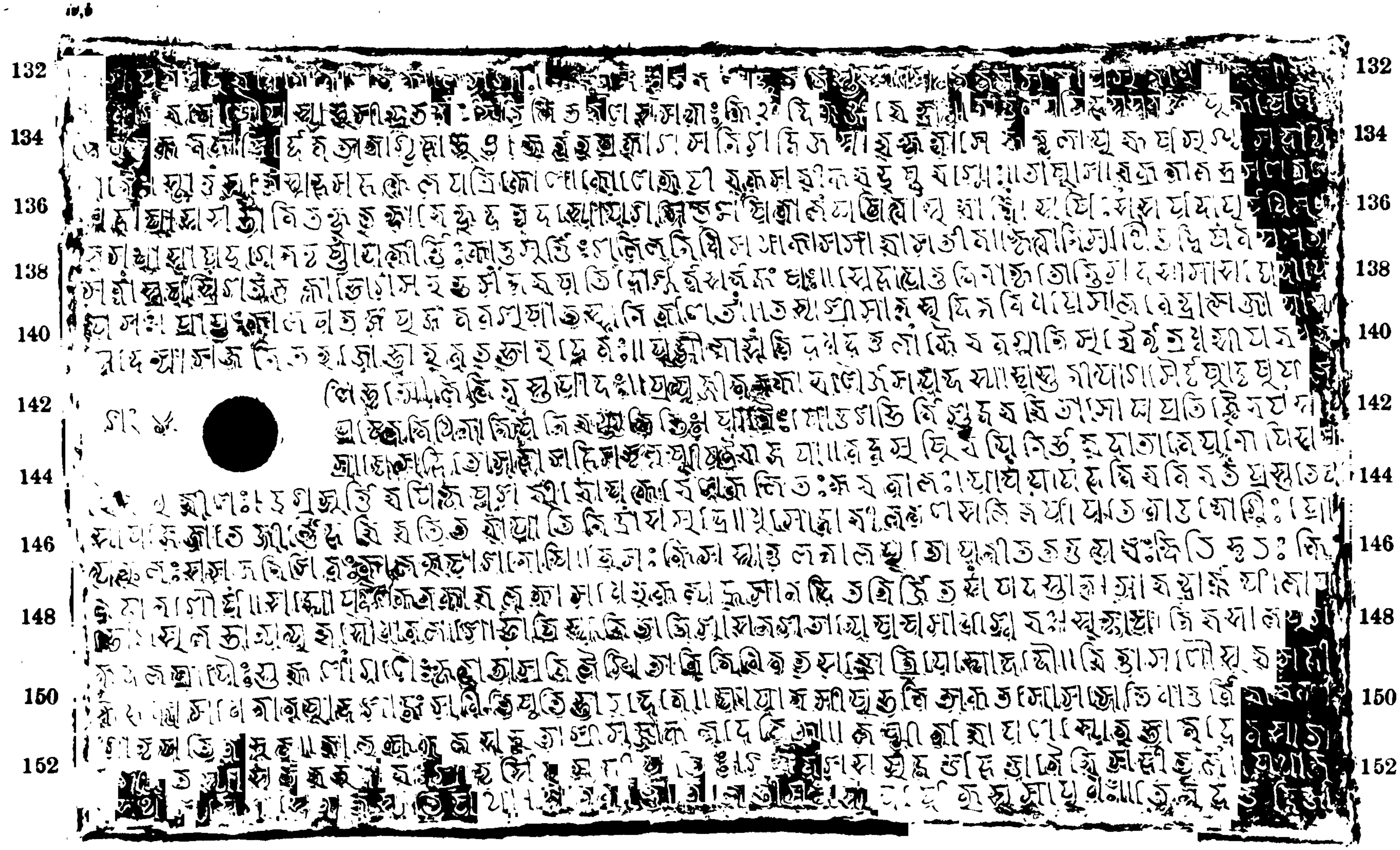
161 pāla-mauli-vaḍabhī-vinyasta-pād-āṁvu(bu)jasy=āhō **hanta kim=uchyatē=dya mahimā** kīrtti[r*]=nṛipa-śrī-bhṛitaḥ | yad-[g]ītiṁ ki-

162 la Kinnarī-gaṇa-mukhād=dig-dantināṁ śu(śri)ṇvatāṁ **rōlamvā(mbā)-madam=āpida(ba)nti** nibhṛitaṁ niḥka(nishka)rṇṇa-tālē mukhē || [104*] Yasy[2]syō(sy=ā)svā(shṭ-ā)-

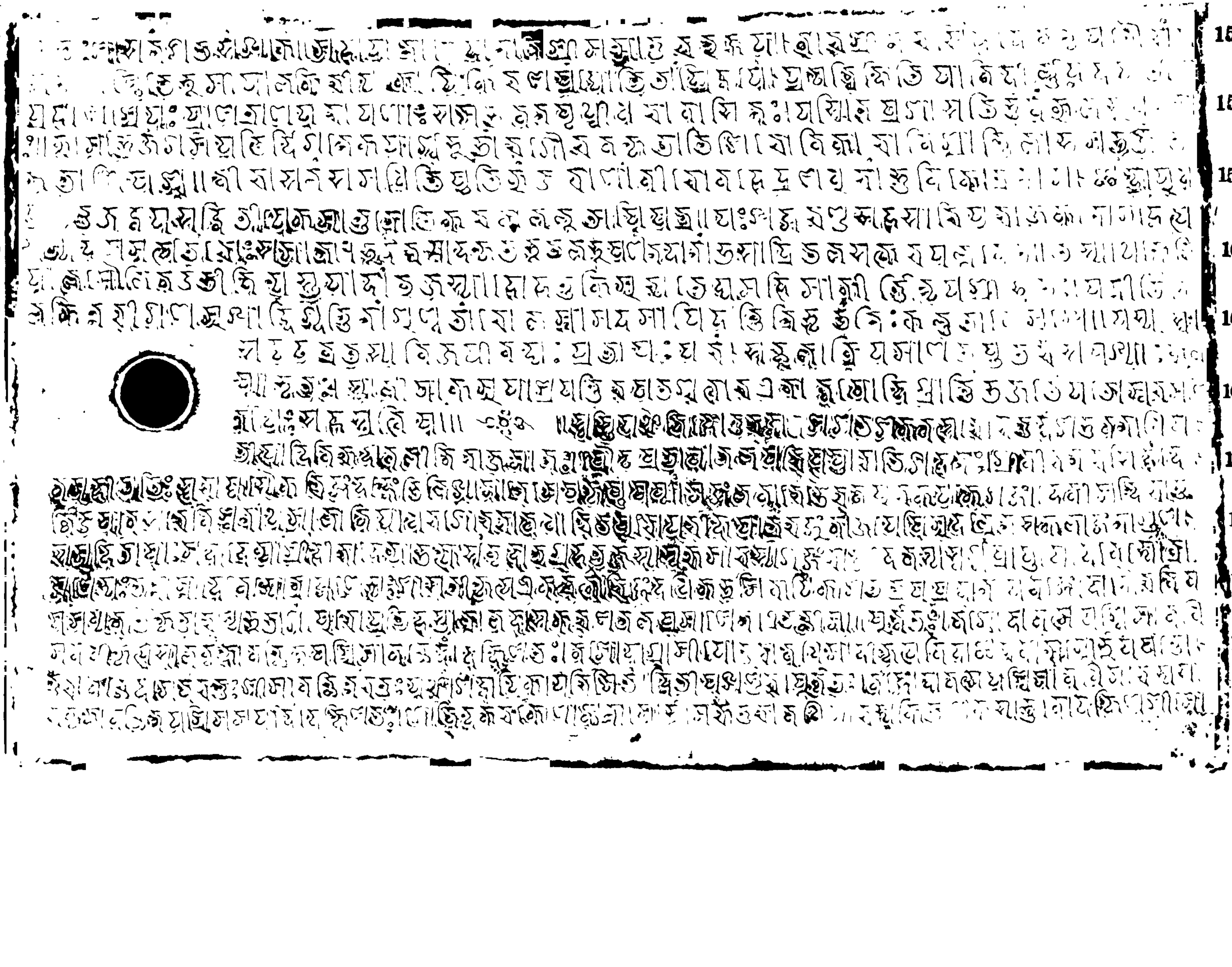
[1] The *daṇḍas* are superfluous.

[2] *Syō* was originally engraved.

ASANKHALI PLATES OF NARASIMHA II, SAKA 1225—PLATE IV



Scale three fourths



163 sa(śa)-dṛiḍha-vratasya vijayī vandyaḥ pratāpaḥ paraṁ|[1] sach-chhūlā-kriyamāṇa-tapta-tarasa-prakhyāḥ kula-

164 kshmābhṛitaḥ | sthālī-pākam=upāśrayanti cha yataś=chatvāra ēv=āvdha(bdha)yō dig-trā(g-bhrā)ntiṁ bhajatē yatō=mva(mba)ra-maṇi-

165 r=nnāthaḥ sahasra-tvishāṁ(shām) ||[2] [105*] || Svasti [||*] **Pañchaviṅśō(viṁśaty-u)-ttara-dvādaśa-śata-Śaka-vatsarē** |[1] chaturddaśa-bhuvan-ādhipa-

166 t-īty-ādi-virud-āvalī-virājamānaḥ |[1] prauḍha-pratāp-ānala-paripla(plu)shṭ-ārāti-gahanaḥ |[1] śrī-vīra-**Narasiṁhadē-**

167 **va**-mahīpatiḥ sva-rājyasy=**aikatriṅśa(triṁśa)d-aṅkē**=bhilikhyamānē **Mēsha-kṛishṇa-shashṭhyāṁ Maṅgalavārē** |[1] **Bhairavapura-**kaṭakē Gaṅgādēvī-mandir-ānta-

168 r-vvijay-āvasarē Viśvanātha-Mālā-Vidyādhara-gōchar-āvadhārita-purō-parīksha[3]-pātra-Raṅgū-vājapēyi-mudalēna sakal-āṅganā-guṇa-

169 samuditāyāḥ mahādēvyā[ḥ*] śrī-Hīrādēvyā bhakty[ā] saṁvṛiddh-ānugraha[tayā][4] taj-jasya sva-kumārasya Gaṅgarājadēvasya svarga-prāptayē dēvēbhyō Vrā(Brā)-

170 hmaṇēbhyaḥ[5] tan-nāmnā dēvēbhyō Vrā(Brā)hmaṇēbhyaḥ śāsanīkṛitya ēka-chatvāriṅśa-(riṁśa)d-adhika-bhūmi-vāṭikā-śata-traya-pradānāya **Vaṅśō(Vaṁśō)dāchaura-visha-**

171 ya-madhyavartti-kṛitt-āraṇya-bhū-bhāgaṁ(gam) | purō-pratihast-Ā[llā]ladāsa-karaṇa-nala-pramāṇēna | ētachchhī(t-sī)mā || pūrvvataḥ | Vaṁśōdā-vartma-paśchim-āvadhi-

172 m=avadhīkṛitya sāla-vṛiksh-āvachchhinna-paśchim-āvachchhēdaṁ(dam) | dakshiṇataḥ | Vaṁśōdāgrāmīy-ōttar-āvadhim=ādīkṛitya Vidāi-Ravīṁ(vī)-nāmnōr=bhū-paryant-ō-

173 ttar-āvachchhēdam=ēvaṁ chatuḥ-śī(sī)m-āvachchhinnaṁ chatuḥ-pañchāśad-vāṭikā-parimitaṁ(tam) | dvitīya-khaṇḍaṁ cha | pūrvvataḥ | Vaṅśō(Vaṁśō)dā-vartma-paśchim-āvadhim=ārabhya sā-

174 la-vṛiksh-āvachchhinna-paśchima-maryādaṁ(dam) | dakshiṇataḥ | Gōvindakara-Kōṇāi-nāmnōr=bhūmēr=uttar-āvadhim=ārabhya Kitāikasya bhuvō dakshiṇa-śī(sī)m-ō-

Fifth Plate, Second Side

175 ttara-maryādam=ēvaṁ chatuḥ-śī(sī)ma(m-ā)vē(va)chchhinnaṁ pañcha-pañchāśad-vāṭikā-parimitaṁ(tam) || Gaṅgēśvarapur-ābhidhāna-vāstu-bhūmēḥ śī(sī)mā || Va[ṁ*]-

176 śōdā-vartma-paśchima-rājapathaṁ pūrvv-āvadhīkṛitya sāla-vṛiksh-āvachchhinna-paśchima-śīmānaṁ(sīmānam) || paśchimataḥ | Gōpāla-Champadāsayōr[6]=bhū-ma-

177 ryādam=ādīkṛitya sāla-vṛiksh-āvachchhinna-pūrvv-āvachchhēdam=ēvaṁ chatuḥ-śī(sī)m-āvachchhinnaṁ mān-āshṭ-ōpēta-trayō(try-u)ttara-vāṭikā-śat-aikaṁ(kam) ||

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[1] The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[2] There is an ornamental flower design between the double *daṇḍas*.

[3] *Parīksha* is a local modification of *Parīkshaka* found in some records.

[4] These two letters are engraved in the lower margin of the plate with indications that they should be inserted in their proper place in the sixteenth line on the face of the plate in question.

[5] The two words, *dēvēbhyō Brāhmaṇēbhyaḥ*, are redundant.

[6] A *visarga* incised after *yō* was afterwards deleted.

178 Gaṁganārāyaṇa-Purakōṇā[i][1] -nāmnōr=bhuvaḥ pūrvva-Kumārabhōgya-haṭṭasya paśchimaṁ pūrvv-āvadhīkṛitya sāla-vṛiksha-pachchhima[2]-maryādāṁ(dam) | dakshiṇa-

179 taḥ [3] | Vidāi-pānīyagrāhiṇaḥ kshētra-śī(sī)m-āśvattha-vṛiksham=avadhīkṛitya Gōpāla-Champadāsayōr=bhū-paryant-ōttara-śī(sī)mānam=ēvañ=chatuḥ[3]-

180 śī(sī)m-āvachchhinnaṁ chatur-mān-ā[dhik-ā][4]shṭa-shashṭi-vāṭikā-parimitaṁ(tam) | Kumārapura-śī(sī)mā | Kumārabhōgyō-u(gy-ō)ttara-rājapatha-pūrvv-āvadhīkṛitya sāla-vṛi-

181 ksh-āvachchhinna-paśchim-āvachchhēdaṁ(dam) | dakshiṇataḥ | Gōpāla-Champadāsayōr=bhūmēr=uttar-āvadhim=ārabhya hijjala-vṛiksh-āvachchhinn-ōttara-maryādam=ē-

182 vaṁ chatuḥ-śī(sī)m-āvachchhinnaṁ shaṭ-shashṭi-vāṭikā-parimitaṁ(tam) | ēvaṁ khaṇḍa-pañchakēna militvā [dvā][5]daśa-mān-ādhika-shaṭ-chatvāriṁśa(riṁśa)d-uttara-vāṭikā-śata-traya-

183 madhyāta(dhyāt) gōhari-gōpatha-gōprachāra-dvādaśa-mān-ōpēta-pañcha-vāṭikā va(ba)-hishkṛitya nirava[kar-ōna][6]chatvāriṁsō(riṁśad-u)ttara-

184 vāṭikā-śata-traya-madhyē Gaṅgēśvaradēvāya vāṭikā-śat-aikaṁ(kam) | ētach-chhāsana-[pāṇigrāhi][7]-mahājanāḥ || Bhāradvāja-sagō-

185 tra-Gōpāla-pāṇigrāhī |[8] paṇḍita-Ananta | pāṭhī Gurudāsa | paṇḍita-Sahadēva | paṇḍita-Raghudāsa | paṇḍi-

186 ta-Kēśavadāsa | paṇḍita-Haradāsa | pāṭhī Jalēśvara | tripāṭhī Jagannātha | pāṭhī Gaṇēśvara | pāṭhī Shashṭi-

187 dāsa | pāṭhī Kūrmmadāsa | pāṭhī Vāsudēva | paṇḍita-Vidyādhara | Ātrēya-sagōtra | pāṭhī Chāmpadāsa | pāṭhī

188 Gōvinda | pāṭhī Shashṭidāsa | pāṭhī Chaṇḍidāsa | pāṭhī Sannū | pāṭhī Chitrakara || Vatsa-sagōtra | upāsanī Lakshmīdhara[9] | pāṭhī Vishṇudāsa | pā-

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[1] The letter *i* is written in the upper margin of the plate with indication that it is to be inserted in its proper place in the fourth line on the face of the plate in question.

[2] *Vṛiksh-āvachchhinna* was originally engraved. The intended reading seems to be *sālavṛiksh-āvachchhinna-paśchima-maryādam.*

[3] The *akshara śī* was incised and deleted after *tuḥ.*

[4] The letters *dhikā* are engraved in the upper margin of the plate with indication that they are to be inserted in their proper place in the sixth line on the face of the plate in question.

[5] The *akshara dvā* is engraved in the upper margin with indication that it is to be inserted in its proper place in the eighth line on the face of the plate in question.

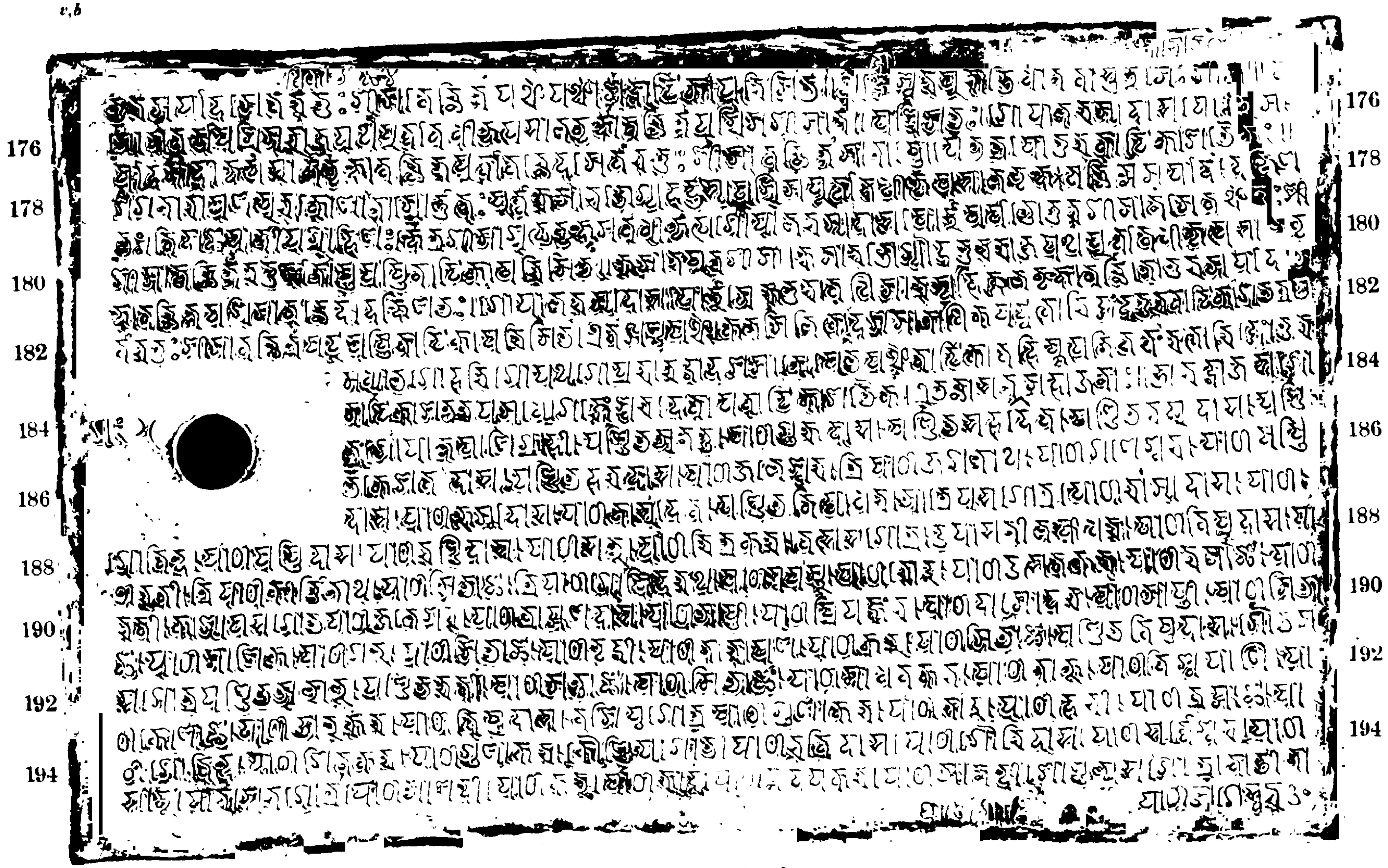
[6] The letters *karōna* are engraved in the upper margin of the plate with indication that they are to be inserted in their proper place in the ninth line on the face of the plate in question. But the correct number is *ēka-chatvāriṁśat* and not *ūna-chatvāriṁśat.*

[7] This word is written in the lower margin of the plate with indication that it has to be inserted in its proper place in the tenth line on the side of the plate in question. The correct expression is of course *pānīya-grāhin* (cf. line 179).

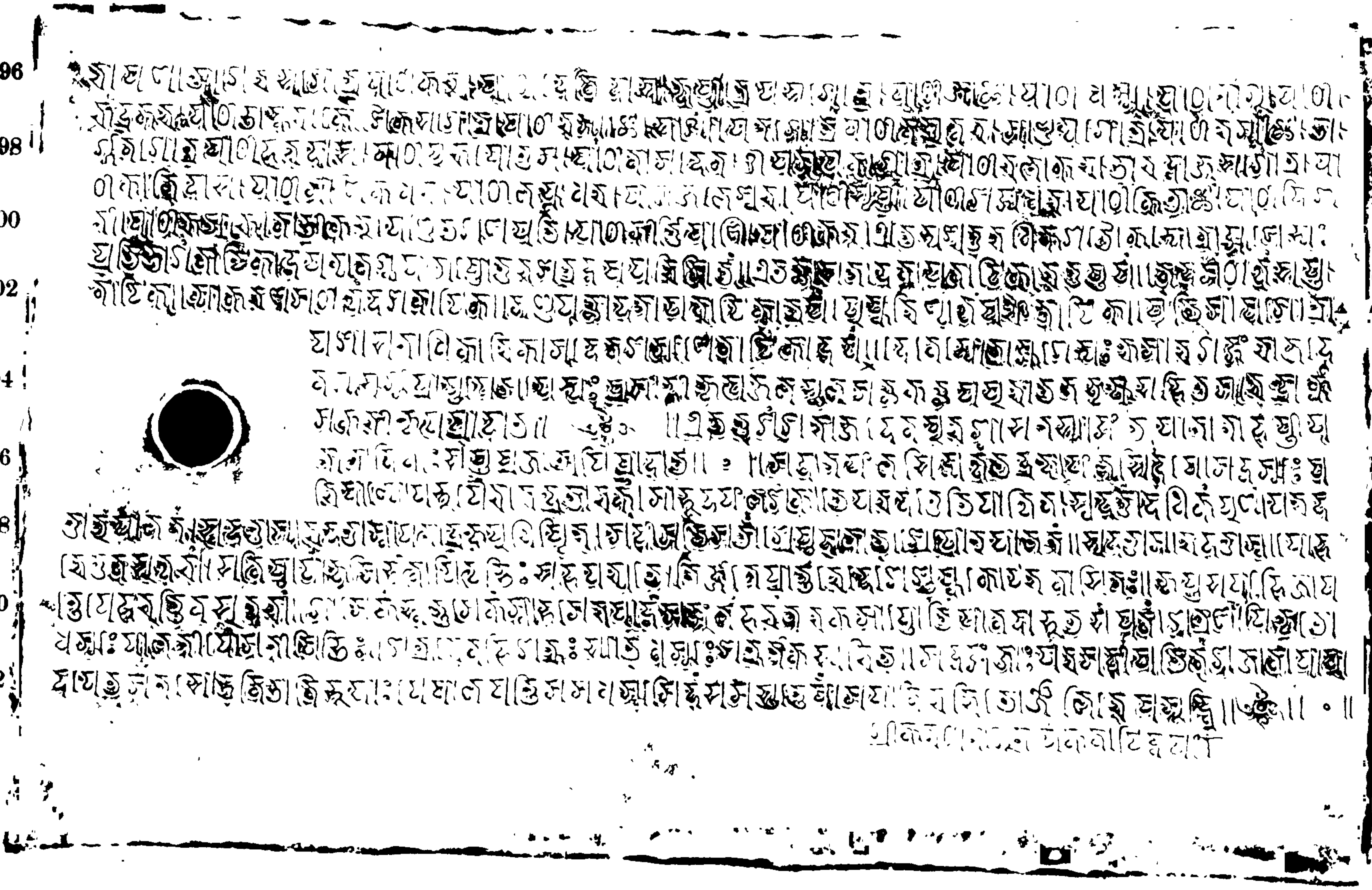
[8] The names are written without *vibhakti* and are separated from one another by a single *daṇḍa* like a hyphen in English. The name of the *gōtras* is put at the beginning of the lists and is sometimes preceded and followed by a single or double *daṇḍa.* The expression used in some cases is *gōtra* but in others *sagōtra.* Some of the names exhibit considerable Prakrit and local influence.

[9] *Ru* was originally engraved.

v, b



Scale three fourths



189 ṭhī Ravī | tripāṭhī Kīrttinātha | pāṭhī Mitāi | tripāṭhī Gōvindaratha | **pāṭhī** Svayambhū | pāṭhī Chōdū | pāṭhī Utsavakara | pāṭhī Ramāi | pāṭhī

190 Ravī | Kāśyapa-sagōta(tra)-pāṭhī Jalēśvara | pāṭhī Vrā(Brā)hmaṇadāsa | pāṭhī Āptī | pāṭhī Pariyaṅkara | pāṭhī Dāmōdara | pāṭhī Āptī | pāṭhī Mitā-

191 i | pāṭhī Māṇika | pāṭhī Ganū | pāṭhī Mitāi | pāṭhī Vṛiddhī | pāṭhī Nārāyaṇa | pāṭhī Kanū | pāṭhī Mitāi | paṇḍita-Vishṇudāsa | Gautama-

192 sagōtra-paṇḍita-Aḷā[1]lū | paṇḍita-Ravī | pāṭhī Mantāi | pāṭhī Mitāi | **pāṭhī** Mādhavakara | pāṭhī Nākū | pāṭhī Viśvapāṇi | pā-

193 ṭhī Kōṇāi | pāṭhī Bhānukara | pāṭhī Vi[shṇu]dāsa | Vaśi(si)shṭha-gōtra-pāṭhī Guṇākara | pāṭhī Chāṁdū | pāṭhī Harī | pāṭhī Vra(Bra)hmāi | pā-

194 ṭhī Gōvinda | pāṭhī Śivakara | pāṭhī Guṇākara | Kauṇḍinya-gōta(tra) | pāṭhī Ravidāsa | pāṭhī Gauridāsa | pāṭhī Sarvvēśvara | [pāṭhī Jāgēsvara][2] [|*]pāṭhī

195 Sātū | Pārāsa(śa)ra-gōtra | pāṭhī Āṇandī | pāṭhī Kachū | pāṭhī Kādū | **pāṭhī** Hṛidayakara | pāṭhī Ānandī | Śāṇḍa(ṇḍi)lya-sagōtra | vā(nā?)bhī Nā-

Sixth Plate

196 rāyaṇa | Ā[ṁ*]girasa-gōtra | pāṭhī Kachū | pāṭhī Dēvidāsa | Kṛishṇātrēya-sagōtra | pāṭhī Jāi | pāṭhī Dharmmū | pāṭhī Nāgū | pāṭhī

197 Rudrakara | pāṭhī Bhāskara | Kauśika-sagōtra | pāṭhī Champāi | [Sā[ṁ*]khyāyana-gōtra-pāṭhī Vasundhara | Māṇḍavya-gōtra | pāṭhī Champāi | Bhā-

198 rggava-gōtra-pāṭhī Haradāsa | pāṭhī Purushōttama | pāṭhī Vāmadēva | Aupamanyava-gōtra | pāṭhī Ratnākara | Bhāradvāja-sagōtra | pā-

199 ṭhī Kālidāsa | pāṭhī Māṇikadhara | pāṭhī Lakshmīdhara | pāṭhī Jalēśvara | **pāṭhī** Sṛishṭī | pāṭhī Śaṅkhadhara | pāṭhī Kitāi | pāṭhī Diśa-

200 nī | pāṭhī Ruāru | vā(nā?)bhī Kanū | paṇḍita-Gaṇapati | pāṭhī Kīrttipāṇi | **pāṭhī** Kachū | ētēbhyaś=chatur-adhika-śat-aikēbhyō Vrā(Brā)hmaṇēbhyaḥ

201 pratibhāgaṁ vāṭikā-dvaya-vyavasthayā ashṭ-ōttara-śata-dvaya-parimitaṁ(tam) || ētach-chhāsana-dēvāya vāṭikā-chatushṭayaṁ(yam) | vēda-maṭh-ārthaṁ sapta-

202 vāṭikā[ḥ*] | vyākaraṇa-maṭh-ārthaṁ daśa vāṭikā[ḥ*] | maṇḍapa-chchhādanāya vāṭikā-trayaṁ(yam) | pushkariṇy-arthaṁ pañcha-vāṭikā[ḥ*] || Pūtimāsha-gōtrā-

203 ya śāsan-ādhikāri-Kāmadēvaśarmmaṇē vāṭikā-dvayaṁ [Śrīkaraṇa-Nāgū-nāyaka(kāya) vāṭi[kā*]-dvayaṁ(yam)] |[3] dēvēbhyō Vrā(Brā)hmaṇēbhyaḥ Kumāra-Gaṅgarājadē-

204 vasya su(sva)rgga-prāptayē anyēbhyaḥ [cha*] prasādīkṛitya jala-sthala-machchh(tsya)-kachchhapa-purātanavṛiksha-sahitam=ā-chandr-ārkka-

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[1] Cf. ḷ in the Oriya part of the Bhubaneswar bilingual inscription (*JPASB*, 1924, Plate I).

[2] These letters are engraved in the lower margin of the plate with indication that they are to be insetred in their proper place in the twentieth line on the face of the plate in question.

[3] These letters are incised in the lower margin of the plate with indication that they are to be inserted in their proper place in the eighth line on the face of the plate in question.

205 m=akarīkṛitya prādāta(dāt) ||[1]|| ētattu(sya) Gaṁgarājadēvapura-śāsanasy=āṅgatayā nānā-haptī(ṭṭī)ya-

206 nānāvidhāḥ sapta prajā api prādāta(dāt) ||0|| Mad-dāna-phala-siddhy-arthaṁ tad-rakshā-phala-siddhayē | mad-dharmmaḥ pa-

207 ripālyō=ya[ṁ*] bhūpair=ā-chandra-tārakaṁ(kam) |[| 106*] Mā bhūd=a-phala-śaṁkā tē para-datt=ēti pārthiva | sva-dattād=adhikaṁ puṇyaṁ para-da-

208 tt-ānupālanaṁ(nam) |[| 107*] Sva-dattām=para-dattām=vā(ttāṁ vā) yatnād=raksha Yudhishṭhira | mahī[ṁ*] matimatāṁ śrēshṭha dānat | śrēyo[2]=nupālanaṁ(nam) || [108*] Sva-dattām=para-dattām=vā(ttāṁ vā) yō ha-

209 rētta(t=tu) vasundharāṁ(rām) | sa vishṭhāyāṁ kṛimir=bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ saha pachyatē |[| 109*] Nirjjanē prāntarē dēśē śushka-kōṭara-vāsinaḥ ||(|) kṛishṇa-sarpā hi jāya-

210 ntē yē haranti vasundharāṁ(rām) || [110*] Gām=ēka(kā)ṁ sva[r]ṇṇam=ēkaṁ mvā(vā) bhūmēr=apy=arddham=aṅgulaṁ(lam) | haran=[n]arakam=āptō(pnō)ti yāvad=ā-bhūta-saṁplavaṁ(vam) |[| 111*] Śatruṇ=āpi kṛitō

211 dharmmaḥ pālanīyō manīshibhiḥ ||(|) śatrur=ēva hi śatruḥ syāt(syād)=dharmmaḥ śatrur=nna kasyachit || [112*] Mad-vaṅś(vaṁśa)jāḥ para-mahīpati-vaṁśajā vā pāpā-

212 d=apēta-manasō bhuvi bhāvi-bhūpāḥ [|*] yē pālayanti mama dharmmam=idaṁ samastan=tēshāṁ mayā virachitō=ñjalir=ēsha mūrddhni ||[3] [113*] || 0 ||

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[1] There is an ornamental flower design between the double *daṇḍas*.

[2] Read *dānāch-chhrēyō°*.

[3] There is another ornamental flower design between the double *daṇḍas* here. There is a passage engraved below the second half of line 212; but it was meant for insertion in line 203. See p. 127, note 3.

No. 20—THREE GRANTS OF CHALUKYA JAYASIMHA I

(*2 Plates*)

M. Somasekhara Sarma, Madras

The three sets of copper-plate grants, edited below, come from **Guḍivāḍa**, a village in the Sarvasiddhi Taluk of the Visakhapatnam District. When, how and where these plates were discovered originally is not known. For a long time they have been carefully preserved in the house of Mr. Pericherla Peddiraju, a landlord of Guḍivāḍa. My friend, Mr. G. V. Raghavarao Pantulu, a pleader of Yellamanchili, having come to know of the existence of these plates, secured them on loan for a short time from the owner, who happens to be his client, and kindly sent them on to me for decipherment and publication. I cut the rings of the sets for study and for taking impressions of the plates. All the three charters register gifts of localities presumably associated with Guḍivāḍa.

A.—*Grant No. 1, Year 18*

This set[1] consists of **three** plates, each measuring 6½″ long and 2½″ broad. The plates are held together by a circular copper ring, 3½″ in diameter. The ends of the ring are joined at the bottom of a circular **seal**, 1½″ in diameter. When the plates came to me, the lower part of the seal was found broken away. On the top of the seal there is an arc-like curve in relief with its ends turned upwards, probably representing the moon. In the middle of the seal is found the legend *Śrī-Sarvasid*[*dh*]*i* in relief in Eastern Chālukya characters. The plates are considerably thick. The ends of the plates are not raised into rims; yet the writing is well preserved, the letters having been engraved deeply. The outer faces of the first and last plates are left blank, and the remaining faces of the plates bear each six lines of writing.

The **characters** are of the early Telugu-Kannaḍa type, commonly styled the Vēṅgī script. They resemble those of the early Eastern Chālukya grants. Of the individual letters, the forms of final *t* (line 1) and *m* (lines 13, 18, 21, 23) are noteworthy. Dravidian *ḷ* occurs in *Pḷakki* (line 10) and in Kuḷivāṭaka (line 16). The numerical symbols for *5*, *8* and *10* occur in the date of the grant in the last line. The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. With the exception of two imprecatory verses at the end, the composition is in prose. As usual with the early grants, consonants are mostly doubled after *r*. The doubling of *dh* before *y* in *pādānuddhyātaḥ* (line 9) is noteworthy. The expression *punnāgapadravastādiṁ* in line 16 is unintelligible.[2]

The **object** of the inscription is to record the gift of the western portion of the village called Ādivāsa in Pḷakki-vishaya along with some of the fields of Kuḷivāṭaka, having converted the whole into an *agrahāra* by making it immune from taxes.[3] The gift was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. The donor was the Eastern Chālukya king, **Pṛithivī-Jayasiṁhavallabha I**, son of Vishṇuvardhana and grandson of Kīrtivarman. He had the title *Sarvasiddhi*, as found on the seal. He issued this grant from his residence at Kallūra. The donees were Vinayaśarman and

[1] [See *A. R. Ep.*, 1945-46, No. 1 of Appendix A.—Ed.]

[2] [See below, p. 133, note 2.—Ed.]

[3] [The correct interpretation of the passage (lines 15-18) seems to be that Punnāgapadra which was a hamlet of the village of Ādivāsa was populated and a portion of Kuḷivāṭaka was added to it. This new unit forming the western division of Ādivāsa was made an *agrahāra* and granted to the donees.—Ed.]

Vishṇuśarman, sons of Vasuśarman and grandsons of Kumāraśarman of the Maudgalya *gōtra*. They were students of the Kauthuma-Chhandōga (a *śākhā* of the Sāmavēda). The *ājñapti* of the charter was Paramēśvaravarman.

This grant does not furnish any historical information beyond what we already know about the Eastern Chālukyas of Vēṅgī. Its main interest lies in the date it furnishes. King Jayasiṁhavallabha made this gift on the day of a lunar eclipse and the 15th day of the 8th fortnight of Hēmanta in his 18th regnal year. This is the second grant of Jayasiṁhavallabha I to be dated in this manner, viz., in the seasons, fortnights and days, the first being his Puliṁbūru grant[1]. This method of dating is similar to that of the Prakrit grants both of the Sātavāhanas and the Ikshvākus. It shows that this early custom of dating grants persisted till the middle of the seventh century. According to this arrangement, the year was divided into three seasons of four months each, namely, Grīshma, Varshā and Hēmanta, a season being subdivided into eight *pakshas* or fortnights. Since the gift was made at the time of a lunar eclipse, the eclipse in question must have occurred on the 15th day of the bright fortnight or *pūrṇimā-tithi*, evidently of Phālguna, the last month of the year. This enables us to understand that, according to this ancient method of reckoning, the months were *pūrṇimānta* and not *amānta*.

In a way, the English equivalent of the date of the grant under review can be ascertained. The date of the Kopparam plates[2] of Pulakēśin II is held to be 631 A. D., both by Hultzsch and Sewell on the assumption, which I think is correct, that Pṛithivīduvarāja,[3] the *ājñapti* of the grant, was no other than Pṛithivīyuvarāja, i.e. Kubja Vishṇuvardhana I. On the date of this record, Vishṇuvardhana was the *duvarāja*, i.e. *yuvarāja*. It is to be presumed that some time after that date he proclaimed his independence and ruled the kingdom in his own name. The grant recorded in his Chīpurupalli plates[4] was made, on the 15th *tithi* of Śrāvaṇa on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in his 18th or last regnal year. If his independent rule began some time in 631 A. D. itself, his eighteenth regnal year would correspond either to 648 A. D., if current, or to 649 A. D., if expired. During the period between 631 and 651 A. D. there were four lunar eclipses in the month of Śrāvaṇa, one in Śaka 554 or 632 A. D. and the others in Śaka 563 or 641 A. D., Śaka 572 or 650 A. D. and Śaka 573 or 651 A. D., respectively. One of these four years must be the 18th regnal year of Vishṇuvardhana I. The first may be ruled out as it is too early to be his 18th regnal year. One of the remaining three may be taken to have been the last year of his rule. The grant under review helps us in determining this date since Jayasiṁhavallabha I was the son and successor of Vishṇuvardhana I.

The 18th regnal year of Jayasiṁhavallabha I, either current or expired, when counted from any one of the three aforementioned years, should have a lunar eclipse on Phālguna-śu. 15. According to S.K. Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris* there were lunar eclipses on Phālguna-pūrṇimā in Śaka 579 or 657-58 A. D., Śaka 580 or 658-59 A. D. and Śaka 598 or 676-77 A. D., within the period from 650 to 680 A. D. Of these, the last date need not be taken into consideration as it would be very late for Jayasiṁhavallabha's 18th year. Hence, either Śaka 579 or 657-58 A. D., or Śaka 580 or 658-59 A. D., should correspond to the 18th year of Jayasiṁhavallabha I. Of these, Śaka

[1] *JAHRS*, Vol. V, p. 183.

[2] Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 257 ff.

[3] K. V. Lakshmana Rao assigned the Kopparam plates to 611 A.D. (*Ann. Bh. Or. Res. Inst.*, Vol. IV, pp. 43 ff.). He arrives at this date by identifying Pṛithivīduvarāja with Satyāśraya Dhruvarājēndravarman of the Goa plates (*JBBRAS*, Vol. X, pp. 365 ff.). This identification is not tenable for the reasons adduced in my paper on the Chronology of the Eastern Chālukyas (*JOR*, Vol IX, pp. 23-31). [For another untenable view that Pṛithivīduvarāja may be a prince of the Ānanda family, see K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar, *Three Lectures*, p. 53.—Ed.]

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, pp. 16 ff.

580 or 658-59 A. D. proves to be the 18th year, current, of Jayasiṁhavallabha I, when counted from Śaka 563 (i.e. 641-42 A. D.), the 18th year of his father Vishṇuvardhana I. Thus the date of the grant under review is 659 A. D., February 12, when there was a lunar eclipse.

The above discussion leads us to conclude that the regnal years of the Eastern Chālukyas were current and not expired. Since the 18th year of Vishṇuvardhana I happens to be Śaka 563 or 641-42 A. D., it may be definitely said that his rule over the coastal region of the Andhra country, or in other words, the starting point of the Eastern Chālukya chronology proves to be the Śaka year 546 or 624-25 A. D.[1] It is thus evident that by the date of the Kopparam plates the conquest of Vēṅgī by Pulakēśin II and the establishment of the Chālukya rule there were already accomplished facts. Vishṇuvardhana's independent rule must have begun sometime after 631 A. D. But he seems to have counted his regnal years from the beginning of his governance over the coastal region in 624-25 A. D.[2]

The localities mentioned in this grant are Kallūravāsaka, Kuḷivāṭaka, Ādivāsa or Āḍivāsa and Pḷakki-vishaya. I am unable to identify Kallūru. Kuḷivāṭaka is also mentioned as Kuḍivāḍa and Kuḍivāṭa in the following two grants respectively. Kuḷivāṭaka is the present village of Guḍivāḍa. I am unable to identify Ādivāsa or Āḍivāsa. But its situation is not difficult to guess. It must have been adjacent to the village of Guḍivāḍa (Kuḷivāṭaka of the grant), since some fields of the latter and the western portion of the former were joined together and constituted into an *agrahāra*.

Pḷakki-vishaya is mentioned in the Rāmatīrtham plates[3] of Indravarman of the Vishṇukuṇḍin dynasty and in the Chīpurupalli[4] and Timmāpuram[5] plates of Vishṇuvardhana I of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty. The name occurs as Pḷakki in the first two records and as Paḷaki in the last one. The villages granted in the Rāmatīrtham and Timmāpuram plates are Pēruvāḍaka and Kumulūru respectively. Both these villages remain unidentified. The gift registered in the Chīpurupalli plates was made by king Vishṇuvardhana I from the town of Cheṟupūru in Pḷakki-vishaya. Thus, altogether we come to know of four villages situated in the Pḷakki or Paḷaki *vishaya*, namely, Pēruvāḍaka, Kumulūru, Cheṟupūru, and Kuḷivāṭaka. Cheṟupūru was identified by Fleet, though with some doubt, with Chīpurupalli,[6] the chief town of the Chīpurupalli Taluk, Visakhapatnam District, since these plates were said to have been found near the village of that name. This identification is not correct as will be shown presently.

If Kuḷivāṭaka is identified with Guḍivāḍa in the Sarvasiddhi Taluk, the other villages also have to be located in the same Taluk or in its vicinity. There are two villages by name Chinna Gummulūru and Pedda Gummulūru in the Sarvasiddhi Taluk. One of these may be identical with Kumulūru of the Timmāpuram plates. Timmāpuram, the findspot of these plates, is also in the same Taluk. As to Pēruvāḍaka, I have no doubt that it is identical with Paravāḍa in the south-eastern portion of the Anakāpalli Taluk which is adjacent to the Sarvasiddhi Taluk.

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[1] B. V. Krishna Rao rejects both the identification of Pṛithivīduvarāja by Hultzch and the date 631 A.D. of the Kopparam plates as suggested by Sewell. He does not approve of Fleet's scheme or my scheme of chronology of the Eastern Chālukyas. Yet it is interesting to note that he arrives exactly at the same date as the above, i.e. 624-25 A. D., for the initial year of Vishṇuvardhana I of Vēṅgī. Vide 'The Revised Chronology of the Eastern Chālukyas', *JAHRS*, Vol. IX, Pt. IV, pp. 1 ff. [See also *JOR*, Vol. IX, pp. 1 ff.—Ed.]

[2] [This dating does not solve all the problems of Eastern Chālukya chronology. Cf. N. Venkataramanayya, *The Eastern Chāḷukyas of Vēṅgī*, p. 56.—Ed.]

[3] Above, Vol. XII, pp. 133 ff. The name of the district was wrongly read as *Pḷaki*.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 16.

[5] Above, Vol. IX, pp. 318 ff.

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, pp. 15 and 96.

If these identifications are correct, it may be concluded that the Pḷakki or Paḷaki *vishaya* comprised at least the contiguous portions, if not the whole, of the Sarvasiddhi and Anakāpalli Taluks of the Visakhapatnam District. As such, Cheṟupūru must also be looked for in the same region. There is a village called Chīpurupalli in the Anakāpalli Taluk, which may be identified with Cheṟupūru. I think that Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana's plates were found near this Chīpurupalli and not near the other village of the same name. Both the grants of Vishṇuvardhana I issued from the coastal region of Āndhra thus appear to have been discovered in the Anakāpalli-Sarvasiddhi[1] region which was known in early times as the Pḷakki or Paḷaki *vishaya*. The *ḷ* in Pḷakki and Paḷaki was later changed into *r* and the name became Prakki which was applied to this territorial division in later times.

TEXT[2]

First Plate

1 Ōṁ[3] svasti | Śrīmat-**Kallūra**-vāsakāt Svāmibhaṭṭāraka-pāda-padma-prasād-ā-

2 vāpta-rājyānāṁ Hārītī-priya-putrāṇāṁ Mānavya-sagōtrāṇām=Aśva-

3 mēdha-yājināṁ Chalukyānāṁ kula-jaladhi-samudbhūta-rāja-ratna-

4 sya sakala-jagad-ārtti-hara-karmmaṇaḥ śrī-Kīrttivarmmaṇaḥ priya-

5 naptā sva-pitur=anūna-guṇa-gaṇ-ō[d*]dyōtita-rōchishṇōr=aidaṁyugīna-Ma-

6 hāvishṇōḥ Vishṇuvarddhana-mahārājasya priya-tanayaḥ

Second Plate, First Side

7 pravarddhamāna-pratāp-ōpanamita-ripu-nṛipati-makuṭa-taṭa-ghaṭita-ma-

8 ṇi-mayūkha-mañjarī-puñja-piñjarita-charaṇ-āravinda-yugalaḥ para-

9 ma-brahmaṇyō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānuddhyātaḥ śrī-**Pri(Pṛi)thivī-Jayasiṁha-**

10 **vallabha**-mahārājaḥ Pḷakki-vishayam=adhivāsinaḥ kuṭumbinaḥ

11 samājñāpayati [|*] Yathā Maudgalya-sagōtrasya Kauthuma-Chhandō-

12 ga-sabrahmachāriṇaḥ Kumāraśarmmaṇaḥ pautrābhyāṁ Vasuśarmmaṇaḥ

Second Plate, Second Side

13 putrābhyām(bhyāṁ) Vinayaśa[rma]-Vishṇuśarmmabhyā[ṁ] Trisahasra-pāragābhyām(bhyāṁ)

14 shaṭ-karmma-niratābhyām asmad-āyur-ārōgya-jaya-yaś-ōti-

15 vṛiddhayē[4] Sōma-grahaṇē udaka-pūrvvaṁ kṛitvā Ādivāsē[5]

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[1] The village of Sarvasiddhi after which the Taluk got its name was, in all likelihood, founded by Jayasimha-vallabha I who had the title *Sarvasiddhi*.

[2] From the original plates.

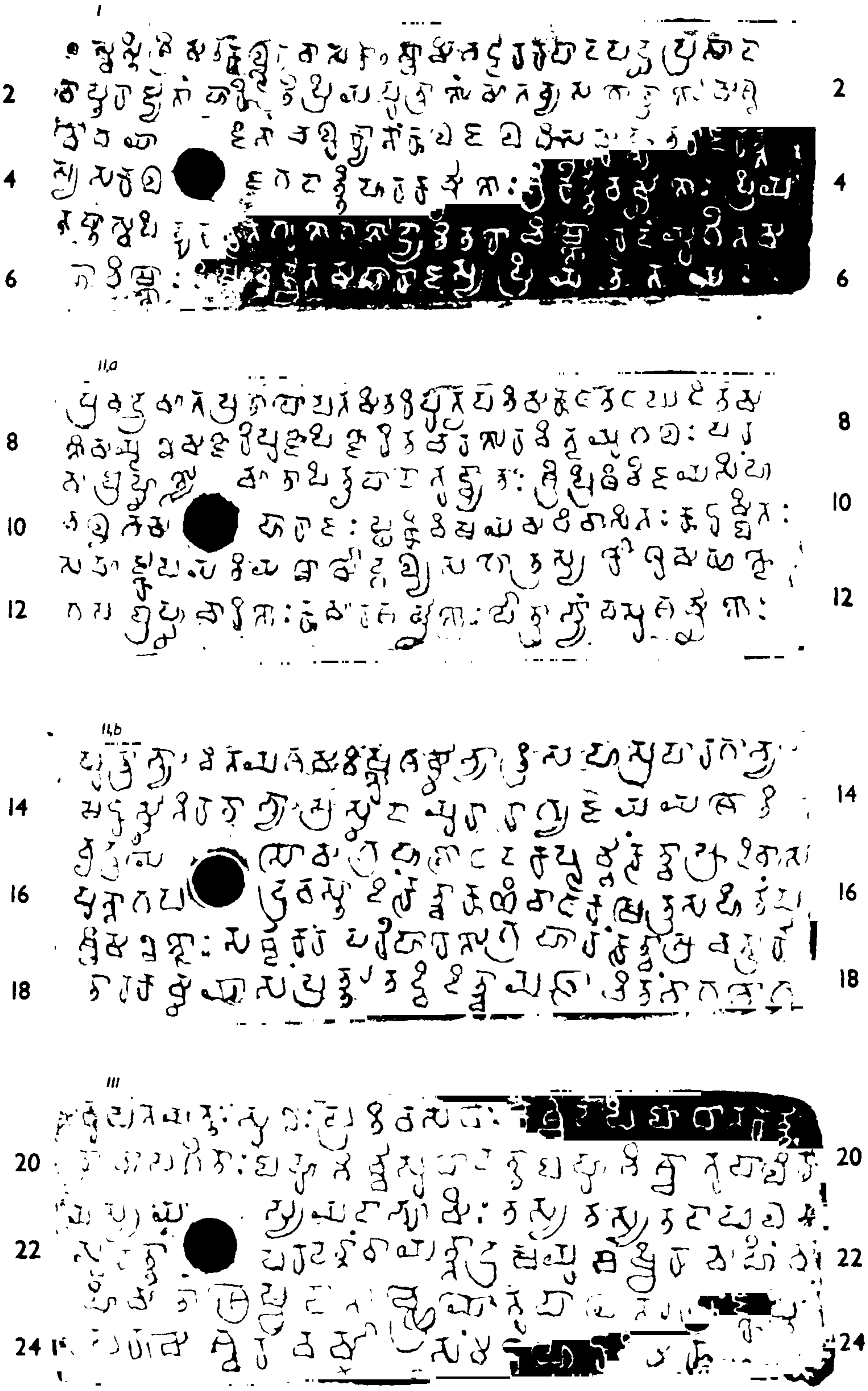
[3] Expressed by symbol.

[4] The expression more familiarly found in such contexts is *yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē*.

[5] This may be read as *Āḍivāsē* also, since there is little difference between *d* and *ḍ* in this period.

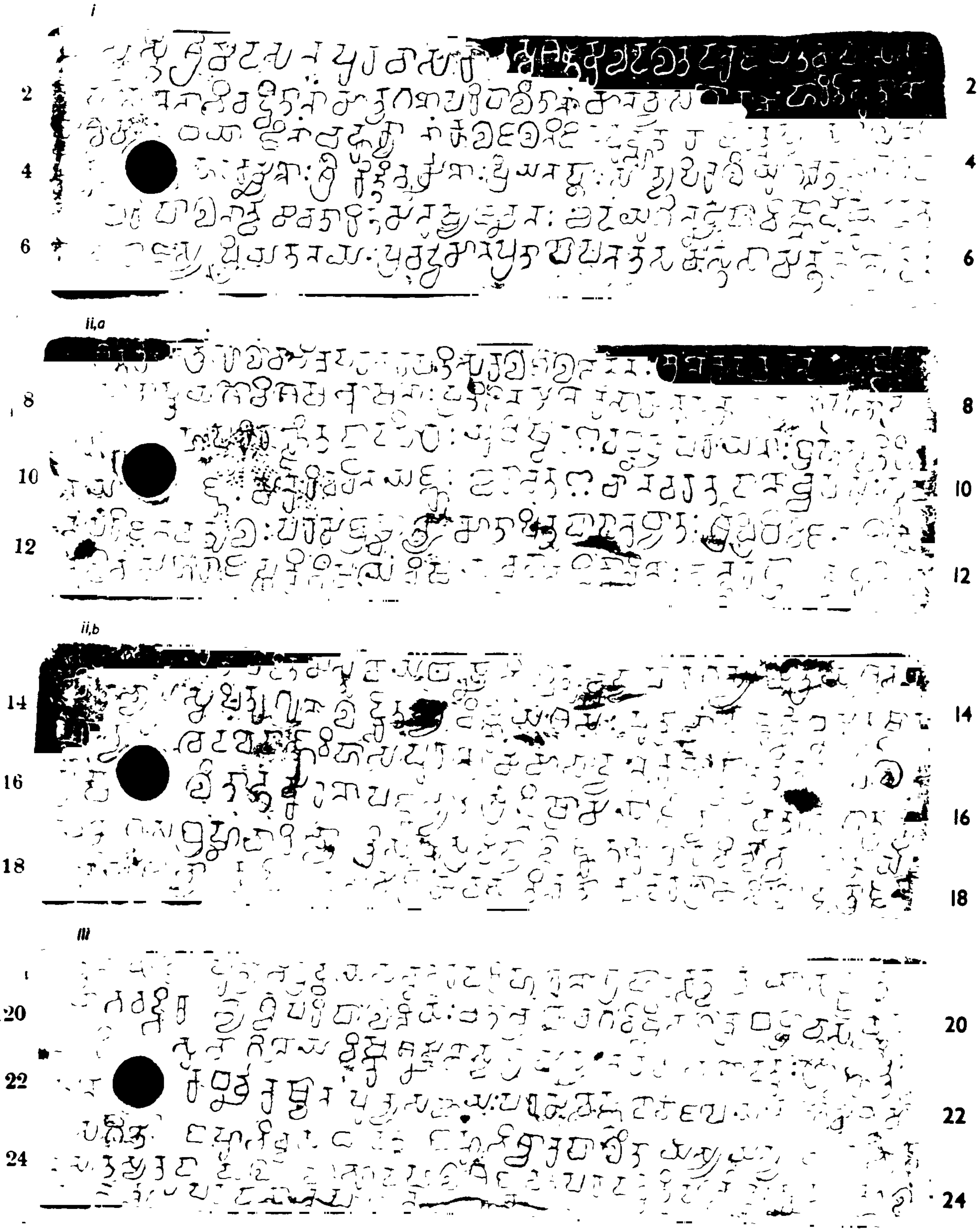
THREE GRANTS OF CHALUKYA JAYASIMHA — PLATE I

A.—Grant No. I, Year 18



Scale three fourths

B.—GRANT No. 2



16 Punnāgapadravastādiṁ[1] kṛitvā Kuḷivāṭaka-kshētra-sahitaṁ pa-

17 śchima-khaṇḍaḥ(ṇḍaṁ) sarvva-karaṁ(ra)-parihārēṇ=āgrahāraṁ kṛitvā ā-chaṁ(cha)ndr-ārka-

18 tārakam=mayā saṁprattam[2] [|*] Tad=viditvā yath-ōchitaṁ bhāga-bhōga-

Third Plate

19 m=upanayantaḥ sukhaḥ(khaṁ) prativasathaḥ(tha) [|*] Kaiś=chid=api bādhā na kartta-

20 vyā [|*] Vyāsa-gītāḥ [|*] Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā bahubhiś=ch=ānupālitā [|*]

21 yasya yasya yadā bhūmiḥ ta(mis=ta)sya tasya tadā phalam [||*]

22 Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yatnād=raksha Yudhisṭhira [|*] mahīṁ ma-

23 himatāṁ śrēshṭha dānāch=chhrēyō=nupālanam [||*] Ājñapti[ḥ]

24 Paramēśvaravarmmā [||*] **Saṁ 10 8 Hē 8 di 10 5** ||

B.—*Grant No. 2*

This grant[3] also consists of three plates which do not have raised rims. Each plate is 7. 7" long and 2·1" broad. The plates are strung together on a circular copper ring (3·1" in diameter) which passes through a hole (·5" in diameter) at the left margin of each plate. The ends of the ring are soldered at the bottom of a circular seal 1·7" in diameter. On the upper and lower portions of the seal are engraved in relief a crescent moon and a lotus respectively, the middle portion being occupied by the legend *Śrī-Sarvasiddhi*. The first and last plates bear writing on one side only while the second plate is inscribed on both sides. Of the inscribed sides, the first three have each six lines of writing, the last one containing seven lines.

The **characters** belong to the Southern Class of Alphabets, being normal for the period and the area to which the inscription belongs. They are similar to those found in the early Eastern Chālukya grants. Final *t* occurs in line 1 and final *m* in lines 14, 15, etc. The consonants *d*, *t*, *m* and *v* after *r* are doubled as in the early grants. Dravidian *ḷ* occurs in line 12 in *Pḷakki* and the *jihvāmūlīya* in line 16. The initial vowel *ai*, which rarely occurs in inscriptions, is met with in line 5. This *ai* resembles *khā* in line 17 divested of its medial *ā* sign. The form of *kh* in line 1, *n* in lines 2, 14 and 19 and *kṛi* in lines 4 and 17 are noteworthy on account of their peculiarities. The letters *kh* and *ch* are almost alike.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. With the exception of the last two imprecatory verses, it is in prose.

The inscription belongs to the reign of **Pṛithivī-Jayasiṁhavallabha I** of the Chālukya family, who is described as in the previous charter. It records that the king, having created (made provision for) a dwelling place in Kuḍivāḍa, granted thirtytwo *nivartanas* of land, separating it from the village of Kundūru and constituting it into a separate *agrahāra* by freeing it from all encumbrances.[4] The donees were two Brāhmaṇa brothers, namely Svāmiyaśas and Vishṇuyaśas who were the students of the Chhandōga and belonged to the Vatsa *gōtra*. They had studied the Vēda, Vēdāṅga,

[1] The meaning of the phrase is not clear. Could it be *Punnāg-ōpavana-gṛiha-sthānam* ?

[2] [The intended reading of the passage in lines 16-18 appears to be *Punnāgapadraḥ vasatiṁ kṛitvā Kuḷivāṭaka-kshētra-sahitaḥ paśchima-khaṇḍaḥ........saṁprattaḥ.*—Ed.]

[3] [See *A. R. Ep.*, 1945-46, No. 2 of App. A.—Ed.]

[4] [The correct interpretation of the passage seems to be that the village of Kuḍivāḍa was populated and, having been constituted into an *agrahāra* with the addition of thirtytwo *nivartanas* of land taken from the adjoining village of Kundūru, was granted to the donees.—Ed.]

Itihāsa, Purāṇa, Mīmāṁsā and many other Śāstras, were proficient in the *Trisahasravidyā*[1] and performed the *Agnishṭōma* sacrifice. They were the sons of Vishṇuyaśas and grandsons of Mitrayaśas. The king issued his order from his residence at **Asanapura** and addressed it to the elders and officers of the district of Pḷakki and to the ryots of the village of Kundūru in the Pḷakki *vishaya*. A ninth portion of this village was again given by these donees to their own sister's son, Vishṇuśarman, who belonged to the Gavishmi *gōtra* and was a student of the Bahvṛicha.

The *ājñapti* of this grant was Bhīmaśarman who is described as a great devotee of Vishṇu and performer of the *Vājapēya* sacrifice. This officer is not known from any of the grants of Jayasiṁha I published so far.

Of the localities mentioned in this record Pḷakki-vishaya is already known from the previous charter. I am unable to identify Kundūru. It must, however, have been in the neighbourhood of the present village of Guḍivāḍa, since some land from the boundary of Kundūru was separated and added to the former village. Both the owner of the plates and my friend Mr. Raghavarao Pantulu inform me that there are some Harijans in the village of Guḍivāḍa who have Kundūru as their family name. Kuḍivāḍa is Guḍivāḍa itself.

Asanapura is unidentifiable. It appears from the grants of Jayasiṁha I that it was an important town in the early Eastern Chālukya times. Kāṭiśarman, the donee of the Niḍubaru grant[2] of Jayasiṁha was a resident of Asanapura and is described as *ghaṭikā-sāmānya*. Evidently Asanapura must have been a *ghaṭikā-sthāna*. Rudraśarman, the son of Śivaśarman of the Gautama *gōtra* and the donee of the Pulimbūru grant[3] of Jayasiṁhavallabha, was also a resident of Asanapura. Originally, his father Śivaśarman was an inhabitant of Kundūru in Karma-rāshṭra and was the recipient of the *agrahāra* village of Pulimbūru from king Mādhavavarman of the Vishṇukuṇḍin family[4]. During the rule of Jayasiṁhavallabha, Śivaśarman's son Rudraśarman emigrated from Kundūru to Asanapura. Asanapura thus appears to have been one of the educational and cultural centres of the early Eastern Chālukya times.

TEXT[5]

First Plate

1 Ōṁ[6] svasti [|*] Śrīmad-**Asanapura**-vāsakāt sva-śakti-mukha-dalita-danuja-pati-mahāsēnēna

2 Mahāsēnēn=ābhivaddhi(rddhi)tānāṁ Mātṛi-gaṇa-paripālitānāṁ Mānavya-sagōtrāṇāṁ Hāriti-(tī)-putrāṇāṁ(ṇā)-

3 m=Aśvamēdha-yājināṁ Chaḷukyānāṁ kula-jalanidhi-samudbhūta-rāja-ratnasya sakala-jaga-

4 d-ātti(rtti)-hara-karmmaṇaḥ śrī-Ki(Kī)rttivarmmaṇaḥ priya-naptāḥ(ptā) saty=api Kaliyugē Kṛitayuga=iva

5 prajā-paripālan-ārttham=avatārita-manushya-janmanaḥ aidaṁyugīna-Mma(Ma)hāvishṇōr=Vvishṇuvarddhana-

6 mahārājasya priya-tanayaḥ pravarddhamāna-pratāp-ōpanata-samasta-sāmanta-maṇḍalaḥ

[1] I am informed that Brāhmaṇas well-versed in this lore belong to the Mādhyandina *śākhā* of the Kāṇva sect. It is the same as *Trisahasra* mentioned in line 13 of the previous grant.

[2] Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 56 ff.

[3] Ibid., Vol. XIX, pp. 254 ff.

[4] *JAHRS*, Vol. VI, pp. 17 ff.

[5] From the original plates.

[6] Expressed by symbol.

Second Plate, First Side

7 sva-śakti-traya-triśūl-āvabhinna-para-narapati-sakala-bala-chētanaḥ anēka-samara-saṁghaṭṭa-vi-

8 jay-āvāpta-yaśō-viśēsha-bhūshaṇaḥ pratidinam=anēka-sāmanta-makuṭa-maṇi-prabhā-pra-[1]

9 prarōha-pariranñjita-pāda-pīṭhaḥ Yudhishṭhira=iva dharmma-parāyaṇaḥ Bra(Bṛi)haspatir=iva

10 nayajñaḥ Manur=iva vinayajñaḥ Airāvata=iv=ānavarata-dān-ōchcha-hastaḥ svaja-

11 na-parijana-vatsalaḥ paramabrahmanyō(ṇyō) mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānudhyātaḥ śrī-**Pri(Pṛi)dhi(thi)vi-Jayasiṁgha(siṁha)-**

12 **vallabha-**mahārājā(jaḥ) Plakki-vishayē vishaya-vṛiddhān=adhikāriṇaḥ Kundūra-grāma-kuṭumbinaś=cha

Second Plate, Second Side

13 samājñāpayati [|*] viditam=astu vō yath=āsmābhiś=chaturvvidyā-pāragasya Mitrayaśasaḥ

14 pautrābhyām(bhyāṁ) sva-pitu(tṛi)-guṇ-ālaṅkṛitasya Vishṇuyaśasaḥ putrābhyāṁ shaṭ-karmma-dharmm-ānushṭhāna-

15 parābhyām(bhyāṁ) Vēda-Vēdāṅg-Ēvi(ti)hāsa-Purāṇa-Mīmāṁs-ādy-anēka-śāstr-ārttha-tatra(ttva)-salila-

16 prakshālit-āntaḥkaraṇa-paṅkābhyām Agnishṭōma-yājibhyām(bhyāṁ) Vatsa-sagōtrābhyāṁ

17 Chhandōga-sabrahmachāribhyām(bhyāṁ) trisahasra-vidy-ālaṅkṛita-mukh-āravindābhyām(bhyāṁ) Svāma(mi)ya[śō]-

18 Vishṇuyaśōbhyām(bhyāṁ) Kuḍivāḍa-nāma-grāmē[2] vasati[ṁ] kṛitvā Kundūra-grāma-siṁ(sī)mnō dvātrā[ṅśani][3]-

Third Plate

19 varttanaṁ chhitvā(ttvā) puṇy-ābhivṛiddhayē sarvva-kara-parihārēṇ=āgrahāri(rī)kṛitya mayā sambrattaṁ[4] [|*]

20 tathā bhavadbhir=anyaiś=cha paripālani(nī)yaḥ[|*] ētābhya(bhyā)m=ēva Gavishmi-sagōtra-Bahvṛichā(cha)-sabrahma-

21 chāri-sva-bhāginēya-Vishṇuśarmmaṇē=sya grāmē(ma)sya navamō bhāgō dattaḥ [||*] ājñaptiḥ

22 anēka-dha[rmm-ā]nushṭhāna-puṇya-sañchayaḥ parama-vaishṇavō Vājapēya-yājī Bhīma-śarmmā [|*]

23 Vyāsa-gītau [|*] Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā bahubhiś=ch=ānupālitā [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhu(bhū)mi-

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[1] This *akshara* is redundant.

[2] [The reading is *grāma*[*ḥ**].—Ed.]

[3] Read *dvātriṁśan-nivartanāni*.

[4] Read *samprattam.* [Better read *samprattaḥ*.—Ed.]

24 ta(s=ta)sya tasya tadā phalam [||*] Mā bhūd=aphala-śaṅkā van(vaḥ) para-datt=ēti pārthivaḥ-(vāḥ) [|*] sva-dānāt=phala-

25 m=ānantyam para-dān-ānupālanam ||

C.—Grant No. 3

This set[1] consists of three plates without raised rims. Each plate is 6·9" long and 2·4" broad. They are strung together on a circular ring 2·5" in diameter. The ends of the ring are soldered at the bottom of a circular seal 1·5" in diameter. The seal after cleaning shows only a spiral sign on its face.

The script is the early Southern Class commonly styled Telugu-Kannaḍa. The letters resemble those found in the other grants of Jayasiṁha I. They are very indifferently written and therefore the form of individual letters is not always the same.[2] Initial *ai* occurs in line 5 in *aidaṁyugīna*. The shape of the letter *ṇyō* in *brahmaṇyō* in line 10 is interesting. Final *t* occurs in line 1 and final *m* in line 20. The medial *ē* sign in *rē* in *parihārēṇa* (line 18) and *harēta* (line 24) is peculiar. It is not a simple horizontal stroke to the left. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. It is in prose with the exception of the two imprecatory verses at the end. The terms *kandikaṭṭu*, *kaḍakaṭṭu* and *āvakaṭṭu* occurring in the description of the boundaries are unintelligible.

This inscription also belongs to the same king, **Jayasiṁha** I of the Eastern Chālukya family. The record does not furnish new facts. The royal *praśasti* and the details of the grant are similar to those of the previous record. The king issued this grant from **Asanapura**. Addressing the elders and officers of the Pḷakki *vishaya* and the ryots of the village of Kundūru, the king granted the village of Kuḍivāḍa to the same donees, Svāmiyaśas and Vishṇuyaśas of the Vatsa *gōtra*, separating it from the boundary of Kundūru and constituting it into an *agrahāra* with all the usual immunities. The boundaries of the newly constituted *agrahāra* are given. They are as follows: on the east the boundary of the village of Kundūru; on the south the sea; on the west the tank named Gōḷāva as well as the Nāguvula tank, Kandikaṭṭu and Kaḍakaṭṭu and on the north Āvakaṭṭu. The *ājñapti* is Bhīmaśarman, already known from the previous charter.

These three inscriptions thus register grants referring to one and the same village of Kuḍivāḍa (Guḍivāḍa). In fact, the order of these inscriptions, if I understand them aright, should be thus: Grant No. 2, by which the village of Guḍivāḍa comes into being as an independent *agrahāra*, should be the first one. Then comes Grant No. 1 which says that the king granted the western portion of the village of Ādivāsa along with some land detached from the extent of the village of Guḍivāḍa, constituting the whole into an *agrahāra*, to the Brāhmaṇa brothers, Vinayaśarman and Vishṇuśarman of the Maudgalya *gōtra*. To compensate this loss to the donees the king seems to have granted them again by grant No. 3 thirtytwo *nivartanas* of land, separating it again from the village of Kundūru, as stated in grant No. 2.[3]

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[1] [See *A. R. Ep.*, 1945-46, No. 3 of App. A.—Ed.]

[2] [As the forms of many letters like *kh* in line 1, *ai* in line 5, *b* in line 10, show later forms, the writing seems to belong to a later period. The seal bears only a spiral symbol and the village granted is the same as in the previous charter. This record appears to be a later modified copy of No. 2, in the text of which the boundaries of the *agrahāra* are added while a statement regarding the allotment of a share of the *agrahāra* to the donee's sister's son, as found in No. 2, is omitted. No. 3 thus appears to have been forged by the heirs of the donees of No. 2 with a view to depriving the successors of the donee's sister's son of the share in question.—Ed.]

[3] [This argument is unconvincing. As shown above (p. 129, note 3; p. 133, notes 2 and 4; above, note 2), the *agrahāra* villages granted as well as the donees in the first two grants are different and the third grant appears to be a later modified copy of the second.—Ed.]

TEXT[1]

First Plate

1 Ōṁ[2] svasti [|*] Śrīmad-**Asanapura**-vāsakāt sva-śakti-mukha-dalita-danu-

2 japati-mahāsēnēna Mahāsēnēn=ābhivaddhi(rddhi)tānāṁ Mātṛi-ga-

3 ṇa-paripālitānāṁ Mānavya-sagōtrāṇāṁ Hāriti(tī)-putrāṇā-

4 m=Aśvamēdha-yājināṁ Chadu(lu)kyānāṁ kula-jaladhi-samudbhū-

5 ta-rāja-ratnasya śrī-Kītti(rtti)varmmaṇaḥ priya-naptā aidaṁyugīna-**Mahā-**

6 **vishṇōḥ** Vishṇuvarddhana-mahārājasya priya-tanayaḥ pravarddhamā-

Second Plate, First Side

7 na-pratāp-ōpanata-samasta-sāmanta-maṇḍalaḥ sva-śakti-traya-parā-

8 jita-para-śaktiḥ anēka-samara-saṁghaṭṭa-vijay-āvāpta-yaśo-viśēsha-

9 bhūshaṇaḥ pratidinam=anēka-sāmanta-makuṭa-maṇi-prabhā-raṁ-

10 jita-pādapīṭhaḥ parama-brahmaṇyō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānudhyā-

11 taḥ śrī-**Pṛithivi-Jayasiṁgha(siṁha)vallabha**-mahārājaḥ Pḷakki-vishayē

12 visha[ya*]-vṛiddhān=adhikāriṇaḥ Kundūra-grāma-kuṭumbinaś=cha samājñāpaya-

Second Plate, Second Side

13 ti [|*] viditam=astu vō yath=āsmābhiś=chaturvvidyā-pāragasya **Mitrayaśa-**

14 **saḥ** pautrābhyāṁ sva-pitu(tṛi)-guṇ-ālaṁkṛitasya Vishṇuyaśasaḥ putrābhyāṁ shat-ka-

15 rmma-dharmm-ānushṭhāna-parābhyāṁ(bhyām) Agnishṭōma-yājibhyāṁ **Vatsa-sagōtrābhyāṁ**

16 Chhandōga-sabrahmachāribhyāṁ Svāmiyaśō-Vishṇuyaśōbhyāṁ Kuḍivāḍa-nā-

17 ma-grāmaḥ vasatiṁ kṛitvā Kundūra-grāma-sīmnō(mnaḥ) pṛithak-kṛitya puṇy-ābhivṛiddhayē

18 sarvva-kara-parihārēṇ=āgrahārīkṛitya mayā dattaḥ [||*] Bhavadbhir=anyaiś=cha pā-

Third Plate

19 lanīyaḥ [|*] Asya sīma-vibhāgaḥ [|*] Pūrvvataḥ Kundūra-grāma-sīma(mā)ē[va sīmā] [|*]

20 Dakshiṇataḥ samudram(draḥ) [|*] Paśchimataḥ Gōḷāva-nāma-taṭākam punaḥ Nāguvula-

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[1] From the original plates.

[2] Expressed by symbol.

21 cheṟuvu-Kandikaṭṭu-Kaḍakaṭṭu [|*] Uttarataḥ Āvakaṭṭu [||*] Ājñaptiḥ pi(pa)ri(ra)[mi](ma)-

22 vaishṇavō Vājapēya-yājī Bhīmaśarmmā [||*] Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā bahu-

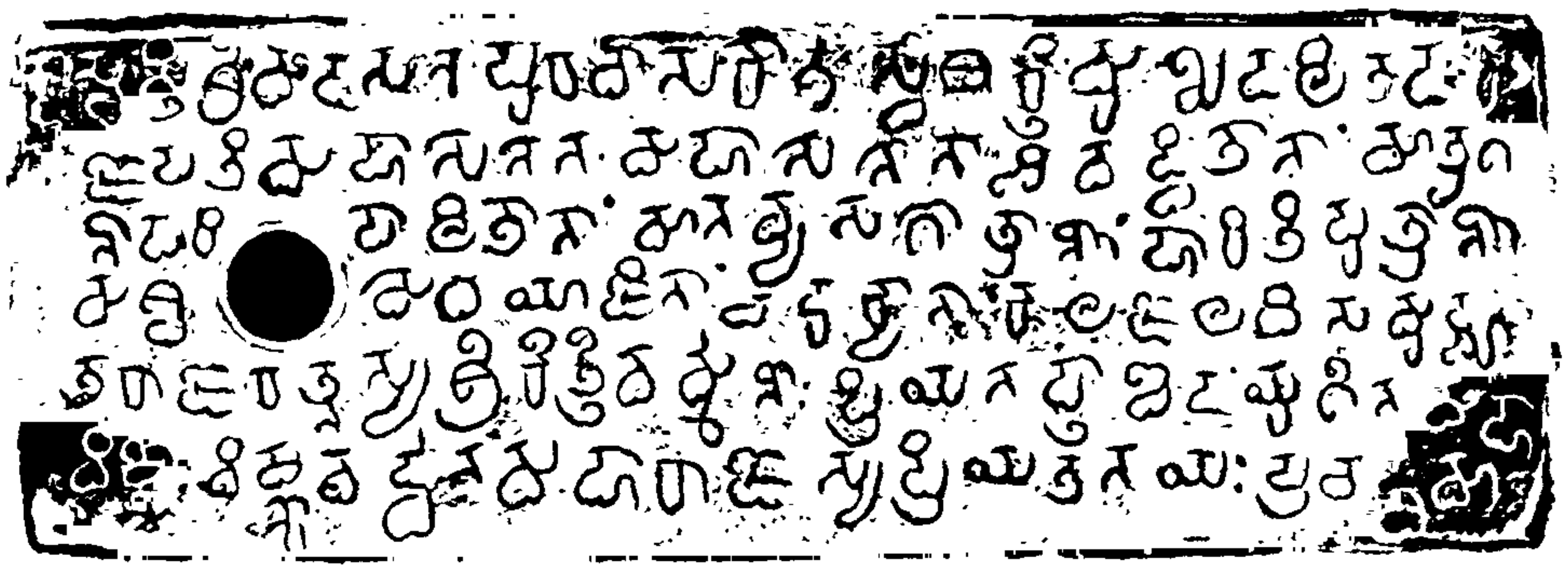
23 bhiś=ch=ānupālitā [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmiḥ ta(mis=ta)sya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) [||*] Sva-

24 dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harēta vasundharāṁ(rām) [|*] shashṭhi(shṭi)-varsha-sahasrāṇi vishṭhāyāṁ jāyatē krimiḥ [||]

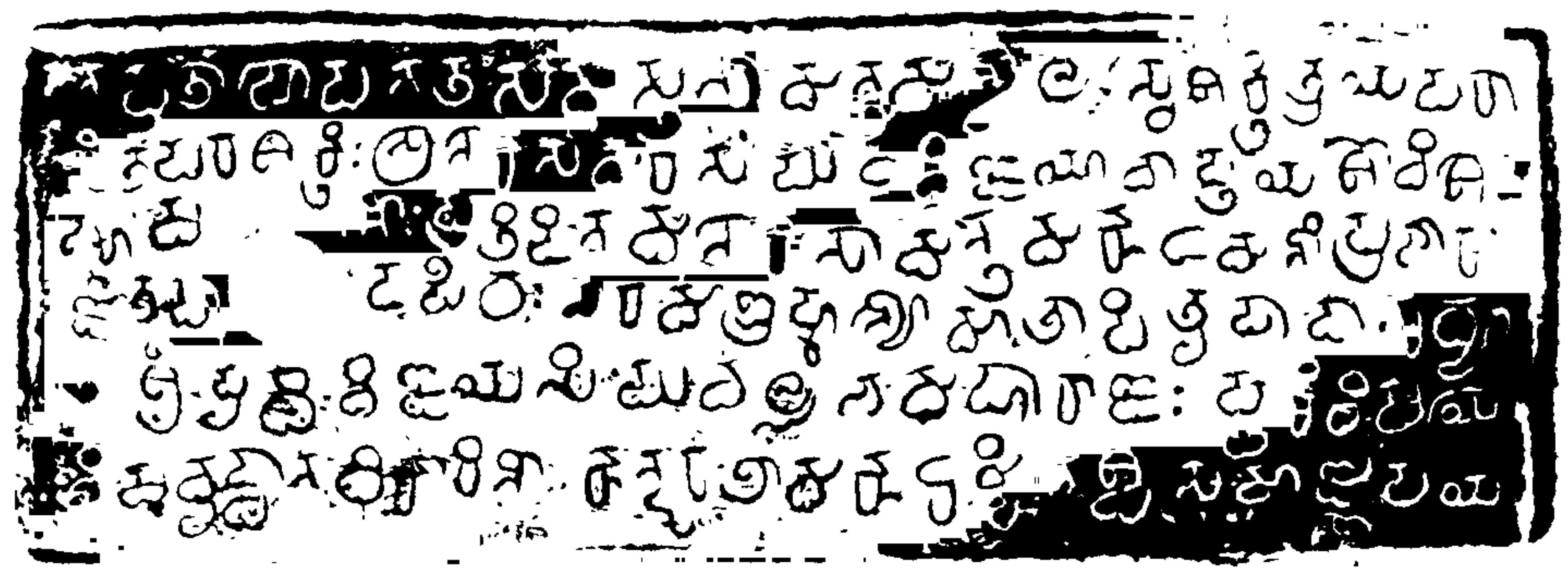
THREE GRANTS OF CHALUKYA JAYASIMHA — PLATE II

C.—GRANT No. 3

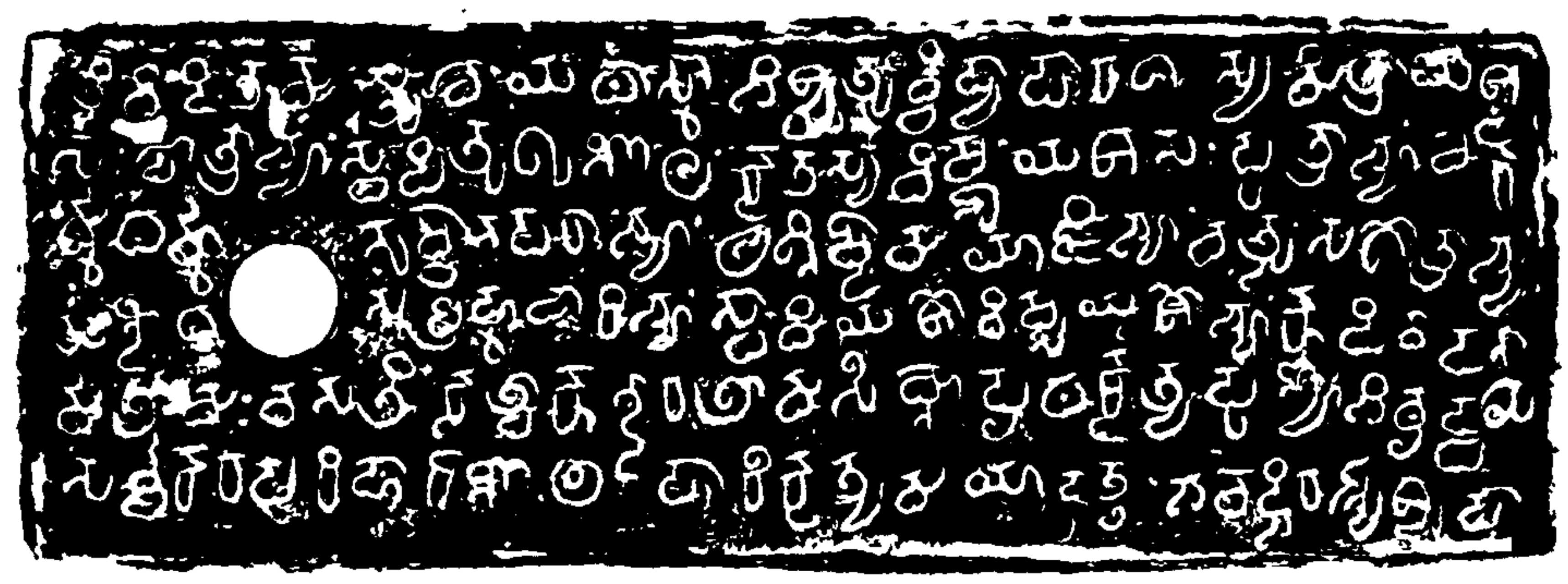
i



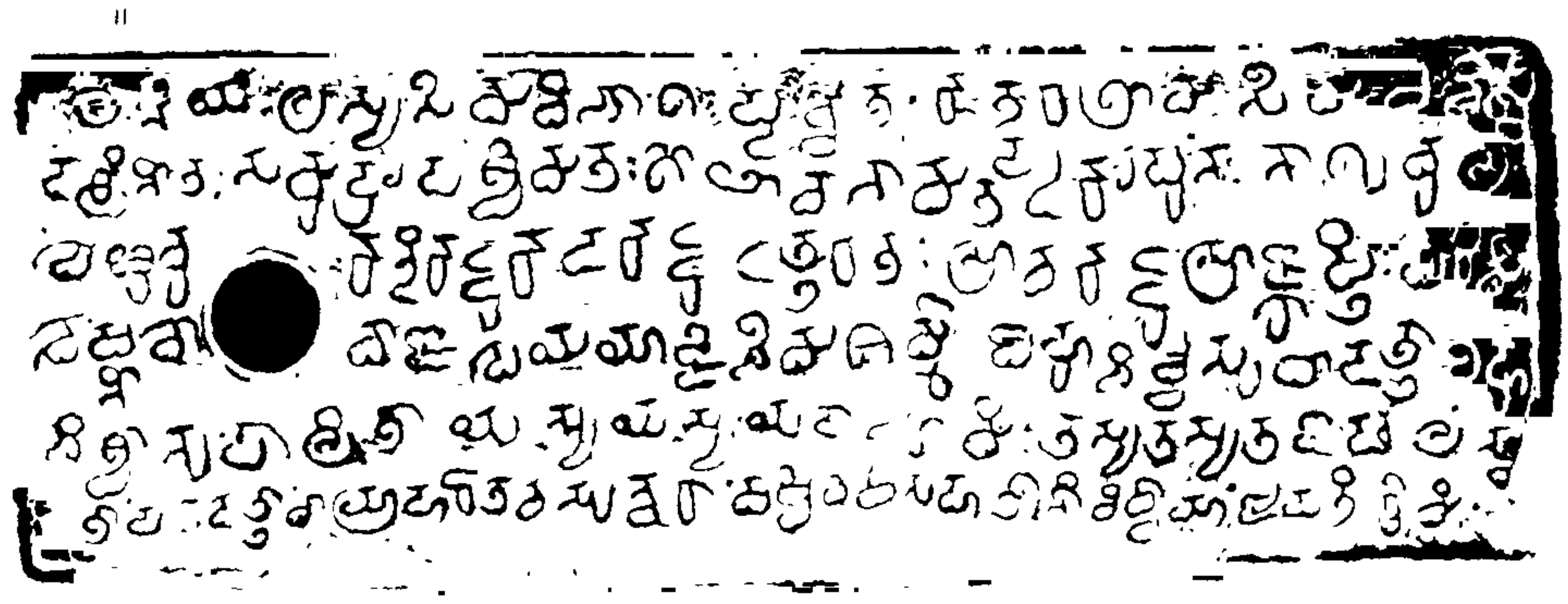
ii.a



ii.b



iii



Scale three fourths

SEALS

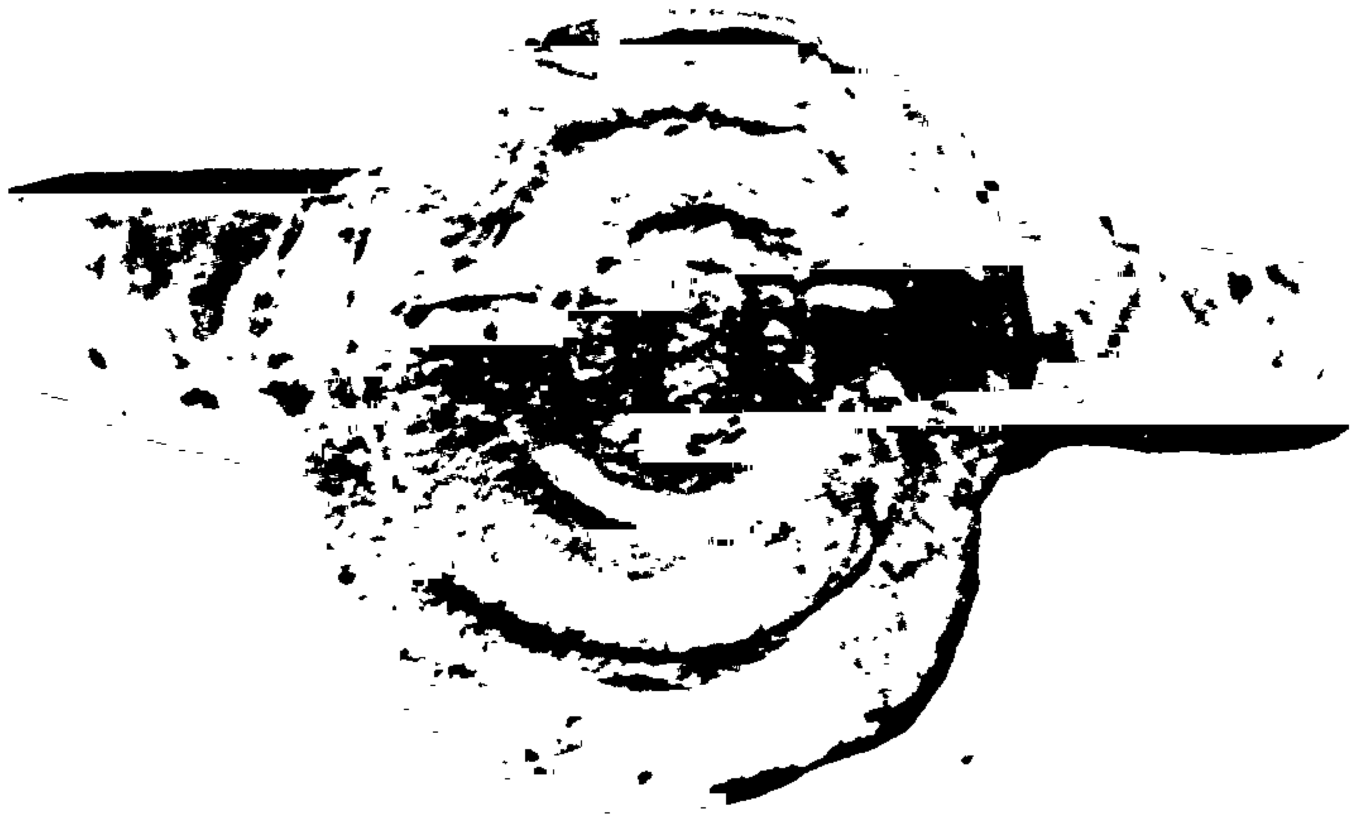
A



B



C



From Photographs

No. 21—KAMALAPUR PLATES OF KRISHNADEVARAYA, SAKA 1447

The Late Mr. V. Rangacharya, Madras.

These copper plates,[1] eleven in number, were received in 1905 from the Estate Guardian at **Kamalāpur**, near Hampe, Bellary District, on a short loan by the late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao. The plates were returned to the owner. I edit the inscription from its impressions available in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The Government Epigraphist describes the plates thus : "Eleven copper plates with highly-raised rims and rounded tops, containing twenty sides. Round ring with its edges pressed close together in a hole behind the seal. The seal is hung on a copper ring whose edges are closely pressed together as stated above. The copper ring measures 3½" in diameter and is about ½" thick. The seal bears in a counter-sunk surface the figure of a standing boar with up-lifted tail and facing the proper right. It is surmounted by the sun and the moon in relief. Below the boar are some symbols. The plates measure roughly 11½" long in the middle and 8⅝ inches on the sides; the breadth varies from 7¾ to 7½ inches."

The first and last of the plates, as usual, have been engraved on the inner side only, while the others on both the faces.[3] They are numbered, like the Unamanjeri plates[4] of Achyutarāya, on the first inscribed side of each plate with Telugu-Kannaḍa numerals from 2 to 11. The writing has been done well and it is intact on account of the raised rims. But between lines 67 and 68, there is a blank space for a line and a half which can be filled up from similar epigraphs. At the end of line 448, which is the last on the second side of plate 9, there is a blank which can be covered by six *aksharas* ; and at the close of line 508, the last on the 10th plate where the list of donees ends, there is also a vacant space for four letters.

The **characters** are Nandināgarī, except the last word *Śrī-Virūpāksha* in line 522, which is in Kannaḍa. The sign for rough ṟ in *Mūṟurāyara* is not distinguished from ordinary *r* as in other records. The middle stroke of *ś* is occasionally missing as in *Kāśipati* in line 171.

The following **orthographical** peculiarities can be noted. The *visarga* sign is occasionally omitted, the omission usually being before the word *śrī*. It is redundant in the expressions like *padaiḥr=aṁkitāṁ* in line 29 and *sūnuḥs=Tirumala* in line 363. A consonant after *r* is usually doubled. Instances of the doubling of a consonant after *visarga* and elsewhere are also available. The *anusvāra* is usually used for the class nasal. Wherever there is double *m* the first is made into an *anusvāra* as in *Tiṁmaya* in line 127. The consonant *t* is sometimes wrongly used for *d* as in *tanūtbhavaḥ* in line 106.

There are some names of unusual interest among the donees who number as many as 308 and belong to all sects. The three Vēdas and various *śākhās* and *gōtras* are represented. Though a Dvaitin, Vyāsarāya, the chief donee, included scholars of every persuasion among the share-holders of the endowment. The individual shares ranged from 3½ to ½, the exact quantity being apparently dependent on the attainments of each recipient. The total number of shares seems to have been slightly above 437. The *gōtras* represented by the donees are : Agastya 3, Ātrēya 18, Bhāradvāja 51, Daivarāta 1, Gārgya 8, Gautama 10, Gūrja 1, Harita 20, Jāmadagnya-Āpastamba 1, Jāmadagnya-Vatsa 1, Kāṇva 2, Kāśyapa 52, Kauṇḍinya 32, Maudgalya 3, Kauśika or Viśvāmitra 30, Pārghasa 2, Pūtimāsha 4, Rathīthara 1, Sālāvata 1, Śāṇḍilya 8, Ṣaṭhamarshaṇa 1,

[1] It is greatly to be regretted that the author passed away when the article was still in the press.

[2] *A. R. Ep.*, C. P. No. 13 of 1905.

[3] It has been presumed so in the case of the first plate which was not received in the Government Epigraphist's office. [It seems that the estampage of Plate IB was missing in the set of imperssions received by the author. It has 27 lines of writing, which are practically identical with lines 1-24 of the Conjeeveram plates (above, Vol. XIII, pp. 126-27).—Ed.]

[4] Above, Vol. III, pp. 147 ff.

Śrīvatsa 36, Vādhūla 2, Vārdhasva 2, Vasishṭha 18. The *śākhās* and *sūtras* represented are Ṛik, Yajus, Bōdhāyana, Kāṇva, Jaimini and Sāmana. The donees came from different villages and have names often in Sanskrit and popular dialects combined. A detailed scrutiny of the list, with reference to similar information in other records, is likely to throw welcome light on the question of the migration of the scholarly families and the literary services rendered by the individuals of the different sects and schools.

The **language** is Sanskrit and the whole text is in verse. The introductory portion is in different metres: but verses 33-343 which enumerate the donees and their shares are in *Anushṭubh*. Verses 344-52 are again in different metres. The first thirteen of the introductory stanzas ending with the expression *paṅkti-rathād=iva*, are not available as that plate was not received in the Government Epigraphist's office[1]. The remaining stanzas are 32½ and cover lines 1-67. The first six verses (lines 1-18) carry the genealogy down to Vīra-Narasiṁha, the elder brother of Kṛishṇadēvarāya. Verses 7-16 (lines 18-42) eulogize the ruling king **Kṛishṇadēvarāya** and are identical with verses 20-29 of the Hampe inscription[2] of Ś. 1430 (1508 A. D.) with a single change in verse 14 (line 37), where we have *Vīrapratāpa ity-ādi* instead of *Gaṇḍabhēruṇḍa ity-ādi* of the Hampe record. The beautiful prose passage, which describes the king immediately after these stanzas in the Hampe record is absent in the present epigraph. Lines 43-45 give the date of the grant in words. It is **Śālivāhana-Śaka 1447, Pārthiva, Phālguna śu. 12** corresponding to the **24th February, 1526 A.D.** Lines 45-48 (verses 19-20) mention the place of the donation and the illustrious teacher to whom it was made. It was a royal order to the people of **Ghanagiri-rājya** to the effect that, in the Viṭṭhalēśvara temple on the bank of the **Tuṅgabhadrā**, the grant was made to **Vyāsatīrtha** who was the disciple of Brahmaṇyatīrtha and had a mind exclusively devoted to the contemplation of *Brahman* and who had written commentaries on all the *Śāstras*. Then follows, in lines 49-60 (verses 21-28), a description of the village granted and its boundaries. It was in Koyyakuriki-sīmā and Mukkuṭla-sthala, east of the village of Pullakulvā, south-east of Guṭivāḍā, south of Kundalapāṭuku, south-west of Grākāṭalakalvā, west of Bōyiṇḍapalvā, north-west of Gaṅganāyanapalli, north of Mallakkumaṭuku, and north-east of Vēlūru. With it were clubbed the villages of Gītapalli, Kammachēyu, Kandukūru, Rāma and Guraṁvayalu. It was known as **Beṭṭakoṇḍa** and **Vyāsasamudra** and renamed **Kṛishṇa-rāyapuram**. Lines 60-67 (verses 28-32½) give the usual formula of the *sarvamānya* tenure and conclude with the statement that it was granted by the king Kṛishṇadēva-mahārāya with *dakshiṇā* and the pouring of water. Then follows, in lines 68-508 (verses 33-343), a long list of householders and scholars, amongst whom Vyāsatīrtha distributed the shares of the endowed lands. Lines 509-13 (verses 344-46) give the usual formula regarding Kṛishṇadēvarāya's gifts and state that the *śāsana* was composed by Sabhāpati and engraved by Vīraṇāchārya, son of Mallaṇa. Verses 347-52 form the usual imprecation. The record ends with the royal sign-manual *Śrī-Virūpāksha* in Kannaḍa characters in line 522.

The village named Beṭṭakoṇḍa or Kṛishṇarāyapura no longer exists; but Vyāsasamudra and Kandukūru are well-known even today. Kandukūru is a village 27 miles to the west-north-west of Madanapalli, formerly included in the Cuddapah District and now in Chittoor. Its gift as an *inām* by Kṛishṇadēvarāya to a priest was noted decades ago by the compiler of the *Madras Manual of Administration* (Glossary, p. 442). The historic importance of the place is clear from two old Vishṇu temples in it. Vyāsasamudra is a big tank close to Kandukūru. The other villages and hamlets named in the grant are not traceable now. Mukkuṭla-sthala is probably the same as Guṭlasthalam in Madanapalli Taluk. Pullakulvā may be identified with Pulikallu, and Bōyiṇḍapalvā with the Boyakuṇḍa rock to the south-west of the hamlet of Pullaguṭlavāripalle near Pedda-Tippasamudram which is five miles off Kandukūru.

[1] [See p. 139, note 3.—Ed.]

[2] Above Vol. I, pp. 361 ff.

The donee Vyāsatīrtha, who is more familiarly known as Vyāsarāya, was the twelfth in apostolic descent from Madhvāchārya, the great Dvaitic philosopher, and the fifth head of the Vyāsarāya Maṭha founded by Rājēndratīrtha in the fifteenth century and renamed after this teacher. Prof. Aufrecht[1] ascribes his death to 1539 A. D. and further says that he was the founder of the *maṭha*. As a matter of fact, he was only the fifth head of the *maṭha* and lived, according to the *Vyāsarāyāshṭaka* of Vidyāratnākara-svāmin, in 1447-1539. The exact date of his birth is given as Sunday, Prabhava, Vaiśākha-śukla 7[2], corresponding to the 27th April 1447 A. D. The story of Vyāsarāya's birth is variously given in the *Vyāsavijaya* of Śrīnivāsatīrtha who is not identical with the nephew and immediate successor of Vyāsarāya but was a later hagiologist, and in the *Vyāsayōgicharita*,[3] a *champū* written by the poet Sōmanātha, an Advaitin of Kāñchīpura, who became an admiring disciple of the teacher in his later days. Both these versions agree that Vyāsatīrtha, whose juvenile name was Yatirāja, was the child of Balhaṇa Sumati, a native of Bannūr in Mysore, and his wife Lakshmī, as a result of the special grace of Brahmaṇyatīrtha or Subrahmaṇyatīrtha, the fourth head of the *maṭha*, afterwards known as Vyāsarāya's *maṭha*. Young Yatirāja was spiritually educated and trained by Brahmaṇyatīrtha and was invested, according to Vidyāratnākara-svāmin, with the headship of his *maṭha* in Sarvajit, Vaiśākha-kṛishṇa 12 (1467 A. D.). Mr. Venkoba Rao places the event in 1475 ; but it seems to me that it might be a few years later.

The Vijayanagara king Vīra-Narasiṁha of the Tuḷuva family is described by the poet Sōmanātha as having worshipped Vyāsarāya more than his father as Daśaratha worshipped Vasishṭha. According to the poet, it was in his time that Vyāsarāya completed his three great philosophic masterpieces, the *Tātparyachandrikā*, the *Nyāyāmṛita* and the *Tarkatāṇḍava*. It is probable that, by 1509 A. D. when Kṛishṇadēvarāya came to the throne, and when Vyāsarāya would have been about sixty years of age, he gave the finishing touches to the *Vyāsa-traya* as these works are collectively called.

Kṛishṇadēvarāya is credited by the poet Sōmanātha with the actual worship of Vyāsarāya. He is said to have visited him thrice a day for receiving instruction. Once the king of Kaliṅga (Pratāparudra) sent an Advaitic work to the Vijayanagar emperor for opinion, and he sent it back with the thoroughly searching criticisms of the Dvaitic philosopher to whose judgment he had submitted it. On another occasion, Kṛishṇadēvarāya is said to have seated Vyāsarāya on a throne and performed *kanak-ābhishēka* on his person, and the latter, with characteristic self-abnegation, gave away the gems showered on him to the learned poor. The *abhishēka*, continues the poet, saved the emperor from the fruits of his sins and gave him victory on the battle-field.

From 1520 A. D. onwards we have a number of Kṛishṇadēvarāya's grants which indicate that Vyāsarāya was a conspicuous figure at his court. The only record previous to 1520 A. D. referring to Vyāsarāya is No. 370 of 1919, dated in Śaka 1433 (1511-12 A. D.).

It has, however, to be noted that the claim of the above poet that Vyāsarāya was the royal *guru* should not be taken in the sense that the emperor had no other religious guide. From the time of Virūpāksha, according to the *Prapannāmṛita*,[4] and certainly, to judge from inscriptions,

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[1] *Catal. Catal.*, p. 619.

[2] The date is not regular as the week-day should be Saturday. The author moreover differs from the more authoritative Sōmanātha-kavi in respect of the genealogy of this teacher.

[3] This work, which is a fine literary piece, has been edited very ably by Mr. Venkoba Rao of Bangalore. The historical introduction is very erudite, though not without controversial discussions and conclusions.

[4] S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, pp. 71-79, No. 27.

from the time of Krishṇadēvarāya onward, the *guru* who occupied the primary place at Vijayanagar was Tātāchārya. At Tirupati itself, from 1511-12 A. D., we have five epigraphs which record the gifts of holy offerings to the *Āchārya* Kumāra-Tātaiyaṅgār. From 1521 to 1528 A. D., Vyāsarāya figures largely in the donative epigraphs of Tirupati. The present grant was, in respect of chronology, older than the Oḍḍampaṭṭu grant[1] made in April 1528 A. D. It may be pointed out here that Vyāsarāya continued to play an important part in the Vijayanagara court even after the death of Krishṇadēvarāya in 1530 A.D. and the accession of his brother Achyutarāya (1530-42 A. D.). A noteworthy event[2] in the saint's life in this reign was his installation of the image of Yōga-Narasiṁha in the courtyard of the Viṭṭhala temple at Hampe on Thursday, Vaishṇava-nakshatra, Śrāvaṇa ba. 2, Indra-yōga, Śaka 1454, Nandana, corresponding to the 18th July 1532 A. D.

Vyāsarāya exercised considerable influence on the development of Dvaitic thought not only through his own philosophic skill, but by training a number of illustrious disciples. Another meritorious aspect of his work was the combination of music in Sanskrit as well as Kannaḍa with philosophy. He composed songs embodying in them his teachings in the *Mandāramañjari* series, thus democratising Dvaitism. A number of these songs have been included in the *Dāsarapadas* ; and a number of them in Sanskrit are yet to see the light. In popularising the religion and philosophy of *bhakti* through music, Vyāsarāya depended chiefly on his illustrious disciple Purandaradāsa of Paṇḍaripura, who was the saintly founder of the order of the Haridāsas and enriched the world with the *kīrtanas* called *dēvaranāmas* which are sung even today.

Vyāsarāya exercised considerable influence on the contemporary movements of Vallabhāchārya and Chaitanya. According to the *Śrī-Vallabhāchāryacharita* of Muralīdharadāsa,[3] Śrī-Vallabha went to the court of Krishṇadēvarāya and saved the Vaishṇavas from being defeated by controversialists, for which he was honoured with *kanak-ābhishēka*. In his *Sampradāyapuradīpikā*,[4] Gada observes that the assembly in Krishṇadēva's court, where Vallabha defeated his opponents, was presided over by ~~Vyāsātīrtha~~. Though the writers on Vallabhaism give exaggerated accounts of Vyāsatīrtha's obligations to Vallabha, there is nothing improbable in Vallabha paying visit to Vijayanagara.

Vyāsarāya's influence on the contemporary Chaitanya movement is obvious from the fact that Chaitanya, who was, like Vallabha, a younger contemporary of Vyāsarāya, took the Sannyāsio robes from an ascetic of Mādhva persuasion. Kavikarṇapūra, the son of a direct disciple of Chaitanya, refers in his *Gaurāṅgagaṇōddēśadīpikā* (1577 A. D.) to the works of Vyāsarāyatīrtha as the *Vishṇu-saṁhitā*. The method of appealing to the masses through music and dance was specialised by Chaitanya as much as by Purandaradāsa,[5] the disciple of Vyāsarāyā.

According to Purandaradāsa, Vyāsarāya died on Phālguna śu. 4 of Vilambi, corresponding to Saturday, the 8th March 1539 A. D. His *bṛindāvana* is located in an island in the Tuṅgabhadrā near Hampe.

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[1] *Tirupati Devasthanam Inscriptions*, Vol. III, pp. 358-60, No. 175.

[2] *A. R. Ep.*, 1922-23, para. 84.

[3] Seshagiri Sastri's *Rep. on Sanskrit and Tamil Mss.*, 1896-97, No. I, p. 24. The author calls Vijayanagara by the wrong name of Viśākhanagara.

[4] Ibid., p. 16.

[5] [It is interesting to note that this Purandaradāsa is referred to in three places in the present record (lines 269-70 and 426). From these the following information is gathered about him. He belonged to the Vasishṭha *gōtra* and Yajus *śākhā* and had three sons, viz. Lakshmaṇadāsa, Hēbaṇadāsa and Madhvapadāsa. This account differs in certain respects from the traditional details. See Karmarkar and Kalamdani, *Mystic Teachings of the Haridāsas of Karṇāṭak*, p. 49.—P.B.D.]

TEXT[1]

[Metre : verses 1, 6-7, 13-15, 17-343, 345-50 *Anushṭubh* ; verses 2-5, 9-11, 16 *Sragdharā* ; verse 8 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 12 *Dōdhaka* ; verse 344 *Gīti* ; verse 351 *Śālinī*.]

Second Plate, First Side

1 t-paṁkti-rathād=iva[2] [||*] Vīrau vinaya(yi)nau Rāma-Lakshmaṇāv=iva nandanau [|*]

2 jātau Vīra-Nṛisiṁhēndra-Kṛishṇarāya-mahīpatī [|| 1*] Vīra-śrī-Nārasiṁ-

3 haḥ sa Vijayanagarē ratna-siṁhāsanasthāḥ(sthaḥ) kīrtyā nītyā nirasyan

4 [Nṛi*]ga-Nala-Nahushān=apy=avanyām=ath=ānyān | ā-Sētōr=ā-Sa(Su)mērōr=avani-

5 sura-nutaḥ svairam=ā-rō(ch=ō)de(da)y-ādrēr=ā-paśchāty-āchal-āṁtād=akhila-hṛidayam=āvarjya

6 rājyaṁ śaśāsa [|| 2*] Nānā-dānāny=akārshā(rshī)t=kanaka-sadasi yaḥ śrī-Virūpāha(ksha)dēva-

7 sthānē śrī-Kālahastīśitur=api nagarē Vēṁkaṭādrau cha Kāṁchyāṁ(chyām) | Śrīśailē Śōṇa-

8 śailē mahati Hariharē=hōbalē Saṁgamē cha Śrīraṁgē Kuṁbhaghō(kō)ṇē hata-tamasi

9 Mahānaṁti(di)-tīrthē Nivṛittyau(ttau) [|| 3*] Gōkarṇē Rāmasētau jagati tad-itarēshv=apy=a-

10 śēshēshu puṇya-sthānēshv=ālabdha[3]-nānāvidha-bahala-mahādāna-vā-

11 ri-pravāhaiḥ | yasy=ōdaṁchat-turaṁga-prakara-khura-rajaḥ-śushyad-aṁbō(bhō)dhi-

12 magna-kshmābhṛit-paksha-kshi(chchhi)d-ōdda(dya)t-tara[4]-Kuliśadhar-ōtkaṁṭhitā kuṁṭhit=ā-

13 bhūt [|| 4*] Brahmāṁḍaṁ viśva-chakraṁ ghaṭam=udita-mahābhūtakaṁ ratna-dhēnuṁ sapt-āṁ-

14 bhōdhiṁ cha kalpa-kshitiruha-latikē kāṁchanīṁ Kāmadhēnuṁ(num) | svarṇā(ṇa)-kshmāṁ

15 yō hiraṁ(ra)ṇy-āśva-ratham=api tulā-pūrushaṁ gō-sahasraṁ hēm-āśvaṁ hēma-

16 garbhaṁ kanaka-kari-rathaṁ paṁcha-lāṁgaly=atānīt [|| 5*] Prājyaṁ praśāsya

17 nirvighnaṁ rājyaṁ dyām=iva śāsituṁ(tum) | tasmin=guṇēna vikhyātē kshi-

18 tār=indrē divaṁ gatē [|| 6*] Tatō=py=avārya-vīra-śrī-Kṛishṇarāya-mahīpatiḥ |

19 bibharti maṇi-kēyūra-nirviśēsha[ṁ*] mahīṁ bhujē [|| 7*] Kīrtyā yasya sa-

20 maṁtataḥ prasṛitayā viśvaṁ ruch=aikyaṁ vrajēd=ity=āśa[ṁ*]kya purā Purāri-

21 r=abhavad=bhāl-ēkshaṇaḥ prāyaśaḥ | Padmākshō=pi chatur-bhujō=jani chatu-

22 r-vaktrō=bhavaḥt(vat)=Padma-bhūt (bhūḥ) Kālī khaḍgam=adhād=Ramā chcha(cha) kamalaṁ vīṇāṁ cha Vā-

23 ṇī karē [|| 8*] Śatrūṇāṁ vā[sa]m=ētē dadata [i]ti rushā kiṁ nu sapt-āṁbu-rāśī[n*] nānā-

24 sēnā-turaṁga-truṭita-va[su]matī-dhūlikā-pālikābhiḥ | saṁśōshya svai-

25 ram=ētat-pratinidhi-jaladhi-śrēṇikā yō vidhattē Brahmāṇḍa-Svarṇa-

26 mēru-pramukha-nija-mahādāna-tōyair=amēyaiḥ [|| 9*] Mad-dattām=arthi-sārtha[ḥ*]

27 śriyam=iha suchiraṁ bhuṁjatām=ity=avētyaḥ(tya) prāyaḥ pratyūha-hētōs=ta-

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[1] From impressions supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

[2] This is the end of verse 13 of the Hampe inscription of Kṛishṇarāya (above, Vol. I, pp. 361 ff.). [See above, p. 139, n. 3.—Ed.]

[3] Cf. °*ēshv=ārabdha* elsewhere.

[4] Kielhorn considers it to be a mistake for '*ōdyat-kara*°'.

Second Plate, Second Side

28 pana-ratha-gatēr=ālayaṁ(yān) dēvatānāṁ(nām) | ta[t*]-tad-dig-jaitra-vṛity=āpi cha vi-

29 ruda-padaiḥ(dai)r=aṁkitāṁs=tatra tatra stambhāṁ(bhān)=jāta-pratishṭhān=vyatanuta bhuvi yō

30 bhūbhṛid-abhraṁkash-āgrān [|| 10*] Kāṁchī-Śrīśailē(la)-Śōṇāchala-Kanakasabhā-Vēṁkaṭā-

31 dri-pramukhyē[shv]=āvatyarvatyā[1] sarvēshv=atanuta vidhivad=bhūyasē śrēyasē yaḥ |

32 dêvasthānēshu tīrthēshv=api kanaka-tulāpūru[sh-ā*]dīni nānā-dānānyēyō-[2]

33 padānair-api sama[m=a*]khilair=āgam-ōktāni tāni [|| 11*] Rōsha-kṛita-prati-pārthi-

34 va-daṁḍaḥ Śēsha-bhuja-kshiti-rakshaṇa-śauṁḍaḥ [|*] bhāshege-tappuva-rāyara-ga(gaṁ)-ḍaḥ(ḍa)-

35 s=tōsha-krīdā(d=a)tthi(rtthi)shu yō raṇa-chaṁḍaḥ [|| 12*] Rājādhirāja ity=uktō yō Rājapara-

36 mēśvaraḥ | Mūrurāyaragaṁḍ-ākhya[ḥ*] Pararāyabhayaṁkaraḥ [|| 13*] Hindu-rāya-sura-

37 trāṇō dushṭa-śārdūla-mardanaḥ | Vīrapratāpa [i]ty-ādi-birudair=uchitai[r=*]yu-

38 taḥ [|| 14*] Ālōkaya mahārāya jaya jīv=ēti vādi[bhiḥ] | Aṁga-Va[ṁ*]ga-Kali[ṁ]-

39 g-ādyai rājabhiḥ sēvyatē cha yaḥ [|| 15*] Stuty-audārya[ḥ*] sudhībhi[ḥ*] sa Vijayanaga-

40 rē ratna-siṁhāsana-sthaḥ kshmāpālān Kṛishṇarāya-kshiti-patir=adharīkṛi-

41 tya nītyā Nṛig-ādīn [|*] ā pūrv-ādrēr=ath=āsta-kshiti-dhara-kaṭakād=ā cha Hē-

42 māchal-āṁtād=ā [sē*]tōr=artthi-sārtha-śriyam=iha bahalīkṛitya kī[r*]tyā samiṁ[dhē] [|| 16*]

43 Śālivāhana-nirṇītē **Śak-ābdē** daśabhiś=śataiḥ [| *] chatuś-śat-ānvitaiḥ

44 sapta-chatvāriṁśad-yutair=mitē [|| 17*] Vatsarē **Pārthiv**-ābhikhyē māsi Pa(Phā)lgu-

45 ṇa(na)-nāmani | śukla-pakshē śu[bhē*] lagnē puṁ(pu)ṇyāyāṁ dvādaśī-tithau [|| 18*] Tuṁga-

46 bhadr-āpagā-tīrē Viṭhalēśvara-saṁnidhau | Brahmaṇyatīrtha-śishyāya

47 brahma-dhyān-aika-chētasē [|| 19*] Vyākhyāt-ākhila-śāstrāya Vyāsatīrthāya

48 dhīmatē | Ghanagiryy-ākhya-rājy-āṁtarvartināṁ(naṁ) samupāśritaṁ(tam) [|| 20*]

49 Kōyyakuriki-sīma-sthaṁ Mukhuṭla-sthalam-āśritaṁ(tam) | Pullakulv-ā-

50 hvayād=gra(grā)māt prāchīm=āśām=upāśritaṁ(tam) [|| 21*] Guṭiva(vā)ḍ-āhvayād=grāmā-

51 d=āgnēyā(yī)m=āśritaṁ disa[m*] | Kuṁdalapāṭuku-gga(grā)mād=dakshiṇāṁ diśa-

52 m=āśritaṁ(tam) [|| 22*] Grākāṭalakalv-ākhyā(hvayān)=nairutiṁ(ṛitīṁ) diśam=āśritaṁ(tam) | grāmā-

53 d=Bōyiṁḍapallv-ākhyāt=paśchimāyāṁ diśi sthitaṁ(tam) [|| 23*] Gaṁganāyanapa-

54 llītō vāyavīṁ diśam=āśritaṁ(tam) | Mallakkumaṭuku-grāmād=uttarasyāṁ diśi

55 sthitaṁ(tam) [|| 24*] Vēlūru-nāmakād=grāmāda(d=ai)śānīṁ diśam=āśritaṁ(tam) | svāggama.

56 ..māru-Gītapallī-samanvitaṁ(tam) [|| 25*] Svīya-grāmaṭik-ōpeta-Kamma-

57 chēyu-samanvitaṁ(tam) | Rām-ā[khya]-gga(grā)mak-ōpētaṁ Kaṁdukūru-samanvitaṁ-(tam) [|| 26*]

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[1] Read °āvaty=āvartya.

[2] Read dānāny=ēv=ō°.

Third Plate, First Side

58 Guraṁvayalu-saṁjñēna grāmakēṇa samanvitaṁ(tam) | Kṛishṇarāyapuram=[illegible]

59 ti prati-nāma-samā(ma)nvitaṁ(tam) [|| 27*] Grāmaṁ Vyāsasamudr-ākhyaṁ Bhaṭṭakōṁḍ-ā-

60 par-āhvayaṁ(yam) | sarva-mānyaṁ chatuḥ-sīmā-saṁyutaṁ cha samaṁtataḥ [|| 28*] Nidhi-

61 nikshēpa-pāshāṇa-siddha-sādhya-jal-ānvitaṁ(tam) | akshiṇy-āgāmi-saṁ-

62 yuktam=ēka-bhōgyaṁ sa-bhūruhaṁ(ham) [|| 29*] Vāpī-kūpa-taṭākaiś=cha kachchhēn=āpi

63 samanvitaṁ(tam) | śishya-praśishya-[saṁ*]bhōgyaṁ [kramād=ā*]-chaṁdra-tārakaṁ(kam) [|| 30*] Dānasy=ādhama-

64 nasy=āpi vikrayasy=āpi ch=ōchitaṁ(tam) | parītaḥ prayataiḥ snigdhaiḥ pu-

65 rōhita-purōgamaiḥ [|| 31*] Vividhair=vibudhai[ḥ*] śrauta-pathikair=adhikair=girā |

66 Kṛishṇadēva-mahārāyo mānanīyō manasvināṁ(nām) [|| 32*] Sa-hiraṁ(ra)ṇya-payō-dhā-

67 rā-pūrvakaṁ dattavān mudā | [32A*][1]

68 Śrīvatsa-gōtraḥ Kaṁbhālu-Rājēṁdrasya tan-ūdbhavaḥ | yajvā Janārdda-

69 n-ābhikhyō bahvṛichō=tr=āshṭa-vṛittikaḥ [|| 33*] Śrīvatsa-gōtrajas=sūnu[ḥ*] śrī-Janārddana-yaja(jva)-

70 naḥ | dhīmā[ṁ*]s=Timaṇa-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō baha(hvṛi)chō=tra dvi-vṛittikaḥ [|| 34*] Sūnu(nū) Rāj[ē]ṁdra-bhaṭṭasya Śrīvatsa-

71 sānvaya[2]-saṁbhavaḥ | baha(hvṛi)chō Lakshmaṇ-ābhikhyō dhīmātsa(mān) s-ārdha-tri-vṛittikaḥ [|| 35*] Sūnuḥ Kadi-

72 ri-bhaṭṭasya sudhī[ḥ*] Śrīvatsa-gōtrajaḥ | bahva(hvṛi)chō=nanta-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō vṛitti-dvayam=ih=āśnutē [|| 36*]

73 Śrī-Nvā(Nā)rasiṁha-bhaṭṭ-ākhya-sūriḥ Kadiri-bhaṭṭa-jaḥ | Śrīvatsa-sagōtra[3]-saṁbhūtō ba-

74 hvṛichō=tr=aika-vṛittikaḥ [|| 37*] Sūnuḥ Kadiri-bhaṭṭasya Śrīvatsa-sānvaya[2]-saṁbhavaḥ | [Uṭṭai]-

75 ya-bhaṭṭa-nām=āsau bahva(hvṛi)chas=tē(tv=ē)ka-vṛittikaḥ [|| 38*] Śrīvatsa-gōtra-[saṁ*]-bhūtō Nārasiṁha-sudhī-

76 suta[ḥ] | s-ārddha-tri-vṛittikō yajvā Nṛihary-ākhyō=tra baha(hvṛi)chaḥ [|| 39*] Śrī-Chūḍāmaṇi-bhaṭṭasya

77 sūnuḥ Śrīvatsa-gōtrakaḥ | dhīmān=Nṛihari-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō bahvṛichō=tra dvi-vṛittikāḥ(kaḥ) [|| 40*] Sūrē-

78 s=Tirumal-ākhyasya sūnu[ḥ*] Śrīvatsa-gōtrakaḥ | śrī-Chūḍāmaṇi-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō bahvṛichō=tra

79 dvi-vṛittikaḥ [|| 41*] Sūrēs-Tirumal-ākhyasya sūnu[ḥ*] Śrīvatsa-gōtrakaḥ | bahvṛichō=na[ṁ]ta-

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[1] Verse 32A is not complete. The other half and one full *Anushṭubh* verse, for which there is just sufficient blank space, can be filled up thus :

pratigṛihya cha taṁ grāmaṁ Vyāsatīrthō dvijēndrasāt ||
Vyadhāt=svasya cha puṇyāya Kṛishṇarāya-mahīpatēḥ |
vṛittimantō=tra likhyantē viprā vēdānta-pāragāḥ ||

[2] Read *Śrīvats-ānvaya°*.

[3] Read *gōtra*.

80 bhaṭṭ-ākhyō vṛitti-dvayam=ih=āśnutē [|| 42*] Śrīvatsa-gā(gō)tra-jō dhīmāna(mān) Yajña-nārāyaṇ-āhvaya[ḥ*] |

81 s-ārdh-aika-tra(vṛi)ttikas=sūnus=Timmā-bhaṭṭasya bahva(hvṛi)chaḥ [|| 43*] Sūrēs=Tirumal-ākhyasya naṁda-

82 nō Harit-ānvayaḥ | yājushō=naṁ[ta*]-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō va(vṛi)ttim=ēka(kā)m=ih=āśnutē || [44*] Kauḍi(ṇḍi)nya-

83 gōtra-jas=sūnur=Vaṁnu-bhaṭṭasya yājushaḥ | ....bhaṭṭ-āhvayā(yō) dhīmān vṛittim=ēkā-

84 m=ih=āśnutē || [45*] Dhīmān=Ahōbal-ābhikhyo yājushaḥ Kāśyap-āna(nva)yaḥ | sūnus=Tiruma-

85 l-ākhyasya sujanō=tr=aika-vṛittikaḥ [|| 46*] Kāśyap-ānvaya-saṁbhūta[1] sūnus=Tirumal-ā-

Third Plate, Second Side

86 khyasya yājushaḥ Kāśyap-ānvayaḥ | Rāmā-bhaṭṭ-āhvayō=tr=aikāṁ vṛittim=āpnōti yāju-

87 shaḥ || [47*] Śrī-Nārasiṁha-bhaṭṭasya naṁdanaḥ Kāśyap-ānvayaḥ | yājushō Vādi-bha-

88 ṭṭ-ākhyō vṛitti-dvayam=ih=āśnutē [|| 48*] Naṁdanō Bhānu-bhaṭṭasya yājushaḥ Kāśyap-ānva-

89 yaḥ | dhīmān Lakshmaṇa-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō vṛittim=ēkām=ih=āśnutē [|| 49*] Kāśyap-ānvaya-jō

90 dhīmān=U[ṭa]yaṁ-bhaṭṭa-naṁdanaḥ | Naraharyy-āhvayō=tr=aika[2]-vṛitti-dvayam=atr=aiti yāju-

91 shaḥ [|| 50*] Sūnur=Mādhava-bhaṭṭasya yājushaḥ Kāśyap-ānvayaḥ | Ahōbal-āhvayō [dhī*]-mān=a-

92 tra s-ārdh-aika-vṛittikaḥ [|| 51*] Sūnur=Ma(Mā)dhava-bhaṭṭasya yājushaḥ Kāśyap-ānvayaḥ | Na-

93 raharyy-āhvayō dhīmān=atra s-ārdh-aika-vṛittikaḥ [|| 52*] Kāśyap-ānvaya-saṁbhūtaś=Chēṁ-

94 nā-Ōkta(ba)lu-naṁdanaḥ | bahvṛichō Chē(chaś=Chē)na-bhaṭṭō=smin dhīmān s-ārdh-aika-vṛi-

95 ttikaḥ [|| 53*] Chēṁnā-Ōttulu(bala)-jō dhīmān bahvṛichaḥ Kāśyap-ānvayaḥ | s-ārdh-ai-

96 ka-vṛittim=atr=aiti Chauṁḍi-bhaṭṭō mahā-matiḥ [|| 54*] Sūrēs=Tirumal-ākhyasya sūnus=Ti-

97 rumal-āhvayaḥ | vṛittim=ēkām=ih=āpnōti bahvṛichaḥ Kāśyap-ānvayaḥ [|| 55*] Sūnus=Ti-

98 rumal-ākhyasya yajvanaḥ Kāśyap-ānvayaḥ | Tippā-bhaṭṭ-āhvayō=tr=aikāṁ vṛitti-

99 m=āpnōti bahvṛichaḥ [|| 56*] Ahōbala-sudhī-sūnur=bahvṛichaḥ Kāśyap-ānvayaḥ | śrī-Gaṁ-

100 gādhara-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō vṛittim=ēkām=ih=āśnutē [|| 57*] Naṁdanō Bhānu-bhaṭṭasya yājushaḥ

101 Kāśyap-ānvayaḥ | atra śrī-Basavā-bhaṭṭaḥ(ṭṭō) dhīmān s-ārdha(rdh-ai)[ka*]-vṛittikaḥ [|| 58*] Pratāpa-

102 kṛishṇa-bhaṭṭasya sūnur=Ātrēya-gōtrakaḥ | bahvṛichō=naṁta-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō vṛitti-dvaya-

103 [m=i]h=āśnutē [|| 59*] Pratāpakṛishṇa-bhaṭṭasya naṁdanō=hōbal-āhvayaḥ | bahvṛichō=tr=āśnu-

104 tē vṛitti-dvi(dva)yam=Ātrēya-gōtra-jaḥ [|| 60*] Pratāpakṛishṇa-bhaṭṭasya sūnur=Ātrēya-gōtra-

[1] This expression is redundant.

[2] These two syllables are redundant.

105 jaḥ | bahvṛichō Basavā-bhaṭṭō vṛitti-dvayi(ya)ma(m=i)h=āśnutē [|| 61*] Yājushō Naraharyy-ākhyō dhī-

106 mān=Ātrēya-gōtra-jaḥ | s-ārdh-aika-vṛittim=atr=aiti Maṁtramūrti-tanūtbha(dbha)vaḥ [|| 62*] Sū-

107 nur=Vakkala-bhaṭṭasya yājushō Gārgya-gōtra-jaḥ | yajvā Tirumal-ābhikhyō vṛi-

108 tti-dvayam=ih=āśnutē [|| 63*] Sūnus=Tirumal-ākhyasya yajvanō Gārgya-gōtra-jaḥ |

109 yājushas=Tiṁmap-ākhyō=tra dhīmān s-ārdh-aika-vṛittikaḥ [|| 64*] Gārgya-gōtra-bha-

110 vas=sūnur=Abbā-bhaṭṭasya yājushaḥ | s-ārdh-aika-vṛittim=atr=aiti Tippā-bhaṭṭō

111 dhiy=ōṁnataḥ [|| 65*] Śrī-Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭasya naṁdanō Gārgya-gōtra-jaḥ | yā-

112 jushaś=Śiṁgay-ābhikhyō vṛitti-dvayam=ih=āśnutē [|| 66*] Mātga(Maudga)lya-gōtra-jas=sū-

113 nur=Anaṁ-bhaṭṭasya bahvṛichaḥ | Aṁnaṁ-bhaṭṭ-āhvaya[sa](yaḥ) sa(s-ā)rddha-vṛitti-dvayam=ih=āśnutē [|| 67*] A-

114 gastya-gōtra-jas=sūnuś=Chi(ś=Chi)na-bhaṭṭasya bahvṛichaḥ | Guruvapp-āhvayā(yō) dhīmān vṛitti-

115 m=ēkām=i[h=ā*]śnutē [|| 68*] Śrīvatsa(ts-ā)nvaya-sa(saṁ)bhūtō Gururāya-tan-ūdbhavaḥ | Śrīnu(ni)vās-ā-

Fourth Plate, First Side

116 hvayō dhīmān=atra s-ārdha-dvi-vṛittikaḥ [|| 69*] Śrīnivāsa-sudhīs=s-ārdha-vṛi-

117 tti-dvayam=ih=āśnutē | Kau[thi](ṇḍi)nya-gōtra-saṁbhūtas=Sarvā-[dī*]kshita-na[ṁ]danaḥ [|| 70*] Ti[ṁ]-

118 m-āvadhānī s-ā[r]dh-aika-vṛittim=atr=aiti yājusha[ḥ*] | Sūrēs=Tirumal-ākhyasya sūnuḥ

119 Kauḍi(ṇḍi)nya-gōtrakaḥ [|| 71*] Sarva-bhaṭṭa(ṭṭ-ā)hvayō=tr=aikā[ṁ*] vṛittima(m=ā)pnōti yājushaḥ | sūnu-

120 r=Gē(r=Gō)viṁda-bhaṭṭasya Bhāradvāj-ānvayē(y-ō)dbhavaḥ[1] [|| 72*]

121 Sūnūś=Śiṁgari-bhaṭṭasya yājushas=Ti[ṁ*]may-āhvayaḥ | Ā-

122 trēya-gōtra-saṁbhūtō dhīmān s-ārdh-aika-vṛittikaḥ [|| 73*] Sūnuḥ Śiṁka(ga)ri-bha-

123 ṭṭasyā(sya) dhīmān=Ātra(trē)ya-gōtra-jaḥ | yājushō=tr=āśnutē vṛittiṁ(tti)m=ēkā[ṁ*] Na-

124 rasay-āhvayaḥ [|| 74*] Āgastsa(stya)-gōtra-saṁbhūtō Narasayyasya naṁdanaḥ | Gōviṁda-

125 bhaṭṭas=s-ārdh-aika-vṛittim=atrē(tr=ai)ti yājushaḥ [|| 75*] Vasishṭa(shṭha)-gōtra-jō dhīmān śrī-

126 Viru(rū)pāksha-bhaṭṭa-jaḥ | bahvri(hvṛi)chō Lakkaṇ-ābhikhyō vṛitti-dvayam=ih=āśnutē [|| 76*] Naṁ-

127 danō Raṁku-bhaṭṭasya Viśvāmitr=ānvay-ō[t]bha(dbha)vaḥ | bahvri(hvṛi)chu(cha)s=Timmay-ābhi-

128 khyō vṛittim=ēkām=ih=āśnutē [|| 77*] Viśvāmitr-ānvayas= sūnur=Māyi-bhaṭṭasya

129 bahvṛichaḥ | sūrī Raṁkuras-ābhikhyō vṛittim=ēkām=ih=āśnutē [|| 78*] Śrī-Nāra-

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[1] There is a blank space for eleven or twelve *aksharas* after this. The word *sūnu* in the beginning of the next line was first written and then erased. This word is again engraved after some space.

130 siṁha-bhaṭṭasya naṁdanō=gastya-gōtra-jaḥ | yājushō=hōbalay-ākh[y*]ō dhī-

131 mān s-ārdh-aika-vṛittikaḥ [|| 79*] Agastya-gōtra-[saṁ*]jātō[1]......naṁ-

132 naṁdanaḥ | yājushō Narasayy-ākhyō vṛittim=ēkām=ih= āśnutē [|| 80*] Vasishṭa(shṭha)-

133 gōtra-saṁbhūta[ḥ*] śrī-Virūpāksha-bhaṭṭa-jaḥ | Pūchi-bhaṭṭō=tra s=ārdh-aika-vṛitta(tti)

134 m=āpnōti bahvi(hvṛi)chaḥ [|| 81*] Śrī-Nārasiṁha-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō Vasishā(shṭh-ā)nvaya-saṁbhavaḥ [| *]

135 vṛittiṁ(tti)m=ēkām=ih=āpnōti bahvri(hvṛi)chō vidushāṁ varaḥ [|| 82*] Sūnus=Timma-rasa-

136 yyasya yājushaḥ Kāśyap-ānvayaḥ | Lakshmīnārāyaṇ-ābhikhyō vṛitti-dva-

137 yam=ih=āśnutē [|| 83*] Kāśyap-ānvaya-jas=sūnus=Timmā-bhaṭṭasya yājushaḥ | s-ā-

138 rdh-aika-vṛittim=atr=aiti Śśrī(Śrī)nivāsas=satāṁ varaḥ [|| 84*] Kāśyap-ānvaya-jas=sūnu-

139 s=Timmā-bhaṭṭasya yājushaḥ | s=ārdh-aika-vṛittim=atr=aiti Mukhyaprāṇō mahā-

140 matiḥ [|| 85*] Sūris=Tirumalla[yy-ākhyō] bahva(hvṛi)chō Nāgap-ātmajaḥ | śrī-Jāmada-

141 gnya-vastāpa[2]-gōtrakō=tr=ārdha-vṛittikaḥ || [86*] Gautam-ānvaya-saṁbhūtas=sū-

Fourth Plate, Second Side

142 nur=Vāmana-yajvanaḥ | dhīmān=Ahōbal-ābhikhyōs(khyas)=tripād-vṛitti-

143 m=ih=āśnutē [|| 87*] Vasishṭa(shṭha)-gōtra-jas=sūnuś=Śikkā-bhaṭṭasya yājushaḥ |

144 Vallaṁ-bhaṭṭ-āhvayō dhīmān vṛitti-dvayam=ih=āśnutē [|| 88*] Sūris=Tiru-

145 mal-ābhikhya[ś=Śi]kkā-bhaṭṭasya naṁdanaḥ | s-ārdh-aika-vṛittim=atr=aiti sāmagaḥ Kau-

146 śik-ānvayaḥ [|| 89*] Naṁdanō=naṁta-bhaṭṭasya Kauṁḍiny-ānvaya-saṁbhavaḥ | sū-

147 ris=Tirumal-ābhikhyō yājushō=tr=aika-vṛittikaḥ [|| 90*] Śrī-Nārasiṁha-bhaṭṭa-

148 sya naṁdanō Gautam-ānvayaḥ | bhū-surō=hōbal-ābhikhyō dhīmān s-ā-

149 rdha-dvi-vṛittikaḥ [|| 91*] Śrī-Ramacha[ṁ*]dra-bhaṭṭasya sūnu[ḥ*] Śrīvatsa-gōtra-jaḥ |

150 [dhī*]mān(māṁ)s=Tirumal-ābhikhyō yājushō=tr=aika-vṛittikaḥ [|| 92*] Śrī-Nārasiṁha-bha-

151 ṭṭasya naṁdanaḥ Kausik-ānvayaḥ | yājushaś=Chēṁni-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō vṛittim=ēkā-

152 m=ih=āśnutē [|| 93*] Nāgā-bhaṭṭa-sūto dhīmān bahvṛichaḥ Kāśyap-ānvayaḥ | vṛi-

153 tti-dvayam=ih=āpnōti sūnu(ri)s=Tirumal-āhvayaḥ [|| 94*] Sūrēs=Ti[ru*]mal-ākhyasya

154 sūnuḥ Kāśyapa-gōtra-jaḥ | Śēshādri-bhaṭṭa[ḥ*] s-ārdh-āika-vṛittim=atr=aiti

155 bahvṛichaḥ [|| 95*] Vādhūla-gōtra-jas=sūnur=Vallaṁ-bhaṭṭasya yājushaḥ | Dhīmā-

156 n(ṁ)s=Tirumal-ābhikhyō vṛittim=ēkām=ih=āśnutē [|| 96*] Nārasiṁha-sudhī-sū-

157 nur=yyājushaḥ Kāśyap-ānvayaḥ | s-ārdha-dvi-vṛittim=atr=aiti dhīmān(māṁ)-

158 s=Tirumal-āhvayaḥ [|| 97*] Sūnu[ḥ] śrī-Nārasiṁhasya yājushaḥ Kāśyap-ānvayaḥ |

159 s-ārdh-aika-vṛittim=atr=aiti Vishṇa(shṇu)-bhaṭṭō mahāmatiḥ [|| 98*] Śrī-Nārāyaṇa-

160 bhaṭṭ-ākhyō yājushaḥ Kāśyap-ānvayaḥ | Śrī-Nārasiṁha-bhaṭṭasya sūnu[ḥ*] s-ā-

[1] The reading of the name after this is doubtful.

[2] The intended reading seems to be °*Vats-ākhyā*.

161 rdh-aika-vṛittikaḥ [|| 99*] Śrī-Nārasiṁha-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō yājushaḥ Kāśyap-ānva-
162 yaḥ | Śrī-Nārasiṁha-bhaṭṭasya sūnus=s-ārdh-aika-vṛittikaḥ [|| 100*] Kāuśik-ānva-
163 ya-jas=sūnus=Tippā-bhaṭṭasya bahvṛichaḥ | Śrī-Janārddana-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō
164 dhīmān s-ārdh-aika-vṛittikaḥ [|| 101*] Śrī-Rāmachaṁdra-bhaṭṭ-ākhyo Basavā-
165 bhaṭṭa-naṁdanaḥ | atr=aikām=aśnūtē vṛittiṁ bahvṛichaḥ Kāśyap-ānvayaḥ [|| 102*]
166 Kāśyap-ānvaya-jaś(ja)ś=Chikkabasavā-bhaṭṭa-naṁdanaḥ | dhīmāns=Ti(māṁs=Ti)ru-

Fifth Plate, First Side

167 malayy-ākhyo bahvṛichō=tr=aika-vṛittikaḥ [|| 103*] Maudgalya-gōtra-saṁbhūtō dhī-
168 mān Kōṁ[kka]ras-ātmajaḥ | śrīmad-Viṭṭaras-ābhikhyō bahvṛichō=tra dvi-vṛi-
169 ttikaḥ [|| 104*] Vasishṭa(shṭha)-gōtra-saṁbhūtaḥ Kasavā-bhaṭṭa-naṁdanaḥ | bahvṛichaḥ Kṛishṇa-
170 bhaṭṭ-ākhyō ḍhīmān s-ārdh-aika-vṛittikaḥ [|| 105*] Vasishṭa(shṭh-ā)nvaya-saṁbhū-taḥ Kasa-
171 vā-bhaṭṭa-naṁdanaḥ | Kāśīpaty-āhvayō dhīmān bahvṛichō=rai(tr=ai)ka=vṛitti-
172 kaḥ [|| 106*] Sūnu[ḥ*] Śrīraṁga-bhaṭṭasya yājushō Harit-ānvayaḥ | dhīmān(ṁ)s=Ti-
173 rumal-ābhikhyō sūris=s-ārdh-aika-vṛittikaḥ [|| 107*] Bhāradvāj-ānvayas=sūnur=Aṁ(A)-
174 lla(llaṁ)-bhaṭṭasya bahvṛichaḥ | Mukuṁda-bhaṭṭ-āhvayō(ṭṭ-āhvō) dhīmān=ardha-vṛittim=ih=
175 āśnutē [108*] Viśvāmitr-ānvayas=sūnur=Hoṁnaṁ-bhaṭṭasya bahvṛichaḥ | Dhīmāṁs=Ti-
176 rumalayy-ākhyō vṛittim=ēkām=ih=āśnutē [|| 109*] Pārghas-ānvaya-jaḥ Kāṇvō Nā-
177 rasiṁhō mahā-matiḥ | nandanō=hōbalayyasya dhīmān s-ārdh-aika-vṛitti-
178 kaḥ [|| 110*] Pārghas-ānvaya-jaḥ Kāṇvō=hōbalayyasya naṁdanaḥ | s-ārdh-aika-vṛitti-
179 m=atr=aiti manīshī Kēśav-āhvayaḥ [|| 111*] Bhāradvāj-ānvayaḥ Kāṇvō dhīmā[n*] Na-
180 rasay-ātmajaḥ | Śrī-Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō vṛittim=ēkām=ih=āśnutē [|| 112*] Sū-
181 nuḥ Kēśava-bhaṭṭasya Rāma-jyautishik-āhvayaḥ | Kauṁḍinya-gōtra-jō=tr=ā-
182 rddhaṁ(rdha)-vṛittim=āpnōt[i*] yājushaḥ [|| 113*] Sūnur=Immaḍirājasya Śrīvatus-ā(ts-ā)nva-
183 ya-saṁbhavaḥ | dhīmān Kēśavarāj-ākhyō bahvṛichō=tra tri-vṛittikaḥ [|| 114*] Sū-
184 nur=Jānamarājasya bahvṛichō Gai(Gau)tam-ānvayaḥ | dhīmān Basavarāj-
185 ākhyō vṛitti-trayam=ih=āśnutē [|| 115*] Naṁdanō Jantirājasya Śrīvats-ānvaya-
186 saṁbhavaḥ | bahvṛichas=Timmay-ābhikhyō vṛittim=ēkām=ih=āśnutē [|| 116*] Ahōbala-
187 sudhī-sūnur=yyājushaḥ Kāśyap-ānvayaḥ | manīshī Raṁgay-ābhikhyō vṛi-
188 tti-dvayam=ih=āśnutē [|| 117*] Dhīmāṁ(mān) Narasay-ābhikhya[ḥ*] śrī-Tirumalanā[tha]-
189 jaḥ | vṛitti-dvayam=ih=āpnōti bahvṛichaḥ Kāśyap-ānvayaḥ [|| 118*] Bahvṛichaḥ Kauśi-
190 ka-śrīmad-Viśvāmitr-ānvay-ōdbhavaḥ | s-ārdh-aika-vṛittim=atr=aiti śrī-Nārā-
191 yaṇatimmayaḥ [|| 119*] Dhīmān Mātaras-ābhikhyō Viśvāmitr-ānvay-ōdbhavaḥ |
192 bahvṛichō Narasayyasya sūnus=s-ārdh-aika-vṛittikaḥ [|| 120*] Sūnur=Damaṇa-bhaṭṭa-

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193 sya Śaṭhamarsnaṇa-gōtra-jaḥ | ēkāṁ Damaṇa-bhaṭṭō=smin vṛittiṁ Bōdha(dhā)-

194 yanō=śnutē [|| 121*] Sūnur=Varadarājasya Śrīvats-ānvaya-saṁbhavaḥ | yājushō=

195 tra(tr=ā)śnutē vṛittim=ēkāṁ Tirumal-āhvayaḥ [|| 122*] Tiruvēṁkaṭanāth-ākhya[ḥ*] Śrīvat-

196 s-ānvaya-saṁbhavaḥ | sūnur-Varadarājasya yājush=ōtr=aika-vṛittikaḥ [|| 123*] Saha-

197 sranāma-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō Bhāradvāj-ānvay-ōnbha(dbha)vaḥ | Gummā-bhaṭṭa-sutō=tr=aikāṁ

198 vṛittim=āpnōti yājushaḥ [|| 124*] Appāḍaṁjūlu-sūnu[ḥ*] śrī-Kauṁḍiny-ānvaya-saṁ-

199 bhavaḥ | ardha-vṛittim=ih=āpnōti sōmayājī cha bahvṛichaḥ [|| 125*] Timmayasy=ātma-

200 ja[ḥ*] śrīmān yājushaḥ Kauśik-ānvayaḥ | ardha-vṛittim=ih=āpnōti [Ti*]mma-

201 yō dhīmatāṁ varaḥ [|| 126*] Śrīvatsa-gōtra-saṁbhūtas=Timmaṇasy=ātma-saṁ-

202 bhavaḥ | ya(yā)jushō=naṁta-bhaṭa(ṭṭ-ā)khyō dhīmān s-ārdh-aika-vṛittikaḥ [|| 127*] Yāju-

203 shaḥ Perumāl-bhaṭṭa-sūnuḥ Kauṁḍinya-gōtra-jaḥ | aśnutē=tra sa-pād-aika-

204 vṛittiṁ śrī-Purushōttamaḥ [|| 128*] Yājushaḥ Perumāl-bhaṭṭa-sūnuḥ Kauṁḍinya-gō-

205 tra-jaḥ | sūris=Tirumal-ābhikhyō vṛitti-dvayam=ih=āśnutē [|| 129*] Tāttā-bhaṭṭa-ta-

206 nūja[ḥ*] Śrīvatsa-gōtra-samudbhavaḥ | Nārāyaṇō=va(tra) s-ārdh-aika-vṛittim=āpnō-

207 ti yājushaḥ [|| 130*] Nṛisiṁha-dīkshitō dhīmān=yājushō Harit-ānvayaḥ | pa-

208 dōttraka[1]-vṛitti[ḥ*] śrī-Timmā-dīkshita-naṁdanaḥ [|| 131*] Lakshmīnārāyaṇ-ābhi-

209 khyō yājushaḥ Kauśik-ānvayaḥ | pād-ōttar-aika-vṛitti[ḥ*] śrī-Nārāyaṇa-ta-

210 n-ūdbhavaḥ [|| 132*] Sūrēs=Tirumal-ākhyasya sūnu[ḥ*] Śrīvatsa-gōtra-jaḥ | Yājushō=

211 tra sa-pād-aika-vṛitti[ḥ*] śrī-Purushōttō(tta)maḥ [|| 133*] Sūnur=Mādhava-bhaṭṭasya dhī-

212 mān=Ātrēya-gōtra-jaḥ | s-ārdha-dvi-vṛittim=atr=aiti yajvā Tirumal-

213 āhvayaḥ [|| 134*] Sūrēs=Tirumal-ābhikhyō[2] sūnur=Lakshmaṇa-nāmakaḥ | yājushō=

214 tra Bharadvāja-gōtras=s-ārdha-dvi-vṛittikaḥ [|| 135*] Śrī-Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō

215 yājushō Harit-ānvayaḥ | sūnur=Nṛisiṁha-bhaṭṭasya dhīmān s-ā-

216 rdha-dvi-vṛittikaḥ [|| 136*] Liṁgaṇ-ādhvariṇaḥ sūnu[ḥ] Śāṁḍily-ānvaya-saṁbhavaḥ [| *]

217 yājushō Naṁdi-bhaṭṭ-ākhyas=s[ū*]ris=s-ārdha-dvi-vṛittikaḥ [|| 137*] Yājushō=tr=aiva

218 Śāṇḍilya-gōtras=Tirumal-āhvayaḥ | s-ārdha-dvi-vṛittikā(kō) dhīmān Liṁ-

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219 gaṇ-ādhvariṇas=sutaḥ [|| 138*] Sūnu[ḥ*] Śrīdhara-bhaṭṭasya yājushō Gautam-ānvayaḥ |

220 Malli-bhaṭṭō=śnutē vṛitti-dvaya[ṁ*] pāda-samanva(nvi)taṁ(tam) [|| 139*] Dīkshitaś=Śiṁkay-ābhi-

221 khyō yājushaḥ Kāśyap-ānvayaḥ | s-ārdha-dvi-vṛittikō dhīmān Rāmā-bha-

222 ṭṭasya naṁdanaḥ [|| 140*] Bhāradvāj-ānvayō Lakshmīnṛisiṁhō Basavayya-jaḥ | yā

[1] The intended reading seems to be *pād-ōttar-aika*°.

[2] Read *Tirumal-ākhyasya*.

223 jushō=tr=āśnutē vṛitti-dvayaṁ pādēna saṁyutaṁ(tam) [|| 141*] Sūnur=Bhairava-bhaṭṭasya yāju-

224 shaḥ Kāśyap-ānvayaḥ | sūris=Tirumal-ābhikhyō dhīmān s-ārdh-aika-vṛitti-

225 kaḥ [|| 142*] Dhīmān(māṁ)s=Tirumal-ābhikhyas=Tippā-bhaṭṭasya naṁdanaḥ | s-ārdh-aika-vṛi-

226 ttim=atr=aiti yājushō Harit-ānvayaḥ [|| 143*] Śrī-Nārasi[ṁ*]ha-bhaṭṭasya sūnu[ḥ*] Śrīva-

227 tusa(tsa)-gōtra-jaḥ | yājushō=naṁta-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō dhīmān s-ārdh-aika-vṛittikaḥ [|| 144*] Sūnu-

228 r=Aubhala-bhaṭṭasya yājushō [Ha]rit-ānvayaḥ | sa-pādam=aśnutē vṛitti-dvaya[ṁ*] Tiru-

229 mal-āhvayaḥ [|| 145*] Sūnur=Gōvidaṁ(viṁda)-bhaṭṭasya yajvā Gōviṁda-nāmakaḥ | Bhāradvāj-ānva-

230 yō vṛitti-dvayam=atr=aiti yājushaḥ [|| 146*] Sūra(rē)s=Tirumal-ākhyasya naṁdana[ḥ*] Kṛishṇa-dīkshi-

231 taḥ | Bhāradvāj-ānvayō vṛitti-dvayam=atr=aiti yājushaḥ [|| 147*] Lakshmīnāth-ātmajō dhīmā-

232 n=yājushaḥ Kāṇva-gōtra-jaḥ | yajā(jvā) Tirumal-ābhikhyō vṛitti-dvayam=ih=āśnutē [|| 148*] Na-

233 raharyy-āhvayō yajvā yājushō Harit-ānvaya[ḥ*] | Nāganāth-ādhvar-īṁdrasya naṁda-

234 nō=tr=aika-vṛittikaḥ [|| 149*] Naras-ādhvariṇas=sūnur=[Bhā]radvāj-ānvay-ōdbhavaḥ | s-ārdha-

235 dvi-vṛittikō yajvā yājusha[ḥ*] śrī-Janārddanaḥ [|| 150*] Kauṁḍinya-gōtra-jas=sūnu[ḥ*] śrī-Ja-

236 nārdana-yajvanaḥ | Sūrōvadhāni-nāmā cha yājushō=tr=aika-vṛittikaḥ [|| 151*] Śrī-Virūpā-

237 ksha-bhaṭṭasya naṁdanaḥ Kāśyap-ānvayaḥ | yājushō=tr=āśnutē vṛittim=ēkāṁ

238 pādēna saṁyutāṁ(tām) [||152*] Śrī-Sōmanātha-bhaṭṭasya sūnu[ḥ*] Kōḍi(Kauṇḍi)nya-gōtra-

239 jaḥ | yājushaḥ Sūri-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō vṛittim=ēkām=ih=āśnutē [|| 153*] Sūnu[ḥ*] Pō-

240 chchana-bhaṭṭasya yājushō Harit-ānvayaḥ | yājushō(yajvāchā)=tra sa-pād-aika-[vṛi]tti-

241 s=Tirumal-āhvayaḥ [|| 154*] Kauṁḍinya-gōtra-jō dhīmān [Sibāvō]jjala-naṁda-

242 naḥ | Ellaṁ-bhaṭṭ-āhvayō=tr=aikām vṛittim=āpnā(pnō)ti yājushaḥ [|| 155*] Sūnur=Llakkaṇa-

243 bhaṭṭasya Vasishṭā(shṭh-ā)nvaya-saṁbhavaḥ | dhīmān=Ovaṇa-bhaṭṭ-ā[khyō] bahvṛichō=tr=ai-

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244 ka-vṛittikaḥ [|| 156*] Sūnur=Lla[k*]kaṇa-bhaṭṭasya yājushaḥ Kāśyap-ānvayaḥ | manīshī

245 Chāṭṭi-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō vṛittim=ēkām=ih=āśnutē [|| 157*] Rathītar-ānvajassūnu(yas=sūnū) Rudra-bhaṭṭasya yā-

246 jushaḥ | s-āḍai(rdh-ai)ka-vṛittim=atr=aiti dhīmān=Allāla-nāmakaḥ [|| 158*] Lakshmīnṛisiṁha-nāmā śrī-

247 Lakshmīnārāyanō(ṇ-ā)tmajaḥ | Śrīvatsa-gōtra-jō vṛitti-dvayam=atr=aiti bahvṛichaḥ [|| 159*] Sūnu-

248 r=Viṭṭala-bhaṭṭasya Śā[ṁ*]ḍily-ānvaya-saṁbhavaḥ | [ba*]hvṛichō=naṁta-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō vṛitti-dvayam=ih=āśnutē [|| 160*]

249 Śa(Śā)ṁḍilya-gōtra-saṁbhūtō dhīmān Viṭṭala-bhaṭṭa-jaḥ | bahvṛichō Nārasiṁh-ākhyō dhīmān

250 s-ārdh-aika-vṛittikaḥ [|| 161*] Sūnur=Mādhava-bhaṭṭasya Śā[ṁ*]ḍilya-ānvaya-saṁbhavaḥ | bahvṛichaḥ Kṛishṇa-bha-

251 ṭṭ-ākhyō vṛitti-dvayam=ih=āśnutē [|| 162*] Bhāradvāj-ānvayas=sūnur=Nārasiṁhasya bahvṛicha[ḥ |*] atra

252 dvi-vṛittikā(kō) Raṁga[ḥ*] śrīmat-Tirumal-āhvayaḥ [|| 163*] Pūtimāpā(sh-ā)nvay-ōtbhū-(dbhū)tō dhīmān Mu-

253 dagal-ātmajaḥ | s-ārdh-aika-vṛittim=āpnōti Vishṇu-bhaṭṭō=tra bahvṛichaḥ [|| 164*] Vishṇu-bhaṭṭa-su-

254 tō vṛiddha[ḥ*] śrīmat-Tirumal-āhvayaḥ | s-ārdh-aika-vṛittir=Ātrēya-gōtrō Jaimini-sūtra-

255 kaḥ [|| 165*] Sūrēs=Tirumal-ākhyasya sūnus=Tirumal-āhvayaḥ | Bhāradvāj-ānvayō=tr=aikāṁ

256 vṛittim=āpnōti yājushaḥ [|| 166*] Ātrēya-gōtra-jō dhīmān=Annaṁ-bhaṭṭasya naṁdanaḥ | yā-

257 jushaḥ Kasavā-bhaṭṭō vṛittim=ēkām=ih=āśnutēḥ (tē) [|| 167*] Bhāradvāj-ānvayas=sūnu(nū) Rāmā-

258 bhaṭṭasya yājushaḥ | manīshī Basavā-bhaṭṭō vṛittim=ēkām=ih=āśnutē [|| 168*] Śrī-Jāma-

259 da[gnya]-Vatsīya[ḥ]* Śrīraṁgu........ [|*] Basavā-dīkshitō=tr=aikāṁ vṛittim=āpnōti

260 bahvṛichaḥ [|| 169*] Bhāradvāj-ānvay-ōtdhu(dbhū)tō Liṁgaṁ-bhaṭṭasya naṁdanaḥ | yājushaḥ Pēddi-bha-

261 ṭṭ-ākhyō vṛittim=ēkām=ih=āśnutē [|| 170*]......gōtra-samutbhū(dbhū)tō Rāmā-dīkshita-

262 naṁdanaḥ | s-ārdh-aika-vṛittim=āpnōti Tippā-bhaṭṭō=tra yājushaḥ [|| 171*] Bhāradvāj-ānva-

263 yō=naṁtaśayanō yājushō=dhvarī | s-ārdh-aika-vṛittim=atr=aiti sūnur=Aubhala-yajva-

264 naḥ [|| 172*] Vasishṭa(shṭha)-gōtra-saṁbhūta[ḥ*] śrī-Virupayya-naṁdanaḥ | yājushō Vīrayābhi-

265 khyō vṛittim=ēkām=ih=āśnutē [|| 173*] Sūnur=Mārdha(dha)va-bhaṭṭasya yājushō(shaḥ) Kāśyap-ānvaya-[ḥ | *]

266 Naraharyy-adhvarī dhīmān vṛitti-dvayam=ih=āśnutē [|| 174*] Sūnur=Mādhava-bhaṭṭasya yāju-

267 shaḥ Kāśyap-ānvayaḥ | Annaṁ-bhaṭṭ-āhvayō dhīmānu(mān) vṛitti-dvayam=ih=āśnutē [|| 175*] Kauṁḍiṁ(ḍi)-

268 nya-gōtra-saṁbhūtas=Tammā-bhaṭṭasya naṁdanaḥ | Vēnnaṁ-bhaṭṭ-āhvayō=tr=ārdha-vṛittim=āpnō-

269 ti yājushaḥ [|| 176*] Dhīmānu(mān) Lakshmaṇadās-ākhya[ḥ*] śrī-Puraṁdaradāsa-jaḥ | Vasishṭa(shṭha)-gō-

270 tra-jō vṛitti-dvayam=atrē(atr=ai)ti yājushaḥ [|| 177*] Vasi[shṭā](shṭh-ā)nvaya-saṁbhūta[ḥ*] śrī-Puraṁdaradāsa-jaḥ |

271 dvijō Hēbaṇadās-ākhyō yājushō=tra dvi-vṛittikaḥ [|| 178*] Sūnuḥ Kēshshasa(Kēśa)va-bhaṭṭasya

272 yājushashkā(shaḥ Kā)śyap-ānvayaḥ | sūris=Tirumal-ābhikhyō vṛittim=ēkām=ih=āśna-(śnu)tē [|| 179*]

273 Bhāradvāj-ānvayaḥ Kāṇvō dhīmān=Abbaras-ānma(tma)jaḥ | atr=aikām=aśnutē vṛittim [dhīmā]-

274 ns=Ti(māṁs=Ti)mmarasya(s-ā)hvayaḥ [|| 180*] Sūnuḥ Kēśava-bhaṭṭasya sūris=Tirumal āhvayaḥ |

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275 Bhāradvāj-ānvayaḥ Kāṇvō dhīmān s-ārdh-aika-vṛittikaḥ [|| 181*] Ahōbala-sudhī-

276 sūnur=Bhāradvāj-ānvay-ōtbha(dbha)vaḥ | Kāṇvaḥ śrī-Narasiṁh-ākhyō dhīmān s-ārdh-aika-vṛittikaḥ [|| 182*]

277 Viśvāmitr-ānvayaḥ sūnur=Yatirāyasya bahvṛichaḥ | s-ārdh-aika-vṛittim=atr=aiti dhīmān

278 Vallabhay-āhvayaḥ [|| 183*] Śrī-Nārasiṁha-dāsasya naṁdanaḥ Kāsya(śya)p-ānvayaḥ | Kāṇvaś=Chikkanṛisiṁ-

279 h-ākhyō vṛitti-dvayam=ih=āśnutē [|| 184*] Sūnur=Nṛihari-dēvasya Bhāradvāj-ānvay-ōtbha-(dbha)vaḥ | Śrī-

280 nivās-āhvayō dhīmān Kāṇvaḥ ssā(s-ā)rdh-aika-vṛittikaḥ [|| 185*] Bhāradvāj-ānvayaḥ Kāṇvō Yatirā-

281 yasya naṁdanaḥ | atr=ārdha-vṛittikō Hiryya-Lē(La)kshmīnārāyaṇ-āhvayaḥ [|| 186*] Kāsya(śya)p-ānvayā-

282 jaḥ Kāṇvō Māchchirājasya naṁdanaḥ | vṛitti-dvayam=ih=āpnōti Timmayō dhīmatāṁ varaḥ [|| 187*] Śrī-

283 Vāraṇāsi-dēyā(va)syaḥ(sya) Kāṇvaḥ Kāśyapa--gōtra-jaḥ | dhīmān(putrō) Lēkkaras-ābhikhyas=[tri-pā]-[d*]-vṛitti-

284 m=ih=āśnutē [|| 188*] Sūnur=Basavarājasya Kāṇvō Gautama-gōtra-jaḥ | s-ārdh-aika-vṛittim=atr=aiti dhīmā-

285 n=Basavay-āhvayaḥ [|| 189*] Sūnu Chchi(ś=Chi)ṭṭamarājasya Kāṇvaḥ Kāśyapa-gōtra-jaḥ | vṛittim=ēkām=i-

286 h=āpnōti Kōṁḍayō guṇināṁ varaḥ [|| 190*] Naṁdanaḥ(na)ś=Chōḍarājasya yājushaḥ Kāśyap-ānvayaḥ |

287 manīshī Chauṁḍay-ābhikhyō vṛittim=ēkām=ih=āśnutē [|| 191*] Harit-ānvaya-jaḥ Kāṇvaḥ śrī-Viru-

288 ppaya-naṁdanaḥ | Chauṁḍayō=tr=āśnutē vṛittim=ēkāṁ Vēda-vidāṁ varaḥ [|| 192*] Śrī-Kāmagāyan-ō-

289 pēta-Viśvāmitr-ānvay-ōtbha(dbha)vaḥ | bahvṛichō Nāgarāja[ḥ*] śrī-Timmayā(yō)=tr=aika-vṛitti-

290 kaḥ [|| 193*] Sūnuḥ Chchi(ś=Chi)ṭṭamarājasya Vasishṭā(ṭh-ā)nvaya-saṁbhavaḥ | bahvṛichō Liṁgay-ābhikhyō

291 vṛittim=ēkām=ih=āśnutē [|| 194*] [Bhā]radvāj-ānvayaḥ Kāṇvō Vīrayasy=ātma-saṁbhavaḥ | atr=ai-

292 ka-vṛittikā(kaḥ) sthānā(na)pati[r*]=Vīraya-nāmakaḥ [|| 195*] Bhāradvāj-ānvayaḥ Kāṇvas= Tipā-

293 rājasya naṁdanaḥ | vṛittim=ēkām=ih=āpnōti Tammayō dhīmatāṁ varaḥ [|| 196*] Kāma-

294 gāyana-śabd-ādi-Viśvāmitr-ānvay-ōtbha(dbha)vaḥ | bahvṛichaḥ Svāmirāja-śrī-Nāga-

295 yō=tr=aika-vṛittikaḥ [|| 197*]Sūrai(rē,s-Tirumal-ākhyasya sūnuḥ Kauṁḍinya-gōtra-jaḥ | Annaṁ-bha-

296 ṭṭa(ṭṭ-ā)hvayā(yō)=tr=aikāṁ vṛittim=āpnōti yājushaḥ [|| 198*] Kauṁḍinya-gōtra-jas=sūnur= Annaṁ-bhaṭṭa-

297 sya yājushaḥ | manīshī Chauṁḍi-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō vṛittim=ēkām=ih=āśnutē [|| 199*] Ātrēya-gō-

298 tra-saṁbhūtas=sūnu[r]=Lakkaṇa-yajvanaḥ | yajvā Janārdan-ābhikhyas=sāmagō=tra dvi-vṛitti-

299 kaḥ [|| 200*] Ātrēya-gōtra-saṁbhūtō Viśvanāth-ādhvarīṁdra-jaḥ | Nāgō-bhaṭṭ-āhvayō=tr= aikāṁ vṛittim=ā-

300 pnōti sāmagaḥ [|| 201*] Vasishṭa(ṭha)-gōtra=saṁbhūtas=Sūri-dīkshita-naṁdanaḥ | Kaṁbhā-bhaṭṭ-āhvayō vṛi-

301 tti-dvayam=atr=aiti sāmagaḥ [|| 202*] Sūnur=Aubhala-bhaṭṭasya Vasi[jā](shṭh-ā)nvaya-saṁbhavaḥ | sa-pāda-

302 vṛitti-yuga[lō](yugmō)=tra sāmagō Bhāskar-ādhvarī [|| 203*] Sūnur=Nṛihari-bhaṭṭasya sāmagrēhau(gō=hō)bha-

303 l-ādhvarī | Viśvāmitr-ānvayō=tr=aiti vṛittī dvē pāda-saṁyutē [|| 204*] Vasishṭa(shṭha)-gōtra-saṁbhū-

304 tō dhīmā[ṁ*]ś=Chennaras-ātmajaḥ | yājushō Raṁgaya(y-ā)bhikhyō vṛittim=ēkam=ih= āśnutē [|| 205*] Sū-

Seventh Plate, Second Side

305 nur=Akaṇa-bhaṭṭasya sūris=Tirumal-āh[v*]ayaḥ | bahvṛichō=tra Bharadvāju(ja)-gō-

306 tra[ḥ*] s-ārdh-aika-vṛittikaḥ [|| 206*] Sūnus=Tirumal-ākhyasya naṁdanaḥ Kāśyap-ānvayaḥ | śrī-Nārā-

307 yaṇa-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō bah[v*]richō=tr=aika-vṛittikaḥ [|| 207*] Bhāradvāj-ānvayaḥ(ya)ś=Chikka-lakshmīnāraya-

308 ṇ-āha(hva)yaḥ | Kāṇa(ṇvaḥ) śrī-Yatirāyasya naṁdanau(nō)=tr=aika-vṛittikaḥ [|| 208*] Naṁdanaḥ Kōṁḍi-bhaṭṭa-

309 sya Bhāradvāj-ānvayōtabha(y-ōdbha)vaḥ | pāda-vṛittim=ih=āpnōti Kāṇaḥ(Kāṇva)s= Timmapa-nāma-

310 kaḥ [|| 209*] Bhāradvāj-ānvayaḥ(ya)s=[sū]nur=Annaṁ-bhaṭṭasya yājushaḥ | Rāmā-bhaṭṭ-āhvayō dhīmā-

311 n=ardha-vṛittiṁ=ih=āśnutē [|| 210*] Anaṁ-bhaṭṭō Bharadvāja-gōtra-jō yājushaḥ(sha)s= sudhī[ḥ |] pād-ōtta-

312 r-aika-vṛitti[ḥ*] śrī-Sahasraṇā(nā)ma-sudhī-suta(sudhī-jaḥ) [|| 211*] Bhāradvāj-ānvay-ōtabhū(dbhū)tō Malaiyann-ātma-

313 saṁbhavaḥ | s-ārdh-aika-vṛittikō dhīmān Āchchān=ity=atra yājushaḥ [|| 212*] Naṁdanō Gummarā-

314 jasya yājusha[ḥ]* Kauśika(k-ā)nvayaḥ | pād-ōttara(r-ai)ka-vṛitti[ḥ] śrī-Kṛishṇa-bhaṭṭ-āhvayas=sudhī [ḥ || 213*]

315 Tāttā-bhaṭṭa-sutō dhīmān Śrīvats-ānvaya-saṁbhava[ḥ] | yājushō=tra sa-pād-aika-

316 vṛittikō Naṁda-nāmakaḥ [|| 214*] Kauṁḍinya-gōtra-jaḥ(ja)s=sūnuḥ Kṛishṇa-bhaṭṭasya yā-

317 jushaḥ | pād-ōttar-aika-vṛitti[ḥ*] śrī-Kōnēry-ākhyō mahī-suraḥ [|| 215*] S[ū]nur=Lakshma-

318 ṇa-bhaṭṭasya Kauṁḍiny-ānvaya-saṁbhavaḥ | sūnuḥ(nu)s=Tirumal-ābhikhyo yāju-

319 shō=tr=ārdha-vṛittikaḥ [|| 216*] Kauṁḍinya-gōtra-saṁbhūtō dhīmān Lakshmaṇa-bha-

320 ṭṭa-jaḥ | ardha-vṛittim=avāpnōti Kōnēry-ākhyō=tra yājushaḥ [|| 217*] Śrī-Nā-

321 rāyaṇa-bhaṭṭasya naṁdanaḥ Kāśyap-ānvayaḥ | śrī-Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō

322 yājushō=tr=ārdha-vṛittikaḥ [|| 218*] Kauṁḍinya-gōtra-jaḥ sūnur=Annaṁ-bhaṭṭasya yā-

323 jushaḥ | dhīmān(māṁ)s=Tirumal-ābhikhyō vṛitti-dvayam=iha=āśnutē [|| 219*] Annaṁ-

324 bhaṭṭa-sutaś=Chikkatimmā-bhaṭṭō mahāmatiḥ | Kauṁḍinya-gōtra-jō=tra(tr=ai)kā[ṁ*]

325 vṛittim=āpnōti yājushaḥ [|| 220*] Harit-ānvaya-jaḥ(ja)s=sūnur=Annaṁ-bhaṭṭasya yā-

326 jushaḥ | s-ārdh-aika-vṛittim=atr=aiti manīshī Śrīdhar-āhvayaḥ [|| 221*] Sūnuḥ Kē-

327 śava-bhaṭṭasya yājushō Gārgya-sānvayaḥ | s-ārdh-aika-vṛittim=atr=aiti

328 Vēda-bhaṭṭō mahā-matiḥ [|| 222*] Śāṁḍilya-gōtra-saṁbhūtō dhīmān Garu-

329 ḍay-ātmajaḥ | dhīmānu(mān) Vīrupay-ābhikhyō yājushō=tra tri-vṛitti-

330 kaḥ [|| 223*] Sūnu[r*]=Nṛisiṁha-bhaṭṭasya yājushaḥ Kauśik-ānvayaḥ | aśnutē=tra sa-

331 pād-aika-vṛittiṁ Mēllama-dīhi(kshi)taḥ [|| 224*] Yajvā Tirumal-ābhikhyas=sāma-

332 gō Julu-naṁdanaḥ | yājushō=tr=āśnutē vṛittim=ēkāṁ Harida(ta)-sānva-

333 yaḥ [|| 225*] Vādhūla-gōtra-jaḥ sūnur=Allaṁ-bhaṭṭasya yājushaḥ | bhū-surō=ppa-

334 labhaṭṭ-ākhyaḥ pāda-vṛittim=ih=āśnutē [|| 226*] Naṁdanō=nanta-bhaṭṭasya Śrī-

Eighth Plate, First Side

335 vats-ānvaya-saṁbhavaḥ | dhīmān Lakshmīdhar-ābhikhyō bahv[ṛi*]chō=

336 tra dvi-vṛittikaḥ [|| 227*] Śrīva[vṛi]sa(vatsa)-gōtra-saṁbhūtō=naṁta-bhaṭṭasya naṁdanaḥ |

337 bahvṛichō Nārasiṁh-ākhyō vṛittim=ēkām=ih=āśnutē [|| 228*] Śrī-Virūpāksha-

338 bhaṭṭasya naṁdanaḥ Kauśik-ānvayaḥ | yājushō=naṁta-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō vṛitti-dva-

339 yam=ih=āśnutē [|| 229*] Śrī-Virūpāksha-bhaṭṭasya sūnuḥ Kauśika-gōtra-jaḥ | yā-

340 jushō Vallabhayy-ākhyāḥ(khya)s=tri-pād-vṛittim=ih=āśnutē [|| 230*] Śrī-Rāmachaṁdra-bha-

341 ṭṭasya sūnur=Harida(ta)-sānvayaḥ | śrī-Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō yājushō=

342 tra dvi-vṛittikaḥ [|| 231*] Dhīmān Bēḍadakōṭa-śrī-Rāmēśvara iti dvijaḥ |

343 pād-ōna-vṛitti-yugmō=tra bahv[ṛi*]chō Harit-ānvayaḥ [|| 232*] Sūnuḥ(nu)s=Timmaṇa-bhaṭṭasya yā-

344 jushaḥ Kauśik-ānvayaḥ | tri-pād-vṛittim=ih=āpnnā(pnō)ti Timmapō dhīmatāṁ varaḥ [|| 233*]

345 Na[ṁ*]danō Hari-bhaṭṭasya Pūtimāsh-ānvay-ōdbhavaḥ | bahvṛichaḥ Śrīnivās-ākhyō

346 vṛittim=ēkām=ih=āśnutē [|| 234*] Śrī-Nārasi[ṁ*]ha-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō Viśvāmitr-ānvayaḥ suta-[ḥ*] |

347 sūrēs=Tirumal-ākhyasya yājushō=tra dvi-vṛittikaḥ [|| 235*] Viśvāmitr-ānvayas=sū-

348 nur=Nārasiṁhasya yājushaḥ | śrī-Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭō=tra dhīmānu(mān) s-ārdh-aika-

349 vṛittikaḥ [|| 236*] Sūnur=Gōvi[ṁ*]da-bhaṭṭasya Viśvāmitr-ānvay-ōdbhavaḥ | bah[v*]richō=hō-

350 bal-ābhikhyō vṛitti-dvayam=ih=āśnutē [|| 237*] Śrī-Viśvanātha-bhaṭṭasya naṁda-

351 naḥ Kāsya(śya)p-ānvayaḥ | yājushō Madhvanāth-ākhyō vṛitti-dvayam=ih=āśnu-

352 tē [|| 238*] Bah[v*]richō Nārasi[ṁ*]h-ākhyō Nārāyaṇa-sudhī-sutaḥ | s-ārdh-aika-vṛi-

353 ttim=atr=aiti Pūtimāsh-ānvay-ōdhbhavaḥ [|| 239*] Vasishṭa(shṭha)-gōtra-jas=sūnur=Nāra-

354 si[ṁ*]hasya bah[v*]richaḥ | manīshī Vishṇu-bhaṭṭa-ākhyō vṛittim=ēkām=ih=ā-

355 śnutē [|| 240*] Tammā-bhaṭṭō Bharadvāja-gōtra-jō [yā][ju*]shas=sudhīḥ | sūrēs=Tiru-

356 mal-ākhyasya sūnur=atra dvi vṛittikaḥ [|| 241*] Śrīvat[s]a-gōtrē sa[ṁ*]bhūtō Nā-

357 gayō Gaṁga[y-ā*]tmajaḥ | bahṛi(hvṛi)chō=tr=āśnutē vṛittim=ēkāṁ Vēda-vidāṁ varaḥ [|| 242*]

358 Kāśyap-ānvaya-jaḥ(ja)s=sūnur=Annaṁ-bhaṭṭasya yājushaḥ | Annaṁ-bhaṭṭ-āhva-

359 yō dhīmān ardha-vṛittim=ih=āśnutē [|| 243*] Ātrēya-gōtra-saṁbhū-

360 tō Lakshmīnārā[ya*]ṇ-ātmajaḥ | Lakshmīnāth-āhvayō=tr=aikāṁ vṛittim=ā-

361 pnōti yājushaḥ [|| 244*] Manī[shī] Kuppay-ābhikhyō yājushō Gautam-ā-

362 nvayaḥ | atr=aikām=aśnutē vṛitti[ṁ*] Kaniya(nya)māṇikka-bhaṭṭa-jaḥ [|| 245*] Sū-

363 nuḥ(nu)s=Tirumalēśasya Kauṁḍiny-ānvaya-saṁbhavaḥ | yājushaḥ(sha)s= Ti-

Eighth Plate, Second Side

364 mmayō(y-ā)bhikhyā(khyō) dhīmān=atr=ārdha-vṛittikaḥ [|| 246*] Yājushō Varadayya-

365 sya sūnuḥ Śrīvavṛisa(vatsa)-gōtrā-jaḥ | Piṇay-ādi-pad-ōpēta-Perumā-

366 l=ardha-vṛittikaḥ [|| 247*] Yājushō Vēṁkaṭādhīśaḥ Perumā-bhaṭṭa-naṁdanaḥ | pā-

367 d-ōttar-aika-vṛitti[ḥ*] Śrīva[t]sa-gōtra-samudbhavaḥ [|| 248*] Sūnuḥ(nu)s=Tirumal=ākhya-

368 sya sūriḥ(ri)s=Tirumal-āhvayaḥ | yāju[shō]=tra sa-pād-aika-vṛitti[ḥ*] śrī-Kauśi-

369 k-ānvayaḥ [|| 249*] Yājushō Hastigiry-ākhyō Veṁkaṭattappa-naṁdanaḥ | aśnu-

370 tē=tra sa-pād-aika-vṛittiṁ Harida(ta)-sānvaya[ḥ*] [|| 250*] Bhāradvāj-ānvay-ōdbhūtō=naṁta-

371 nārāyaṇ-āhvayaḥ | yā[ju*]shō=tra(tr=ai)ka-vṛitti[ḥ*] śrī-Saty-ōpādhyāya-naṁdanaḥ [|| 251*] Sa-

372 ty-ōpādhyāya-ssū(sū)nu[ḥ*] śrī-Bhāradvāj-ānvay-ōdhbhavaḥ | dhīmān Guru[va*]ṇa(ṇ-ā)-bhikhyō

373 yājushō=tr=aika-vṛittikaḥ [|| 252*] Sūnuḥ(nu)s=Tirumal-ākhyasya yajvanaḥ Kā-

374 śyap-ānvayaḥ | Tippā-bhaṭṭ-āhvayō=tr=aikāṁ vṛittim=āpnōti yājushaḥ [|| 253*] Ba-

375 hvṛichō Basavā-bhaṭṭō(ṭṭa)-sūnu[ḥ*] Śrīvatsa-gōtra-jaḥ [|*] s-ārdh-aika-vṛittim=a-

376 tr=aiti Chiṭṭayō dhīmatāṁ varaḥ [|| 254*] Dhīmān(māṁ)s=Timmaras-ābhikhyō ba-

377 hvṛichēḥ(chaḥ) Kāśyap-ānvayaḥ | vṛittis=Ti(ttiṁ Ti)mmarasō=tr=aikām=aśnutē dharaṇī-suraḥ [|| 255*]

378 Naṁdanaḥ Sūrapayyasya bahṛi(hvṛi)cha[ḥ*] Kāsya(śya)p-ānvayaḥ | manīshī Haridē-

379 v-ākhyō vṛittim=ēkām=ih=āśnutē [|| 256*] Sūnu[ḥ*] Śikari-bhaṭṭasya Śrīvat-

380 s-ānvaya-saṁbhavaḥ | vṛittim=ēkām=ih=ātrō(pnō)ti yājushō(sha) Ōṁbal-ādhvarī [|| 257*]

381 Kauṁḍinya-gōtra-saṁbhūtō Ma[ja?]navōjalu-naṁdanaḥ(sutaḥ) | Jalu-naṁdanaḥ[1]A-

382 mmanavōjuluratrai(lur=ai)kāṁ vṛittim=āpnōti yājushaḥ [|| 258*] Viśvāmitr-ānva-

383 yaḥ sūnuḥ Puṭṭi-bhaṭṭasya bahri(hvṛi)chaḥ | śrī-Nārasiṁha-bhaṭṭō(ṭṭ-ā)khyō vṛitti-

384 m=ēkām=ih=āśnutē [|| 259*] Kāśyap-ānvaya-ja[ḥ*] sūnuḥ(nu)s=Tippā-bhaṭṭasya yājushaḥ |

385 ardha-vṛittim=ih=āpnōti dhīmā[ṁ*]s=Tirumal-āhvayaḥ [|| 260*] Yājushaḥ Kasavā-

386 bhaṭṭa-naṁdanaḥ Kauśik-ānvayaḥ | ardha-vṛittim=ih=āpnōti La[kha]y-ākhyō

387 mahī-suraḥ [|| 261*] Naṁdanau(nō) Dēvaṇayyasyu(sya) bahṛi(hvṛi)cho Gautam-ānvayaḥ | vṛitti-

388 m=ēkām=ih=āpnōti manīshī Śigayā(y-ō)dbhavaḥ [|| 262*] Maudgalya-gōtra-saṁbhūtas=[Tā]-

389 tayāchā[ryya]-naṁdanaḥ | bahṛi(hvṛi)chas=Taṁmay-ābhikhyō vṛittim=ēkām=ih=ā-

390 śnutaḥ(tē) [|| 263*] Naṁdana(nō) Basavayyasya dhīmān=Ātrēya-gōtra-jaḥ | bahṛi(hvṛi)chaś=Chi-

391 nnay-ābhikhyā(khyō) vṛittim=ēkām=ih=āśnutē [|| 264*] Śrī-Nārasiṁha-bhaṭṭasya

Ninth Plate, First Side

392 naṁdanō Harit-ānvayaḥ | Timmā-jyōtishikō vṛitti-dvayam=atr=aiti-

393 yājushaḥ [|| 265*] Sūnur=Vāmana-bhaṭṭajya(sya) yājushō Gautam-ānvayaḥ | Ahōbal-ā-

394 bhidhānō=tra dhīmānda(mān) s-ārdh-aika-vṛittigaḥ(kaḥ) [|| 266*] Sūnur=Vāmana-bhaṭṭasya yāju-

395 shō Gautam-ānvayaḥ | śrī-Nārasiṁha-bhaṭṭō=tra sūriḥ s-ārdh-aika-vṛittigaḥ(kaḥ) [|| 267*] Ba-

396 hvṛichō Jāmadagni-Śrība(va)tsa-gōtra-samudbhavaḥ [|*] naṁdanō Dabaryā(Dēvarā)-jasya Tiṁ-

397 mayō=tr=ārdha-vṛittika[ḥ|| 268*] Baṁ(Ba)hvṛichō Jāmadagni-Śrīvatsa-gōtra-samu-dbhavaḥ [|*] na-

398 ṁdanā(nō) Dēvarājasya Vayi(Vai)ravō=tr=aika-vṛittikaḥ [|| 269*] Sūnuḥ Koṁḍamarāja-

399 sya Kāṇvaḥ Kauṁḍinya-gōtra-jaḥ [|*] atr=aika-vṛittikaḥ Pēryyajēṁkarājō

400 mahāmatiḥ [|| 270*] Kāśyap-ānvaya-jaḥ sūnur=Liṁgā-bhaṭṭasya bahṛi(hvṛi)chaḥ | vṛitti-

401 m=ēkām=ih=āpnōti Tiṁmapō dhīmatā[ṁ] varaḥ [|| 271*] Na[ṁ*]danō Nāgarājaśya(sya) Śā[ṁ*]ḍily-ā-

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[1] The letters *Jalu-naṁdanaḥ* are redundant.

402 nvaya-sambhavaḥ | ardha-vṛittim=ih=āpnōti Lakshmīpaty-āhvayaḥ sudhīḥ || [272*] Sūnus=Tiru-

403 mal-ā[bhi*]khyō Bhāradvāj-ānvay-ōdbhavaḥ | dhīmān=Uṭṭaiyap-ābhikhyō yājushō=tr=aika-

404 vṛittikaḥ [|| 273*] Kauṁḍinya-gōtrē(tra)-jaḥ sūnus=Ta[ṁ*]mā-bhaṭṭasya yājushaḥ | dhīmānu(mām)s=Tiru-

405 mal-ābhikhyō vṛittim=ēkām=ih=āśnutē |[| 274*] Sūnuḥ Śrīnātha-bhaṭṭasya yājusha[ḥ*]

406 Kauśik-ānvayaḥ | manīshī Va(Vā)jā(ja)p-ābhikhyō vṛittim=ēkām=ih=āśnutēḥ(tē) || [275*]

407 Yājushō=tra Bharadvājā(ja)-gōtrō=haubhala-paṁḍitaḥ | s-ārdh-aika-vṛittikō dhīmān(mān)

408 jātō Lakshmaṇa-paṁḍitātraḥ[1] | [| 276*] Bhāradvāj-ānvayaḥ Kāṇvaḥ(ṇva)s=Timayasy=ātma-sambhavaḥ |

409 atr=aika(kā)m=aśnutē vṛitti[ṁ*] Chēṁnay-ākhyō mahī=suraḥ [|| 277*] Na[ṁ*]danaḥ Kasavayyasya Śrīvats-ānva-

410 ya-sambhavaḥ | bahṛi(hvṛi)chaś=Chanay-ābhikhyō vṛittim=ekā[m=i*]h=āśnutē [|| 278*] Kauśik-ānvaya-sa[ṁ*]bhu(bhū)tō

411 Narahary-ājja(rya)-naṁdanaḥ | Yajamōjulur=atr=aikām vṛittim=āpnōti yājushaḥ [|| 279*] Sūnu-

412 ś=Chāmaṇa-bhaṭṭasya Bhāradvāj-ānvay-ōdbhavaḥ | yājushō Gauri-bhaṭṭō(ṭṭ-ā)khyō vṛitti-dvaya-

413 m=ih=āśnutē [|| 280*] Bhāradvāj-ānvayaḥ sūnur=Hari-bhaṭṭasya yājushaḥ | manīshī Śrīni-

414 vās-ākhyō vṛittim=ēkām=ih=ā[śnu*]tē [|| 281*] Sūnus=Tirumalāryyasya yahva(jva)nō=hōbal-ādhva-

415 rī | Ātrēyē(ya)-gōtra-jō [vṛi]tti-trayam=atr=aiti yājushaḥ | [|282*] Naṁdanō Hari-bhaṭṭasya

416 Bhāradvāj-ānvayē(y-ō)dbhava[ḥ*] | dhīmān(māṁs)=Timmaṇa-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō yājushō=tr=aika-vṛitti-

417 kaḥ [|| 283*] Bhāradvājō(j-ā)ānvay-ōdbhūtaś=Chikkavāmaṇa-bhaṭṭa-jaḥ | yājushō Lakkhaṇ-ābhi-

418 khyō dhīmān s-ārdh-aika-vṛittikaḥ [|| 284*] Śrī-Nārasiṁha-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō(khya)ś=Chikkā-chā(vā)-

Ninth Plate, Second Side

419 maṇa-bhaṭṭa-jaḥ | yājushō=tra Bharadvāja-gōtraḥ s-ārdh-aika-vṛittika[ḥ*] [|| 285*] Bhāradvāj-ānva-

420 yaḥ Kāṇvas=Ti[ṁ*]mayasy=ātma-sambhavaḥ | vṛittim=ēkām=ih=āpnōti Vīrayō vidu-

421 shā[ṁ*] vara[ḥ*] [|| 286*] Bhāradvāj-ānvayēḥ(yaḥ) sūnur=Abbā-bhaṭṭasya yājushaḥ | asmina(nn=A)naṁtay-ābhi-

422 khyō dhīmānda(mān) s-ārdh-aika-vṛittikaḥ [|| 287*] Kaśyap-ānvaya-jō Hiryyanarasayyasyasa(yya-sa)mudbhavaḥ |

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[1] Read *paṇḍitāt.*

423 yājushas=Ti[ṁ*]map-ābhikhyō dhīmān s-ārdh-aika-vṛittikaḥ [|| 288*] Yājushō Nō(Nā)-rasi[ṁ*]h-ākhyō Rā-

424 macha[ṁ*]dra-śu(su)dhī-sutaḥ | Vaśishṭa(sishṭha)-gōtra-saṁbhūtō dhīmānu(mān) s-ārdh-aika-vṛittikah [|| 289*] Na[ṁ*]danaḥ Kṛi-

425 shṇa-bhaṭṭasya Bhāradvāj-ānvay-ōdbhavaḥ | Taṁmā-bhaṭṭ-āhvayō=tr=aikā[ṁ*] vṛittim=āpnōti yāju-

426 shaḥ [|| 290*] Vasishṭa(shṭha)-gōtra-saṁbhu(bhū)ta[ḥ*] śrī-Pura[ṁ*]dra(da)radāsa-jaḥ | dhīmān Madhva[pa]dās-ā-

427 khyō yājushō=tra dvi-vṛittikaḥ [|| 291*] Naṁdanō Dēvarājasya Cha(Śa)ṭhamarshaṇa-gōtra-jaḥ |

428 Bōdhāyanō=śnutē(dvijō)=tr=ārdha-vṛittim=āpnōti Dēvaṇaḥ [|| 292*] Kauṁḍinya-gōtra-jaś=Chikka-śrī-

429 Tirumalay-ātmajaḥ | dhīmān(māṁs=) Tirumalay-ābhikhyō(yy-ākhyō) yājushō=tr=ārdha-vṛittika[ḥ*] [|| 293*]

430 Vasishṭa(shṭha)-gōtra-saṁbhu(bhū)tō dhīmā[ṁ*]s=Ti[ṁ*]maras-ātmajaḥ | vṛitti-dvayam=ih=āpnōti bahṛi(hvṛi)chaḥ Kṛi-

431 shṇay-āhvayaḥ [|| 294*] Śrī-Viśvanātha-bhaṭṭasya sūnuḥ Kauṁḍinya-gōtra-jaḥ | bahṛi-(hvṛi)chō Basavā-bhaṭṭō

432 vṛittim=ēkām=ih=āśnutēḥ(tē) [|| 295*] Śrī-Virūpāksha-bhaṭṭasya naṁdanō Harit-ānvayaḥ | yājushas=Tiṁma-

433 p-ābhikhyō vṛittim=ēkām=ih=āśnutē [|| 296*] Sūnur=Gōviṁda-bhaṭṭasya śrī-Janārdana-di(dī)kshitaḥ | Bhāra-

434 dvāj-ānvayō vṛitti-dvayam=atr=aiti yājushaḥ [|| 297*] Sūnur=Gōvinda-bhaṭṭasya Bhāradvāj-ānvay-ōdbhavaḥ |

435 vṛitti-trayam=ih=āpnōti yājushaś=Chēni-dīkshita[ḥ *] | [| 298*] Bhāradvāj-ānvayaḥ sūnu[ḥ*] śrī-Janārdana-ya-

436 jvanaḥ | s-ārdh-aika-vṛittim=atr=aiti yājushas=Tiṁmap-āhvayaḥ [|| 299*] Śrī-Rāmakṛishṇa-bhaṭṭasya sūnur=Ā-

437 trēya-gōtra-jaḥ | yājushō=tr=aiti s-ārdh-aika-vṛittiṁ sti(Ti)rumal-ā[hva]yaḥ [|| 300*] Sūnu-[r]=Basavarājasya

438 bahvṛichaḥ Kāśyap-ānvayaḥ | manīshī Dēvay-ābhikhyō vṛittim=ēkām=ih=āśnutē [|| 301*] Śrī-Jāmada-

439 gni-Vatsīya-gōtrō Hōnnapay-āhvayaḥ(tmajaḥ) | Lakshmīpaty-āhvayō dhīmān bahṛi(hvṛi)-chō=tr=aika-vṛitti-

440 kaḥ [|| 302*] Sūnur=Lakshmaṇa-bhaṭṭasya śrīmā[ṁ*]s=Tirumal-āhvayaḥ | yājushaḥ śrī-Bharadvāja-gōtraḥ

441 s-ārdha-dvi-vṛittikaḥ [|| 303*] Sūnur=Lakshmaṇa-bhaṭṭasya Bhāradvāj-ānvay-ōdbhavaḥ | yājushō=

442 naṁta-bha[ṭṭ-ā*]khyō vṛitti-dvayam=ih=āśnutē [|| 304*] Śrī-Rāmachandra-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō

443 Bhāradvāj-ānvay-ōdbhavaḥ | yājushō=tr=āśnutē vṛitti-dvayaṁ Lakshmaṇa-bha-

444 ṭṭa-jaḥ [|| 305*] Naṁdanō Gōpināthasya sūrir=Haridā(ta)-sānvayaḥ | bahṛi(hvṛi)chō

445 Nārasiṁha-ākhyō vṛittim=ēkām=ih=āśnutē [|| 306*] Bahṛi(hvṛi)[chō]........śrī-
446 Chiṭṭi-bhaṭṭasya naṁdanaḥ | Rāmā-bhaṭṭ-āhvayō=tr=āshṭa-va(vṛi)ttikō Gauta-
447 m-ānvayaḥ [|| 307*] Parā[śa]r-ānvay-ōdbhūta[ḥ*] śrī-Rāmayyasyata(yya-ta)n-ūdbhavaḥ |
448 yājushō=tra chatu[r*]-vṛittīr=ēti Bācharas-ā[hva]yaḥ [|| 308*]

Tenth Plate, First Side

449 Śrī-Virūpāksha-bhaṭṭasya sūnur=Harida(ta)-sānvayaḥ [|*] yājushō Dēvaṇ-ābhi[khyō*]
450 dhīmānda(mān) s-ārdh-aika-vṛittikaḥ [|| 309*] Sūnuḥ Śiṁgari-bhaṭṭasya Śrīvats-ānva-
451 ya-saṁbhavaḥ | yājushō=naṁta-bhaṭṭ-āsyā(khyō) vṛittim=ēkām=ih=āśnutē [|| 310*] Sūrē-
452 s=Tirumal-ākhyasya sūnuṁ(nuḥ) Śālāvat-ānvayaḥ [|*] yājushaḥ Peddi-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō
453 vṛittim=ēkām=ih=āśnutē [|| 311*] Sūnur=Akkali-bhaṭṭasya Kauṁḍiny-ānvaya-saṁbha-
454 vaḥ | dhīmāṁs=Ta(s=Ti)rumal-ābhikhyā(khyō) yājushō=tra dvi-vṛittikaḥ [|| 312*] Kauśik-ānvaya-[jaḥ*]
455 Kāṇvō Bairirājasya naṁdanaḥ | atr=aika-vṛittikaḥ Peryyanāgay-ākhyō ma-
456 hī-su[ra]ḥ [|| 313*] Naṁdanō Gōpināthasya Kāṇvaḥ Kauṁḍina(nya)-gōtra-jaḥ | atr=ai-kām=a-
457 śnutē vṛittiṁ dhīmāṁś=Chinnaya-nāmakaḥ [|| 314*] Lakshmīnārāyaṇ-ākhyasā(sya) ya-
458 jvanā(nō) yājushaḥ sudhīḥ(taḥ) | Nārāyaṇō=tra Kauṁḍinya-gōtraḥ s-ārdh-aika-vṛi-
459 ttikaḥ [|| 315*] Nāgaṇ-ādhvara(ri)ṇaḥ sūnur=Dēvarāt-ānvay-ōdbhavaḥ | s-ārdh-aika-vṛi-
460 ttim=atr=aiti yājushō Basav-ādhvarī [|| 316*] Sūrēs=Tirumal-āsya(khya)sya sūnur=Ātra-(trē)-
461 ya-gōtra-jaḥ | yājushō Balabhadr-ākhyā(khyō) dhīmān=atr=ārdha-vṛittikaḥ [|| 317*] Yaj[ñ]a-
462 nārāyaṇō dhīmāṁs=Tiṁmā-dīkshita-naṁdanaḥ | yājushō=tra sa-pād-aika-vṛi-
463 tti[r]=Harida(ta)-sānvayaḥ [|| 318*] Naṁdanō Gōpināthasya Bhāradvāj-ānvayā(y-ō)-dbhava[ḥ |]
464 yājushō=tra sa-pād-aika-vṛittir=Vēṁkaṭa-nāmakaḥ [|| 319*] Sūnuḥ Siṁgari-bha-
465 ṭṭasya yājushaḥ Kāśyap-ānvayaḥ | sa-pāda-vṛitti-yugmō=tra Davar-ādhvari-
466 nāmakaḥ [|| 320*] Sūnus=Tirumal-ākhyasya sūrēḥ Kauṁḍinya-gōra(tra)-jaḥ | sāmaga-
467 ś=Chauṁḍi-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō vṛittim=ēkām=ih=āśnutē [|| 321*] Naṁdanō Dēchi-bhaṭṭasya yāju-
468 shō Gūrja-sānvayaḥ | Siddhirāj-āhvayaḥ s-ārdha-vṛitti-trayam=ih=āśnutē [|| 322*] Yā-
469 jushō Pra(Prā)ṇa-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō dhīmānda(mān) Vādhūla-gōtra-jaḥ [|*] sūnur=Basavaṇ-ā-
470 khyasya yajvanā(nō)=tr=aika-vṛittikaḥ [|| 323*] Paṁḍitō Lakshmaṇ-ābhikyō Naṁda-pa[ṁ*]ḍi-
471 ta-naṁdanaḥ | yājushā(shō)=tr=āśnutē vṛitti-dvayaṁ Harida(ta)-sānvayaḥ [|| 324*] Naṁdanō
472 Naṁda-bhaṭṭasya Koṁ(Kauṁ)ḍiny-ānvaya-saṁbhavaḥ | s-ārdh-aika-vṛittikō Naṁdagi-
473 ri-bhaṭṭō=tra yājushaḥ [|| 325*] Naṁdanō Naṁda-bhaṭṭasya Jauṁ(Kauṁ)ḍiny-ānvaya-saṁbhavaḥ |

474. yājusha(shō)=tr=aiti s-ārdh-aika-vṛitti[ṁ*] Dādāri-nāmakaḥ [|| 326*] Naṁdanā(nō) Bhānu-

475 bhaṭṭasya yājushaḥ Kauśik-ānvayaḥ | manīshī Raghunāth-ākhyā(khyō) vṛitti-dva-

476 yam=ih=āśnutē [|| 327*] Sūnur=Mudgala-bhaṭṭasya Pūtimā[sh]-ānvay-ōdbhavaḥ | ba[hvṛi]-

477 chā(chō) Nārasiṁh-ākhyō dhīmānda(mān) s-ārdh-aika-vṛittikaḥ [|| 328*] Śū(Sū)nur=Gōpāla-bha-

478 ṭṭasya Śrīvats-ānvaya-saṁbhavaḥ | yājushō Nārasiṁh-ākhyō vṛitti-dva-

Tenth Plate, Second Side

479 yam=ih=āśnutē [|| 329*] Sūnur=Gōpāla-bhaṭṭasya Śrīvatsa(ts-ā)nvaya-saṁbhavaḥ | yā-

480 jushō=hōbal-ābhikhyō dhīmān=atr=ārdha-vṛittikaḥ [|| 330*] Naṁdanō Vishṇu-bhaṭṭa-

481 sya bahvṛichaḥ Kāśyap-ānvayaḥ | śrī-Nārasiṁha-bhaṭṭō=tra dhīmānda(mān) s-ārdh-ai-

482 ka-vṛittikaḥ [|| 331*] Sūnur=Ayyali-bhaṭṭasya Bhāradvāj-ānvay-ōdbhavaḥ | Liṁgaṁ-bha-

483 ṭṭ-āhvayō=tr=aikāṁ vṛittim=āpnōti yājushaḥ [|| 332*] Śāṁḍilya-gōtra-sa[ṁ*]bhūtē(taḥ) Siṁ-

484 gayyasy=ātma-saṁbhavaḥ | śrī-Rāmkṛishṇa-bhaṭṭ-ākhyē(khyō) yājushō=tr=aika-vṛittikaḥ [|| 333*]

485 Śrīvatsa-gōtra-jaḥ sūnus=Timmā-bhaṭṭasya yājushaḥ | manīshī Basavā-bha-

486 ṭṭō vṛttim=ēkām=ih=āśnutē [|| 334*] Naṁdanaḥ Kṛishṇa-bhaṭṭasya dhīmāṁsi(s=Ti)rumal-ā-

487 hvayaḥ | yājushō=tr=āśnutē vṛittim=ēkāṁ Kauṁḍinya-gōtra-jaḥ [|| 335*] Naṁdanaḥ Sū-

488 ri-bhaṭṭasya Viśvāmitr-ānvay-ōdbhavaḥ [|*] bahvṛichō Dēvaṇ-ābhikhyō dhīmā-

489 nda(n) s-ārdh-aika-vṛittikaḥ [|| 336*] Kāśyap-ānvaya-jaḥ sūnur=Liṁgā-bhaṭṭasya yā-jushaḥ |

490 [Kā]mā-bhaṭṭ-āhvayō dhīmānda(mān) vṛitti-dvayam=ih=āśnutē [|| 337*] Bhāradvāj-ānvayaḥ

491 sūnur=Bhānudēvasya bahvṛichaḥ [|*] Lāvaṇāryō=tra pād-ōna-vṛitti-trayam=ih=ā-

492 śnutē [|| 338*] Bahvṛichō Bhānudēvāryya-sūnur=Dātāri-nāmakaḥ | Bhāradvāj-ānvay-ō-

493 dbhūtō dhīmānda(mān) s-ārdh-aika-vṛittikaḥ [|| 339*] Bhānudēvā[r*]yya-sūnu[ḥ*] śrī-Bhāradvāj-ā-

494 nvay-ōdbhavaḥ [|*] sa-pāda-vṛitti-[yu*]gma[ḥ*] śrī-Vishṇu-bhaṭṭō=tra bahvṛichaḥ [|| 340*] Bhāradvāj-ānvaya[ḥ*]

495 sūnur=Lāhvaṇāchārya[1]sya bahvṛichaḥ [|*] vṛitti-dvayam=ih=āpnōti Chikk-āchāryō ma-

496 hāmatiḥ [|| 341*] Kāśyap-ānvaya-ja[ḥ*] śrauti(tī) Rāmchaṁdra-sudhī-sutaḥ | Tippā-bha-

497 ṭṭ-āhvayō=tr=aikāṁ vṛittim=āpnōti yājushaḥ [|| 342*] Naṁdanā(nō)=naṁtayāryasya yāju-

498 shō Gārgya-sānvayaḥ [|*] manīshī Rāmayāchāryō vṛittima(m=ē)kām=ih=āśnutē [|| 343*]

499 Naṁdanaḥ(na)s=Tātayāryasya Cha(Śa)ṭhamarshaṇa-gōtra-jaḥ | Kumāratātayāchāryō

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[1] Better read *Lāhvaṇākhya*° for the sake of metre.

500 yājushō=tra dvi-vṛittikaḥ [|| 344*] Ātra(trē)ya-gōtra-jō Dēvarāja-bhāgavat-ātmajaḥ |

501 yājushaḥ Kṛishṇadās-ākhyō vṛitti-dvayam=ih=āśnutē [|| 345*] Naṁdanaḥ **Kṛishṇadāsas[y]a**

502 dhīmān=Ātra(trē)ya-gōtra-jaḥ [|*] s-ārdh-aika-vṛittim=atr=aiti yājushaḥ(sha)s=**Timmap-ā-**

503 hvaya[ḥ,|| 346*] Dāmōdara[sya*] sūnu[ḥ*] Śrīvatsa-gōtrā(trō)=tra **bahvṛichaḥ** | s-ārdh-aika-vṛitti-

504 m=āpnōti dhīmān Guruśirā(rō)maṇiḥ [|| 347*] Sūrēḥ(rē)s=Tipu(ru)mal-ākhyasya sū-

505 nur=Harida(ta)-sānvayaḥ | śrī-Gaṁgādhara-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō yājushō=tr=aika-vṛittika[ḥ || 348*]

506 Yājushō Giri-bhaṭṭ-ākhyō Vārdhasv-ānvaya-saṁbhavaḥ [|*] Vā(Bā)darāyaṇa-bha-

507 ṭṭasya sūnur=atra dvi-vṛittika[ḥ ||349*] Yājushō Raghunāth-ākhyō Bādarāya-

508 ṇa-bhaṭṭa-jaḥ | Vārdhasva-gōtra-saṁbhūtā(tō) vṛitti-dvayam=ih=āśnutē [|| 350*]

Eleventh Plate

509 Tad=idam=avanī-vanīpaga(ka)-vinatu(nuta)-dhar-āyasya Kṛishṇarāyasya | śā-

510 sanam=uru-kavi-vaibhava-nivaha-nidānasya bhūri-dānasya |[| 351*] Kṛi-

511 shṇadēva-mahārāya-śāsanēna Sabhāpati[ḥ*] | abhānīṁ(ṇīn)=mṛidu-saṁdarbha[ṁ*]

512 tad=idaṁ tāṁ(tā)mra-śāsanaṁ(nam) [|| 352*] Kṛishṇadēva-mahārāya-śāsana(nā)n=**Mallaṇ-ā-**

513 tmajaḥ | tvashṭā śrī-Vīrāṇ-āchāryō vyalikha[t*] tāṁ(tā)mra-śāsanaṁ(nam) | [| 353*] **Dā-**

514 na-pālanayōr=madhyē dānāch=chh[r*]ēyō=nupālanaṁ(nam) | dānāt=svargam=a-

515 vāpnōti pālanād=achyutaṁ padaṁ(dam) |[| 354*] Svadattā[d*]=dvi-guṇaṁ **puṇyaṁ** para-da-

516 tt-ānupālanaṁ(nē) | paradatt-āpahārēṇa sva-dattaṁ nishphalaṁ bhava(vē)t [|| 355*]

517 Sva-datta(ttā)ṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harēta vasuṁdharāṁ(rām) | shashṭir=**varsha-sahasra-**(srā)ṇi

518 vishṭā(shṭhā)yāṁ jāyatē kṛimi[ḥ*] |[| 356*] Ek=aiva bhaginī lōkē sarvēshām=ēva

519 bhū-bhujāṁ(jām) | na bhōjyāṁ(jyā) na kara-grāhyā vipra-dattā vasuṁdharā |[| 357*] Sā-

520 mānyō=yaṁ dharma-sētur=nṛipāṇāṁ kāle kālē pālanīyō bhavadbhiḥ [|*]

521 sarvān=ētān=bhāvinaḥ pā[r*]thiv-ēṁdrān=bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē **Rāmchaṁdraḥ** || [358*]

522 Śrī-Virūpāksha[1] [||*]

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[1] This expression, as usual, is engraved in Telugu-Kannaḍa characters

No. 22—KALANJARA INSCRIPTION OF V. S. 1147

(*1 Plate*)

SANT LAL KATARE, JABALPUR

The inscription, which is being edited here for the first time, is engraved on a stone slab built into the wall of the sanctum of a temple dedicated to the god Nīlakaṇṭha at **Kālañjara.**[1] It is noticed by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* for the year 1935-36, pp. 93-94. It appears that Śiva in the form of Nīlakaṇṭha was widely worshipped in the Chandēlla dominions as temples dedicated to this deity are found both at Kālañjara and Ajayagarh.

The inscription covers an area 2·1′ long and 1·5′ wide. It has in all 20 lines of writing and a short marginal note[2] of four lines on the left side at the lower end of the main epigraph. As the stone slab is damaged on both the sides, a few letters in the beginning and at the end of some of the lines have been lost, yet the text of the main inscription can be almost fully restored. The marginal note[2] is so badly damaged that very little can be read except the name of Vāsudēva in line 1.

The **characters** are of the 11th century A.D. The **orthographical** peculiarities are the doubling of the consonant following the superscript *r* and the use of the dental *s* for both the palatal *ś* and the lingual *sh*. The *pṛishṭha, agra* and *ūrdhva mātrās* are used to indicate the medial *ē, ai, ō* and *au*.

The **Language** is Sanskrit. It is in verse upto the 16th line and in prose from lines 16 to 20. There are some mistakes in the writing and they have been corrected either in the text or in foot-notes.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the construction of a *maṇḍapa* for the temple of Nīlakaṇṭha by Śrīmūrti,[3] the *guru* of Kīrtivarman. The donation of land measuring two ploughs was made at the time of the *dhvajārōhaṇa* ceremony, i.e. the opening ceremony of the *maṇḍapa*. Who donated the land is not clear.[4] It may be *Sūtradhāra* Rāma who built the *maṇḍapa*: but since the text is not complete and the marginal note consisting of that portion of the main text which had been by mistake left out by the scribe is very badly defaced, it is not possible to know the donor. As the name of Vāsudēva occurs in the marginal note, it is not also unlikely that he was the donor of the land[4].

The inscription opens with a salutation to Śiva. Verse 1 sings the praise of Śiva as the pillar of the world. In the second verse is praised Śrīmūrti, the *guru* (preceptor) of king Kīrtivarman, as one who had attained the glory of knowledge by the favour of the pair of the lotus-like feet of *Trinētra* (Śiva). He is further described in the next two verses. It is stated that he built a beautiful *maṇḍapa* for the temple of the god Nīlakaṇṭha at Kālañjara. The royal preceptor directed the chief of the royal *śrīkaraṇas*, the Śaivas, the *Pāśupatas* and their *āchārya* Vārika and others that

[1] For the description of the Nīlakaṇṭha shrine and notices of inscriptions at Kālañjara, see Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, Vol. XXI, parts i and ii, pp. 32 ff.

[2] [See below, p. 166, note 1—Ed.]

[3] [See below, p. 164, note 1—Ed.]

[4] [See below, p. 166, note 2—Ed.]

they should comply with the request of Vāsudēva and allow him to enjoy the merit of his good deed, as by this compliance they will also earn a part of the merit.[1]

The inscription belongs to the reign of king Kīrtivarman, who might be the Chandēllā Kīrtivarman, brother of Dēvavarman and son of Vijayapāla. It is dated *Saṁvat* (V.S.) 1147, Māgha-sudi 7, Rēvatī-nakshatra, which, if the year is taken as current, corresponds to Thursday, January 10, 1090 A.D.

The present inscription gives for Kīrtivarman a date seven years earlier than the date, V.S. 1154, so far known for him from the Deogarh inscription. I have already suggested in this journal[2] that Kīrtivarman ascended the throne sometime between 1061 and 1072 A.D. Recently Dr. Sircar has published an inscription[3] of the same king dated in V.S. 1132, which is fifteen years earlier than the date recorded in the present inscription. Kīrtivarman ruled for a few years after 1098 A.D., his last known date from the Deogarh inscription. The earliest known date of his grandson Jayavarman falls in 1117 A.D.[4] Between the two ruled Sallakshaṇavarman,[5] son of Kīrtivarman; but no record of his time has been discovered. This suggests that Sallakshaṇavarman had a short reign. He may have succeeded Kīrtivarman about 1105 A.D. The inscription for the first time makes mention of the name of the *guru* of Kīrtivarman and of his patronage to the Śaivas and the Pāśupatas, two schools of Śaivism.

The *praśasti* was composed by the *Kāyastha Ṭhakkura* Dēvapāla,[6] son of Payā, and the *maṇḍapa* was built by the *sūtradhāra* Rāma, who is mentioned in another Kālañjara inscription dated 1131 A.D., when his son *Rūpakāra* Lāhaḍa made an image of Nīlakaṇṭha.[7]

The scribe, who appears to have omitted a portion of the text which he later on incised in the margin, has drawn the attention of the reader to it by adding a note at the end of the main record saying 'the wise will read the small inscription also'[8]. The marginal note seems to state that the two ploughs of land were donated by Vāsudēva.[8]

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[1] If my reading of this portion of the text as *gaḍūkadvaya-dānēna* is correct, it seems that Vāsudēva requested Śrīmūrti for permission to donate two pots of water and gain the merit of this pious deed. The practice of setting up over the *liṅgam*, for the duration of the summer, of two pots of water from which water falls on the *liṅgam* drop by drop is not only common, but is regarded as a highly pious deed.

[The preceptor of king Kīrtivarman is mentioned in verse 2 as *Śrī-mūrti* which does not appear to be his personal name but looks like an honorific expression like *śrī-mukha*, *śrī-hasta*, *śrī-charaṇa*, etc. (cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 304 f.). His real name is given in his own speech, quoted in verses 5 ff., as Vāsudēva. The passage *Śaivāḥ Pāśupat-āchārya-vārika-pramukhāḥ* in verse 6 means 'the Śaivas headed by the Pāśupata *āchāryas* and *vārikas*,' in which the *vārikas* were 'temple superintendents' like the Paṇḍās of today (cf. above, Vol. XXX, pp. 171, 173 ff.). The reading intended for what has been read *gaḍūka* seems to be *gaṁḍūsha*, 'handful'.

The expression *rāja-śrīkaraṇ-ādhipāḥ* in the same stanza means 'superintendents of the king's record department'. Vāsudēva thus requests the royal officers and the local Śaivas to protect the *maṇḍapa* constructed by him. In verse 5 , he prays for only that much merit for his pious deed as would accrue to a person dedicating two water-jars for providing for continuous ablution of a Śivaliṅga (cf. ibid., p. 235).—Ed.]

[2] Above , Vol. XXX, p. 89.

[3] *IHQ*, Vol. XXX, pp. 183 ff.

[4] Above, Vol. I, p. 139.

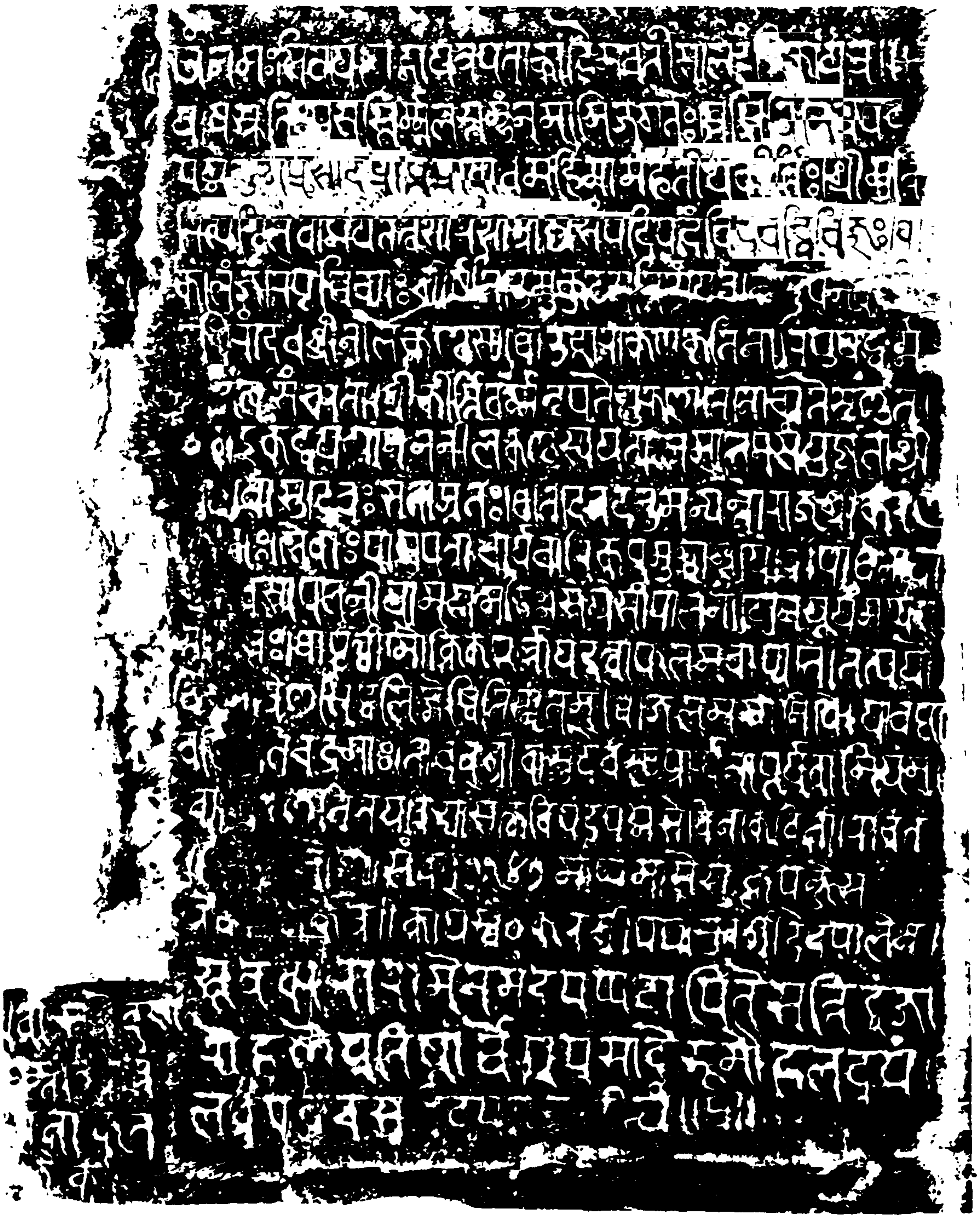
[5] Ibid., p. 198, v. 9 and p. 327, v. 4. His coins with the name Sallakshaṇavarman have been found.

[6] [See below, p. 165, note 4 ; p. 166, note 2. —Ed.]

[7] *ASR*, Vol. XXI, pp. 34-35, Pl. X, C.

[8] [See below, p. 166, note 1.—Ed.]

KALANJARA INSCRIPTION OF V. S. 1147



Scale: One-third

TEXT

[Metres : Verses 1, 3 and 4 *Āryā* ; verse 2 *Vasantatilakā* ; verses 5-9 *Anushṭubh.*]

1 ॐ नमः सि(शि)वाय । गङ्गा यत्र पताका हैमवती साल[भं]जिका यत्र ।

2 यत्र स्तुतिः प्रस(श)स्तिर्म्मूलस्तम्भं नमामि जगतः ।[। १*] स्वस्ति त्रिनेत्रपद-

3 पद्म[जु](यु)गप्रसादप्राप्तप्रवो(बो)धमहिमा महती(नी)यकीर्त्तिः । श्रीमु(मू)र्त्ति-

4 रित्यखिलवाङ्मयतत्व(त्त्व)सारसाम्राज्यसंपदि पदं विदधद्विधिज्ञः । थ[1] । [२*]

5 कालंजरे पृथिव्याः शीर्षनिभे मुकुटसन्निभं येन । मण्डपम[कारि]

6 [रुचि]रं देवश्रीनीलकण्ठस्य । थ । [३*] उद्धारकेण कृतिना रिपुषड्वर्ग्गं(र्गं)

7 [वि]जित्य संवरता । श्रीकीर्त्तिवर्म्मनृपतेग्गु(र्गु)रुणा तेनोच्यते सृ(शृ)णुत ।

8 [थ ।] [४*] [गडू]कद्वयदानेन नीलकण्ठस्य यत्फलम् । तेन संयुज्यता(तां) श्री-

9 [मान्] वासुदेवः सताम्र(म्म)तः । थ [५*] तदेतदनुमन्यन्ता(न्तां) राजश्रोकरण[ा]-

10 [धिपः(पाः)] । सै(शै)वाः पासु(शु)पत्ता(ता)चार्यवारिकप्रमुखाश्च ये । थ । [६*] पा(प्रा)र्थना वा-

11 [सुदे]वस्य पालनीया महात्मभिः । स्रे(श्रे)यसां पालनाद्येन[2] यूयं(य)मप्यंस(श)-

12 भा[गिनः] । थ । [७*] पृथ्वी(थ्वीं) मौक्तिकपूर्ण्णा(र्णां) यद्दत्वा(त्त्वा) फलमवाप्यते । तत्पयो-

13 वि[धि]मात्रेण सिद्धलिङ्गेष्विति स्मृतम् । थ । [८*] जलमम्भोनिधौ यावद्या-

14 व[द्विभा]ति च(चं)द्रमाः । तावा[च्]श्रीवासुदेवस्य प्रार्थना पूर्यतामियम् ।

15 [। थ ।] [९*]....नि(वि)त(न)यविद्यासत्कविपदपद्मसेविना कविना । रचितं

16 ....[3] ॥ संवत् ११४७ माघमासे सु(शु)क्लपक्षे स[प्तमी(म्यां)]

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[1] [For this letter indicating the completion of a stanza, see above, Vol. XXX, p. 218, note 2.—Ed.]

[2] [Read °*d=ēva*.—Ed.]

[3] [The name of the poet, responsible for the composition of the *praśasti*, appears to have been engraved in this stanza in *Āryā*. The concluding part of the record may not have been composed by him.—Ed.]

17 रेव[ती]नक्षत्रे ॥ कायस्थठक(क्कु)रश्रीप[या]सुतश्रीदेवपालेन ।

18 सूत्रधारा(र)रामेन(ण) मंडप(पे) घटापिते सत्ति(ति) द्ब(ध्व)जा-

19 रोहणे प्रतिष्ठार्थेग्रप्रसादे भूमौ हलद्वयं[1] ॥

20 लघु एव च सु[धियां पठनी]यं[2] ॥ श्री ॥

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[1] The text is incomplete here, the verb being missing and also probably the name of the donor of the land. It seems that the portion of the text which was left out was inscribed as the marginal note. [What the author takes to be a marginal note may have formed part of a different record. The inscription seems to be complete in itself. See note 2 below.—Ed.]

[2] This note apparently did not form part of the main text and was added later on. [The line, which no doubt forms a part of the original record, reads *ladhvaṁ ēta cha sarvvadā pālanīyaṁ* ||*tha*||. The intended reading of the corrupt passage in lines 19-20 seems to be °*rōpaṇārthaṁ pratishṭhārthaṁ cha agra-prasādaṁ bhūmi-hala-dvayaṁ labdham ētach=cha sarvvadā pālanīyam*, although the context appears to require a word like *dattam* instead of *labdham*. Lines 17-20 mean to say that, on the completion of the construction by the mason Rāma, *Kāyastha* Dēvapāla granted, on the occasion of its installation ceremony, two *hala* measures of land for its maintenance. The expression *agra-prasāda* may mean the same thing as *tala-vritti* of the Kannaḍa records.—Ed.]

No. 23—BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS FROM BANDHOGARH

(*5 Plates*)

THE LATE DR. N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, NEW DELHI[1]

In March 1938 a number of inscriptions in Brāhmī characters were discovered by me at **Bāndhogarh** in the former Rewa State in Vindhya Pradesh.[2] The epigraphs were found inscribed on the walls of artificial caves found in the neighbourhood of the hill fort of Bāndhogarh.

Bāndhogarh (23° 40′ N., 81° 3′ E.), the old capital of the Bāghelās, is situated in the south-east of the Rewah State in the Rāmnagar Tahsil. It is about 22 miles from Umariā, the nearest Railway Station. Over fifty caves were discovered in this area, most of which are artificial. They are distributed over the low hills within a radius of 3 miles of Gopālpur, a small village at the foot of the fort. The village no longer exists and the only people that lived in the neighbourhood were found to be a few constables in charge of the fort. The forests of Bāndhogarh are infested with wild animals and many of the caves are difficult of access. But for the interest taken and the facilities given by the Rewah Darbar it would have been impossible for me to reach many of these caves. Bāndhogarh was reputed to be an ancient site ; but very little was known about its early history. It was the early seat of the Bāghelās and the rulers of Rewah are known as Bāndhaveśa or the lord of Bāndhogarh (lit. 'lord of friends'). According to a tradition followed by the Rewah house no permission for visiting the fort area was ordinarily given to one who was not a subject of the State. Appreciating the difficulty that might arise in my offering personally to visit the place, I suggested, nearly two years before my visit, if somebody belonging to the State could be sent on a preliminary search. Accordingly, Head Constable Kesari Singh, who had spent 27 years of his service at Bāndhogarh, was deputed by the Rewah Darbar to inspect the site and see what epigraphic materials were available. Kesari Singh spent over three months in this work and reported to have found a large number of caves. He also prepared eye-copies of any writing he could find in these, which were sent to me for examination.

At the very first glance at the eye-copies I was impressed with the antiquity and importance of the site. But as it was impossible to make much out of them, I requested the Darbar to grant me permission to visit the place. When my request was placed before His Highness Sir Gulab Singh, the late Maharaja of Rewah, who was well known for his advanced views and was always anxious to have the materials for the ancient history of Rewah properly studied, he readily granted the necessary permission as a special case. I was thus able to visit the place in March 1938. During my stay there I inspected all the caves that were reported to have contained some sort of writing and also most of those containing no inscriptions, particularly the bigger ones. These caves, or more appropriately rock-cut dwellings, are of different sizes. Many of them consist of one hall and one or two cells ; but there are a few containing seven, eight or even nine cells. None of these, except two, now contains any carved images, while a third has some designs carved on pillars. Otherwise they are simple structures excavated in the rocks. As these are soft sandstone rocks, some of the caves and many of the inscriptions have suffered badly. It appears that the method of writing

[1] [It is greatly to be regretted that the author passed away while the article was still in the press.—Ed.]

[2] A detailed notice of these inscriptions was to be published by me in the *An. Rep. A.S.I.*, 1938 ; but its printing was withheld as a war measure. They have been noticed by N. G. Majumdar, above, Vol. XXIV, p. 146, note 2 ; by Mirashi, Vol. XXVI, p. 298 ; and by Motichandra, *JNSI*, Vol. II, p. 10, and *ABORI*, Vol. XXVII (1946), pp. 15 f. [See also *N. Hist. Ind. Peop.*, Vol. VI, pp. 41 ff. ; *Hist. Cult. Ind. Peop.*, Vol. II, pp. 174 ff. Macron over e and o has not been used in this article.—Ed.]

employed in these caves was first to engrave the record on the wall and then paint the letters with a kind of red pigment with a view to bringing out the letters clearly. The paint is still intact in a few of the inscriptions. The necessity of painting the letters is emphasized by the fact that the walls of the caves had not been always properly smoothened before the engraving was done. The surface is so rough in some of the caves that it is difficult to read the inscriptions from the rock itself. Probably the inscriptions were first written on the rocks with a similar paint also before the engraving was done. This accounts for Cunningham's finding the Ginja hill inscription[1] of Bhīmasena in red paint which for some reason unknown to us was never engraved. In these caves I found also a few short records written in red or black paint which are now so badly obliterated that they defied all attempts at decipherment. Besides the inscriptions of historical importance which alone are considered here, some of the caves contain short records incised in them. Many of these are apparently pilgrims' records though the sense conveyed by them is not always clear. In two of the caves I found a few letters in shell characters beautifully carved.

The **palaeography** of these records shows some peculiar features. Though written within a short space of 50 years, the inscriptions offer several types of writing. The earliest record belonging to the year 51 of the time of Bhīmasena shows early features ; but in the others the letters show both archaic and more advanced forms. Inscription No. XI of the time of Bhaṭṭadeva and dated in the year 90 is the typical example of the second category. The writing usually shows southern characteristics but in certain cases northern forms are also discernible. The vertical stroke of *a* and *r* is straight but also shows an occasional hook at the bottom, e.g. in Nos. I and IX. Initial *u* is found in *Ujhasa* (No. X). The vowel *e* is shown by a triangle with the base slanting upwards ; but the base is straight in No. XI. The vertical bar of *k* is usually straight and the horizontal bar bent ; but the latter is straight in No. XI. The letter *kh* has a large triangle at the base with a short hook above ; but sometimes the base takes the form of a loop, e.g. in *Rakhitikā* and *pakhe* in No. IV. The letter *g* usually has a rounded top ; but it is angular in No. I. The left vertical line of *j* is bent in the middle ; but, in Nos. I and XI, the vertical and horizontal bars are all straight. *Dh* has narrow points and rounded back ; but the back is sometimes angular, e.g. in *dhamo* (No. XI). *P* and *b* show a notch to the left ; but the left horizontal limb is straight in Nos. I and XI. *M* has a triangular base, though in rare cases it is inclined to show a rounded form as in *Chhamikasa* and *negamasa* in No. VI, line 2. *Y* has usually a hook or a loop on the left. The right limb of *l* is usually bent to the left at the top ; but it is straight in No. I, e.g., in *Balamita* (line 4). A second form of this letter is also found in No. VIII, corresponding to that found in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta. *H* has also two forms, the usual one with a hook to the right and also, though rarely, another like the letter found in the inscription of Usavadāta, e.g. in *Mahārāja* in No. VIII. Of the numerals, symbols for 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 50, 80 and 90 are found. The advanced form of the numeral 2 is noticed in No. IX, line 4, as against the earlier forms in Nos. VII and XVII. These few details will show that the **script**, as found in these records, partly shows features of the Kushāṇa records but is on the whole more allied to that found in the cave inscriptions of the Kshatrapas of Western India and also of the cave inscriptions of the Western Deccan belonging to the second century A.D.

With the exception of Nos. XIV, XVIII and XIX which refer to Śivamagha and Vaiśravaṇa and are written in Sanskrit, the **language** of the remaining inscriptions is Prakrit. Sanskritisation is, however, noticed in a few instances in the Prakrit records ; cf. *sārthika* (No. III, line 4), *siddha* (Nos. IV-VI, IX, XVII), *Chakra* (No. IV), and *layana* (No. XI). The main **orthographical** features noticed in the inscriptions in Prakrit are as follows : single consonants are used for double as usual in such inscriptions although doubling is noticed in *bhaṭṭāraka* (Nos. VIII, IX), *Bhaṭṭadēva*

[1] Cunningham, *ASI*, Vol. XXI, p. 119 and Plate No. XXX.

(Nos. XI, XIII), *puttrena* and *pauttrena* (No. VII), *varddhatu* (No. IX) and wrongly in *khānittā* for *khānitā* (No. VII). *N* has been used for *ṇ* throughout, except in °*charaṇā*, *puṇya* (No. VII), and *ṇ* for *n* in *Bhīmaseṇa* (No. I). *Anusvāra* has been omitted in many places. *S* has been used for both *ś* and *sh* except in rare instances, e.g. *śatehi* (No. VII). The following forms of ordinals are noteworthy : *pathame*, *padhame* (Skt. *prathame*, Nos. II, etc.), *be*, *dvo*, *bitīye* (Nos. VII, VIII), *dona*, *donaṁ*, *doṁnaṁ* (Skt. *dvayōḥ*, Nos. II-VI), *ekapan* (Skt. *ekapañchāśat*, No. I), *chhāsīta* (Skt. *shaḍaśīti*, Nos. II-VI). Other interesting Prakrit words are : *sahiyaṁ* or *sahīyaṁ* (Nos. II, etc.) for Skt. *sahitam*, *vāvatena* (Skt. *vyāpṛitēna*, Nos. VIII, IX), *vāyāmasālā* (Skt. *vyāyāmaśālā*, No. XVII), *vaḍhatu* (Nos. II, etc.), *vadhatu* (Nos. III, etc.) for Skt. *vardhatu*, *lātā* (with plural *lātāni*)[1] in the sense of Pkt. *leṇa*, Skt. *layana*, 'a cave', *jhaṭi*, Skt. *jhāṭi* (No. VIII), 'a small shrub', *chagavāra* (Pāli *chaṅgavāra*), 'a vessel' (Nos. II-VI), and *kaṭhikārika-kamāra*, 'a carpenter' (No. I). Feminine form for masculine seems to have been used in *Rakhitikāe* side by side with the correct form *Rakhitikasa* (No. V) and in *Chelāe*[2] (Nos. II, etc.). Proper names in many instances end in *ka*, e.g. *Phagusamaka* (No. I), *Phaguhathika*, *Datika* (Nos. II-IV, VI), *Jivanaka* (No. VII), etc.

The main group of the inscriptions speaks of three generations of kings. These kings are *Mahārāja* **Vāsiṭhīputa siri-Bhīmasena** (year 51), his son *Mahārāja* **Kochhīputa Poṭhasiri** (years 86 to 88) and his son (?) *Mahārāja* **Kosikiputa Bhaṭṭadeva** (year 90). Of these rulers, so far only the name of *Mahārāja* Bhīmasena was known from the painted inscription of the year 52 on the Ginja hill in the Rewah State, situated at a distance of more than 100 miles towards the north-east of Bāndhogarh, as well as from a seal discovered during the excavations at Bhiṭā. The metronymic *Vāsiṭhīputa* is found in the Bāndhogarh inscription (No. I) and the Bhita seal but not in the Ginja inscription. The present inscription offers the earliest date for this ruler as also valuable information about his son and grandson. It will also appear from our discussion below that the year 86 in the reign of Poṭhasiri was marked by a great activity, as this is the year during which many of the cave dwellings were excavated. Nos. VIII-IX of the year 86 record the donation of Magha or Māgha who was the Minister of Foreign Affairs of king Poṭhasiri and was the son of the Minister Chakora. Another cave (cf. No. X) likewise owed its existence to the munificence of a minister of the same king. With these preliminary remarks I shall now turn my attention to the inscriptions individually.

The earliest dated inscription (No. I) is found on the back wall of a rock-cut cave situated between the Ganesh Pahār and Rāmagiri at a distance of about 3 miles to the north-east of Gopālpur by the side of a stream. The inscription, which is in 5 lines, is dated the 8th day of the 5th fortnight of *Varshā* of the year 51 in the reign of *Mahārāja* Vāsiṭhiputa (Vāśishṭhīputra) Bhīmasena and records the construction of a cave-dwelling by a guild of merchants including a goldsmith and an artisan(?).

In the Ganesh Pahār area, a group of five inscriptions engraved in five different caves contains more or less one and the same text (Nos. II-VI). All these records are dated the 5th day of the first fortnight of *Hemanta* of the year 86 in the reign of *Mahārāja* Kochhiputa (Kautsīputra) Poṭhasiri (Praushṭhaśrī) and record the construction of caves, the donation of a garden (*ārāma*) and a vessel (*chagavāra*) by Rakhitika (Rakshita), whose grandfather was a merchant of Kauśāmbī, and by Chelā[2], son of a merchant, together with their sons. It is interesting to note that one of these is called the 'traders' cave' (*sārthika*) and another a *maṇḍapa* (*maḍhava*) cave and yet another a *chhata* cave which may mean an umbrella (*chhatra*) cave or a cave for the novices (*chhātra*).

[1] [In many of the inscriptions (cf. Nos. VI-VII), *n* often has a form that closely resembles *t*. It is not impossible that the intended reading of what has been read as *lātā* or *lāta* is *lānā* or *lāna* from *layanaka*=*laanaa*, *layana*=*laana*. It is interesting to note that *layana* occurs in the same sense in No. XI.—Ed.]

[2] [The reading of the name seems to be *Chalā*.—Ed.]

Another inscription (No. VII) found on the back wall of a cave situated in the same area is dated the 5th day of the 2nd fortnight of *Hemanta* of the year 88 and belongs to the reign of the same ruler Poṭhasiri. It records the excavation of a cave and a well by the merchant Gahavudhi whose grandfather was a merchant of Mathurā. He seems to have also given an endowment (*nivi*, Skt. *nīvī*). Nearby are still visible the remains of a well (now partly filled up) which was dug into the solid rock.

Of the twelve Brāhmī inscriptions that I copied on the eastern and western sides of Gopālpur, the earliest (No. X) is dated the 10th day of the 5th fortnight of *Grīshma* of the year 86 and belongs to the time of Poṭhasiri. It records the erection of a dwelling (*ketana*) and the excavation of a cave by the Minister (*amacha*) Bhabāṭha.

Two caves about a mile to the west of Gopālpur and situated about 20 yards apart from each other bear an inscription each (Nos. VIII-IX). One is dated the 10th day of the 7th fortnight of *Grīshma* of the year 86 and the other the 10th day of the 7th fortnight of *Hemanta* of the same year. Both belong to the reign of Poṭhasiri and record the donation of two wells (*vāpī*), caves and a garden consisting of shrubs by the minister Magha or Māgha, who was the Minister of Foreign Affairs of *Mahārāja* Poṭhasiri and the son of the minister Chakora.

The inscription (No. XVII) next in chronological order is dated the 5th day of the second fortnight of the rainy season of the year 87 in the reign of the same ruler and records the excavation of a well (*vāpī*), cave-dwellings and also a gymnasium or hall for taking physical exercise (*vāyāmasālā*) by Pusa (Pushya) whose father was a merchant of Pavata (Parvata). Parvata as a place name occurs in the pillar inscription[1] of Pratihāra Kakkuka of the Vikrama year 918. The commentary on the *Sutta Nipāta* also mentions a Pabbata-raṭṭha (Parvata-rāshṭra) in the centre of Videha-raṭṭha.[2] But the place mentioned as Pavata in the inscriptions is possibly identical with Po-fa-to noticed by the Chinese pilgrim Hsüan Tsang. Parvata is also mentioned by Pāṇini (IV, 2, 143). As it is included in the Takshaśilādi-gaṇa, some scholars have located this tract in the Panjab. Whatever may be the case, the present record contains the earliest epigraphical reference to the place.

The next inscription (No. XI) is dated the first day of the first fortnight of *Hemanta* of the year 90 and belongs to the reign of *Mahārāja* Bhaṭṭadeva. From the date 90 given in this record, which closely follows the period of Poṭhasiri, as well as from the two other fragmentary inscriptions noticed below, it can be surmised that he was the son and successor of Poṭhasiri. This inscription records the construction of a cave by a merchant. In a cave about a mile and a half to the west of Gopālpur, not far from the cave just referred to, are found two fragmentary inscriptions (Nos. XIII, A-B), one of which, containing traces of four lines, records the construction of caves for dwelling (*ketana*). There was a date in the second line, of which only the word *pakhe* is now faintly visible, the rest of the line having completely disappeared. Of the name of the ruler only *Mahārāja-Poṭhasiri-putasa* [*Ko*] is legible in the first line. Of the second inscription found on the back wall of this cave, only the portion containing *Mahārājasa Kosikiputasa siri-Bhaṭṭadevasa* is preserved. Though each of these inscriptions is fragmentary by itself, taken together they throw light on the genealogy of these rulers, because we can, as suggested above, surmise that this *Mahārāja Kosikiputa* Bhaṭṭadeva was the son of *Mahārāja* Poṭhasiri.[3]

The other rulers whose names are found at Bāndhogarh apparently did not belong to the line of Bhīmasena directly. There might have been some relationship between the two lines of rulers ;

[1] Bhandarkar's List, No. 32 and note.

[2] Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, Vol. II, p. 142.

[3] [See p. 183, n. 2, below.—Ed.]

but what it was cannot be ascertained. About a mile to the west of Gopālpur, I came across a large cave containing a big hall and seven cells. On the back wall of this hall, on both sides of the door leading to the cells, was engraved an inscription (No. XIV), of which only a few letters now remain. Though fragmentary, this record is interesting as on the left side is legible *Mahārāja-Śivamaghasya* and on the right side *nava imā lātāgrihāḥ*. Unfortunately nothing more of the inscription is now preserved ; but, from the little space left after °*maghasya* on the right side, it would not be far wrong to assume that these caves were donated by the above named ruler himself. If there was any date, it is now completely effaced. We know of another inscription[1] of this ruler from Kosam. Unfortunately the date is not preserved in this record also. That he belonged to the same line as Bhadramagha of Kauśāmbī, for whom we have now dates ranging from 81 to 88, there can be no doubt. But there is yet no direct evidence of their mutual relationship We cannot even ascertain as to who was the earlier of the two. From the fact, however, that a seal of Śivamagha was found along with that of Bhīmasena in course of the excavations at Bhiṭā, it may be assumed that Śivamagha was the earlier.[2]

Of great interest is also the fragmentary inscription (No. XVIII) found on the left wall of the verandah of a cave pertaining to this area. The verandah is now partly fallen and the inscription is badly damaged. Fortunately I found the same record also engraved on a rock (No. XIX), now lying near a nullah not far from Gopālpur. Evidently this rock once belonged to a cave, now difficult to identify, and must have fallen down the hill due to the ravages of weather. Though both these epigraphs are fragmentary, their texts can be completely restored by comparing the writing of the one with that of the other. Each of them records the construction of a cave by king (*Rājan*) Vaiśravaṇa who was the son of *Mahāsenāpati* Bhadrabāla. Some years ago, an inscription[3] of a homonymous ruler was discoverd near Kosam. It is dated the first day of the 7th fortnight of *Grīshma* of the year 107 and records the erection of an umbrella in the Pūruvasiddhāyatana at Badarikārāma for the worship of Lord Pitāmaha, i.e. the Buddha, by the merchant Māgha who was a lay disciple (*śrāvaka*) and whose grandfather was a merchant of Śuktimatī. This inscription, however, does not mention anything about the father of Vaiśravaṇa while the two inscriptions from Bāndhogarh clearly mention him as the son of *Mahāsenāpati* Bhadrabāla. It may be noted, however, that the Kosam inscription styles him *Mahārāja* while the two records from Bāndhogarh refer to him as *Rājan*. Now, if the ruler mentioned in all the three records is identical, we have to assume that Vaiśravaṇa belonged to a collateral branch who, for some reason not known to us at present, succeeded a Magha ruler. his predecessor being perhaps Bhadramagha. He may also be a different ruler belonging only to the Bāndhogarh line.[4] As I have pointed out elsewhere[5], *Mahāsenāpati* found in these inscriptions may have been a title of nobility and may not be taken in the literal sense of the chief commander of the army. It is just possible that Vaiśravana who gained more eminence than his father assumed at first the title *Rājan* which he replaced at a later date by that of *Mahārāja*.[6]

In two contiguous caves situated about a mile to the south-west of Gopālpur were found three inscriptions (Nos. XV and XVI), one of them containing one epigraph and the other two inscriptions. These records are fragmentary by themselves ; but, as they contain more or less the same text, the sense can be easily made out. They record the donation of caves, a well (*vāpikā*) and a garden by Phagu (Phalgu), son of the merchant Pusa (Pushya) who was an inhabitant of Pavata

[1] Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 139, No. II.

[2] *ASI*, AR, 1911-12, p. 51. For further discussion on the chronology of these rulers, see below, pp. 173 ff.

[3] Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 146 ff.

[4] See below, p. 176.

[5] Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 52, note.

[6] [See below, p. 176 and note 3.—Ed.]

(Parvata). We have noticed before that an inscription belonging to year 87 of the reign of Poṭhasiri records a donation by one Pusa. Considering the fact that he also hailed from Parvata, it will not be unreasonable to suppose that he is identical with Pushya, the father of Phalgu, of the inscriptions under consideration. We know that, in the year 88, Poṭhasiri was still ruling, while in the year 90 we find his son Bhaṭṭadeva already installed as king. So the ruler in Phalgu's time should have been either Bhaṭṭadeva or his successor. Now in the first of the two caves mentioned above there is a fragmentary inscription (No. XV). Its writing exhibits larger characters and it starts from the south wall and is continued on the wall to the left containing the inscription of Phalgu. The beginning of this record seems to have been lost; but we can still read [*Vā*]*siṭhiputasa siri-Chitasenasa*. From the way this name is recorded it appears to be that of a ruler and probably the date was continued in the next line which, along with the expression *Mahārājasa* at the beginning of the first line, is now missing.[1] Since this cave was, according to the inscription found in it, excavated by Phalgu, it can bear only the name of the contemporary ruler. If our surmise is correct, then we may be almost certain that this Chitasena (Chitrasena) was the successor of Bhaṭṭadeva in the line of king Bhīmasena.

In the caves to the south-east of Gopālpur, I found three short records (No. XX, A-C). The walls bearing the records are not properly dressed, and the surface is too rough to ensure satisfactory decipherment of the records. All of them, however, bear one and the same text and seem to record that they were dwellings (*kētana*) dedicated by two persons named Bhoja and Bhojapili. There is a date at the beginning of two of these records which seems to read *Sava 80 Gi-pa 1 diva* 5, i.e. the 5th day of the first fortnight of *Grīshma* in the year 80. In the third record, the numeral after the day seems to be 6 instead of 5, other particulars of the date being the same. If my reading of the date is correct, the epigraphs would belong to the time of Pothasiri or his father Bhīmasena.

Now the problem that faces us is to find out whether these caves were religious or secular donations and if religious what was the religion of the donors and those who occupied them. That they were all religious donations, there can be no doubt. Expressions like *dhamātha* (Skt. *dharmārtham*), 'for *dharma*', *puṇyaṁ vardhatu*, 'let merit increase', *dhamo vadhatu*, 'let *dharma* increase', would clearly point to that. But the inscriptions are silent about what this religion was, and there is not even the slightest indication about that in any one of them. To make the position more difficult no images of any kind could be discovered in any of the caves or their surroundings and for a decision we are left to depend entirely on indirect evidence. Of the three principal religions of the time, viz. Buddhism, Jainism and Brāhmanism, the first, I think, can safely be ruled out. If the caves were Buddhistic donations one would expect to find some evidence in the records themselves and at least one or two of the caves should have been of the Chaitya type. That they may be Jaina also seems doubtful. None of the donors is called a *śrāvaka* or *upāsaka*, nor is there any mention of a teacher or *Arhat* as one would expect even in early Jaina inscriptions. In one of the caves in the Gaṇesh Pahār are still visible two bas-reliefs. In one of these are found figures of several animals crowded together and on the adjoining wall is a short inscription which reads *mugava-selo*, i.e. *mṛigayā-śaila* or 'the hill used as a hunting ground'. Apparently this was the label meant for the animal scene carved on the adjacent wall and it is hard to imagine a Jaina religious establishment depicting such a scene. The other bas-relief in this cave shows a figure riding on an animal. The umbrella held over the head shows that the rider was meant to represent a king. On an adjacent pillar is found the name Jarāsandha. If this also is meant to be a label, one would expect a scene from the *Mahābhārata* depicted here. There are also a few figures on the outside wall of the same cave; but they are now defaced beyond recognition. The natural conclusion that can be drawn from these figures in relief is that these caves were

[1] [See below, p. 184, note 4.—Ed.]

Brahmanical. I would even hazard a suggestion that the establishment was of Śaiva origin. Though there is no direct proof, this view receives support from the fact that in one of the caves belonging to the group lying from east to west, I found a small inscription (cf. No. XII) which clearly reads *Śivabhatka(kta)* and on the jamb of the first entrance to the left of the same cave are two clear cut letters reading *Śiva*. This cave contains seven beautifully carved letters in shell characters and also a few letters from nine inches to two feet in length in black paint. The characters belong to about the 4th century; but they are so badly effaced that no sense can be made of the record. It is true that the two short epigraphs referred to above are in slightly later characters and may be pilgrims' records bearing personal names. But the evidence of the painted inscriptions proves the existence of this cave at an earlier period and the fact remains that no Jaina or Buddhist would have such names or engrave such records in any of their religious establishments. I was first inclined to believe that at least the group of three caves found to the south-east of Gopālpur were of Jaina origin; but now I think that I was not justified in doing so. In one of them, on the right side of the first doorway, I found a partly effaced standing naked figure which I thought might be that of a Tīrthaṅkara or Jaina saint; but it may very well be that of a Śaiva saint. If my assumption is correct, then these would be the earliest rock cut caves dedicated to Śaiva worship. Before the discovery of these caves, the earliest and perhaps the only caves dedicated to Śiva were those at Udayagiri in Madhya Bharat, belonging to the time of Chandragupta II.[1]

We have seen above that only three of the caves were directly donated by the two princes Śivamagha and Vaiśravaṇa, three were gifts of two of the ministers of Poṭhasiri, viz. Māgha and Bhabāṭha, and the rest came mostly from the merchant class. It, however, seems strange that there were no donations direct from Bhīmasena or any of his successors. There can be no doubt that these rulers were also the followers of Śaivism. The seals of both Bhīmasena and Śivamagha discovered at Bhiṭā show the representation of a bull on their obverse.[2] But it may be that the whole property which formed the establishment came originally from this line of rulers, probably from Bhīmasena himself, and there might have been other grants from them, of which we have no knowledge at present. The caves which were donated by ruling princes, royal officials and persons who hailed from places like Kauśāmbī, Mathurā and Parvata, appear to have been used by the resident monks or ascetics for various purposes.

The records are dated from the year 51 to the year 90 of an unspecified era and various theories have been put forward as to the era to which they have to be referred. That the same era has been used in the inscriptions of the Magha rulers of Kauśāmbī, there is no doubt. Of the latter, the following names of kings and years of their rule are known: *Mahārāja* Gautamīputra Śivamagha (date lost),[3] *Mahārāja* Bhadramagha (years 81, 83, 86 and 87),[4] *Mahārāja* Vaiśravaṇa (year 107)[5] and *Mahārāja* Bhīmavarman (years 130 and 139).[6] D.R. Sahni, while editing the inscription of Bhadramagha, referred the years to the Gupta era of 319 A.D. and so did Sten Konow. Apart from other grave objections, the palaeography of these records would go against this theory as their script is of a period much earlier than that found in the inscriptions of the Imperial Guptas. It was assumed by some that the Maghas came into power only after the

[1] *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 35.

[2] See below, pp. 176-77.

[3] Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 139, No. II, and No. XIV below. For his seal from Bhiṭā, see *ASI, AR*, 1911-12, p. 51.

[4] Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 25 and Pl.; Vol. XXIII, pp. 245 ff., and *Jha Commemoration Volume*, pp. 101 ff.; above, Vol. XVIII, p. 160, No. III (D. R. Sahni reads the date as 88). A recently discovered inscription from Kauśāmbī has the date *Mahārājasya śrī-Bhadramaghasya sa(saṁ)vatsare 80 3 va 1 di 1 etāya purvāya.*

[5] Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 146 ff. and Pl., and Nos. XVIII and XIX below.

[6] *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. III, pp. 177 ff., No. 1.

Kushāṇas lost their hold on the Kauśāmbī region. So, in their opinion, an era had to be found which was later than the Kushāṇa era of 78 A.D. but earlier than the Gupta era. And the only era that would fit in would be the Kalachuri era of 248 A.D. Moreover, the areas in which these inscriptions have been found were either associated with the Kalachuris or were contiguous to the Kalachuri territories. D.R. Bhandarkar, K.P. Jayaswal and A. Ghosh were in favour of the Kalachuri era on palaeographic grounds. I found three lithic records of the Kalachuris of Tripurī in the fort at Bāndhogarh. They are small inscriptions referring to the setting up of rock-cut images of fish, tortoise and boar, obviously representing the three incarnations of Vishṇu, by one Gollāka *alias* Gauḍa who was the son of Bhānu and a minister of Śrī-Yuvarājadeva. This ruler has undoubtedly to be identified with Yuvarāja I on palaeographic grounds and the inscriptions would therefore be the earliest records of the Kalachuris of Tripurī. But this family of rulers came into existence only about the last quarter of the ninth century with Kokkalla as the first ruler and very little is known of them before that date. It is doubtful if the Kalachuri-Chedi era could have been in vogue in Baghelkhand and the adjacent area in the age of the Maghas. But we have shown above that the script of the Bandhogarh inscriptions is allied to that found in the inscriptions of the Kushāṇas and the cave inscriptions of the Western Deccan. Though at first sight the alphabet of the inscriptions of the Maghas of Kauśāmbī appears more developed than that of the Bāndhogarh records, there is no doubt that the era used in both the Magha and the Bāndhogarh records is the same. The reason why the script of the Bāndhogarh records, even in those which are almost contemporary with the Magha records, looks earlier is twofold. At Bāndhogarh, all the records are incised in caves and in the cave inscriptions particularly many of the archaic forms persist. Moreover, Bāndhogarh being out of the way, the script might not have been so developed as in Kauśāmbī which was an important place and had better contacts with important cities like Mathurā and others.

There are other unsurmountable difficulties in accepting the era as the Gupta or the Kalachuri era. If we accept the era as the Gupta era in spite of the difficulties of palaeography, we have to assume that they were vassals of the Gupta rulers. Similarly, if we refer the dates to the Kalachuri era, the last three Magha rulers at least would be contemporaries of the Gupta emperors Chandragupta I, Samudragupta and Chandragupta II. Kauśāmbī at the period was included in the Gupta empire and therefore these rulers of Kauśāmbī must have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Imperial Gupta monarchs. But there is no indication of this in any of the Magha records. Moreover, coins have been found of six Magha rulers, viz. Śivamagha, Bhadramagha, Vaiśravaṇa and Bhīmavarman,[1] who are known from inscriptions, and also of Vijayamagha and Śatamagha[2] whose inscriptions have not been discovered so far.[3] This fact would indicate their independent status and therefore they cannot be taken as the vassals of either the Gupta or the Kalachuri rulers. This being the case, the only other era left to us is the Śaka era of 78 A.D. and let us examine the possibility of applying this era to the Magha records. This of course hinges on the initial date of the Kushāṇa era. If we accept that this era started in 78 A.D., as seems to be the opinion of the majority of scholars now, some of the years of the Magha rulers will fall within the reign of the Kushāṇa rulers Huvishka and Vāsudeva whose coins have been found at Kauśāmbī. One would therefore think normally that the rule of these two Kushāṇa rulers also extended over Kauśāmbī and that the Maghas were therefore subordinate to the Kushāṇas. But there is nothing in the inscriptions to show that this was the case. During the excavations at Bhiṭā, seals of Śivamagha

[1] *JNSI*, Vol. II (1940), pp. 95 ff. and Plate.

[2] Ibid., Vol. IV, pp. 10-11.

[3] Pṛish ṭhaśriya, whose coins and seal have been discovered, had obviously nothing to do with Poṭhasiri of Bāndhogarh. See Mirashi, above, Vol. XXVI, p. 299 and n.2. [*Prishthaśriya* seems to be the misreading of what is really *Praushṭhaśriyah*.--Ed.]

and Bhīmasena were discovered along with other antiquities above the Maurya level and therefore Marshall placed them in the Kushāṇa period.[1] The stratigraphic evidence supplied by the excavations at Kauśāmbī carried out by the Allahabad University gives us some interesting and more definite information. According to a brief report sent to me by Mr. G. R. Sharma on the position of the Kushāṇa antiquities, he found nine sub-periods of baked brick habitation at Kauśāmbī, commencing from I(*a*) and I(*b*) to VIII which is the last sub-period. He did not find any trace of Kushāṇa antiquity, coins or seals, up to sub-period IV. Sub-period V is the first stratum in which Mitra and Kushāṇa coins and Kushāṇa seals occur. Part of this period therefore seems to have been under the rule of the Mitras whose latest coins are those of Rajanimitra and Jyeṭhamitra. Towards the later half of sub-period V, the Kushāṇas seem to have invaded Kauśāmbī, a seal of Kaṇishka bearing the legend *Mahārāja-Rājātirāja Devaputra-Kanishkasya prayoge* offering the earliest evidence. The coins of Kaṇishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva have been recovered from sub-period VI which has yielded also the coins of Neva and the Maghas. Sub-period VII has yielded coins of the Maghas only and to sub-period VIII belongs Puśvaśrī.[2] The latest coins discovered after that period are those of Gaṇendra or Gaṇapatināga when the entire site seems to have been deserted. We know from the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta that Gaṇapatināga, the Nāga ruler of Padmāvatī (near Narwar in the former Gwalior State), was one of the kings defeated by Samudragupta. Assuming therefore that Gaṇapatināga ruled between 325-350 A.D. it is difficult to compress all these presumably independent kings, viz. Puśvaśrī, the Magha rulers, Neva and the Kushāṇa kings from Kaṇishka onwards, within this period except on the assumption that the Kushāṇa era began in 78 A.D. This gives another conclusive evidence against the use of the Kalachuri era in the Magha records as there would be a big gap of about 150 years between the Kushāṇa king Vāsudēva, assuming that the Kushāṇa era began in 78 A.D., and Bhadramagha whose earliest inscription is dated in the year 81. Even accepting that there might be one or two more rulers before Bhadramagha the gap would remain quite large. This gap would be even larger if the commencement of the Kushāṇa era is placed at an earlier date. The excavations at Kauśāmbī do not provide for this gap. The discovery of Kaṇishka's seal would definitely show that Kauśāmbī came under Kushāṇa rule in the time of this king. But the discovery of the coins of Vāsudeva creates some difficulty as it might be argued that Kauśāmbī was under the Kushāṇa rule during the reign of Bhadramagha. But we must not overlook one very significant fact that no inscription of Vāsudeva has so far been discovered outside the Mathurā region. On the face of this evidence, it would not be unreasonable to suppose that the Kushāṇas had lost their hold over Kauśāmbī when the Maghas came into power. The discovery of Vāsudēva's coin at Kauśāmbī does not necessarily mean that this area was under his rule. The reason of this find may be that, though their rule was extinct, coins of the Kushāṇas were still used in the Kauśāmbī area for the purpose of trade side by side with the coins issued by the local Magha rulers. Such instances are not rare in the history of numismatics of ancient India.[3] Even foreign coins like the Roman *aurei* were not only accepted but were popular currency in India for a long time not merely for its gold value but also for the facility of trade with the Roman world. If this view is accepted and the dates of the Magha inscriptions are referred to the Śaka era of 78 A.D., there would neither be any overlapping nor any unreasonable gap between the Kushāṇa and the Magha rule over Kauśāmbī. The palaeography of the Magha inscriptions does not offer any insurmountable difficulty. Though at first sight the script of the Magha records looks later, Mirashi has already

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[1] *ASI, AR*, 1911-12, p. 51. The legends on these seals read *Mahārājasya Gautamīputrasya Śivamaghasya* and [*Rā*]*jña Vāsasu*(*Vāsishṭhī*)*-putrasya śrī-Bhīmasenasya*. Jayaswal rightly identifies Bhīmasena with the ruler mentioned in the Ginja inscription ; but A. Ghosh rejects the theory on the ground of their different titles, viz. *Rājan* and *Mahārāja*. See *Ind. Cult.*, 1936, p. 179.

[2] [The correct reading of this name seems to be *Praushṭhaśrī*.—Ed.]

[3] [On this point, cf. *JNSI*, Vol. VII, pp. 78 ff.—Ed.]

shown[1] that all the forms found in them may be traced in the Kushāṇa inscriptions also. I have also shown above why archaic forms appear in the Bāndhogarh inscriptions. In the circumstances there is no other alternative but to accept the theory that both the Magha and the Bāndhogarh inscriptions are dated in the Śaka era of 78 A.D.[2]

A few words may be said about the style of dating in these inscriptions. Whereas in the Kushāṇa records, the date is given in the year, the season and the day of the month, the Maghas and the Bāndhogarh rulers use the system found in all other early inscriptions, namely, the year, the season and not the day of the month but the day of the fortnight.[3]

Mirashi takes Bhīmasena of the Ginja record as belonging to the Magha dynasty.[4] But the Bāndhogarh inscriptions definitely show that he had no direct connection with the Magha rulers of Kauśāmbī but was the father of Poṭhasiri of the Bāndhogarh line. Inscription No. I which gives the titles and surname of Bhīmasena along with the date leaves no doubt as to his identification. Mirashi also identifies Vaiśravaṇa and Bhadrabāla of the Bāndhogarh records respectively with Vaiśravaṇa (of the year 107) and Bhadramagha of the Kauśāmbī line of rulers. But in the Bāndhogarh inscriptions Bhadrabāla is called only a *Mahāsenāpati* and Vaiśravaṇa a *Rājan* as against the title of *Mahārāja* for both the Magha rulers. The title of *Mahāsenāpati* in the early centuries before and after the Christian era did not necessarily designate a military rank but was often simply a title of nobility.[5] The same may be the case with Bhadrabāla who might not have been an army commander of the Bāndhogarh or the Magha rulers. Similarly *Rājan* Vaiśravaṇa of the Bāndhogarh records seems to be different from the *Mahārāja* Vaiśravaṇa (of the year 107) of Kauśāmbī.[6] The only puzzling feature is that the language of this record seems to be Sanskrit and not Prakrit like the other records from Bāndhogarh. It appears to me that the *Mahāsenāpati* Bhadrabāla may have been the originator of the Bāndhogarh line whose successor Vaiśravaṇa took the title of *Rājan* when the family gained more extensive power. He was succeeded by Bhīmasena who started with the same title, as his seal from Bhiṭā shows, but some time before 129 A.D. assumed the title of *Mahārāja* which was continued by all the rulers of the family so far known. According to this suggestion, the order of succession would be :

1. *Mahāsenāpati* Bhadrabāla.
2. *Rājan* Vaiśravaṇa.
3. *Rājan* (then *Mahārāja*) Bhīmasena (years 51, 52).
4. *Mahārāja* Poṭhasiri (years 86, 87, 88).
5. *Mahārāja* Bhaṭṭadeva (year 90).

The relationship of Vāsiṭhiputa Chitasena (Skt. Chitrasena, No. XV) with this family, if any, is not certain.

A few words may be said about the religion of these rulers. The coins and seals of the Maghas show a bull on the obverse. In the Bhiṭā seal of Śivamagha there is an additional cresent below

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[1] Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 297 ff.

[2] [Cf. *Sel. Ins.*, 1942, p. 365.—Ed.]

[3] The only instance I know of where the Kushāṇa system of dating has been used outside the Kushāṇa records is the Bodh Gayā inscription dated in the year 60 of an unspecified era. See Lüders' List, No. 949.

[4] See *ABORI*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 15 ff., and above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 297 ff.

[5] Cf. above, Vol. XXIII, p. 52, note 8.

[6] [The suggestion regarding two Vaiśravaṇas, one a *Rājan* and the other a *Mahārāja*, seems to be unjustifiable. The Bāndhogarh area appears to have formed a part of the dominions of the Kauśāmbī rulers. Cf. *Hist. Cult. Ind. Peop.*, Vol. II, p. 176.—Ed.]

the neck of the bull. It is therefore likely that they were followers of Śaivism. But in the same seal there is also the figure of a woman with her right arm outstretched. That she represents a goddess there is little doubt, though her identity cannot be established. No coins of the Bāndhogarh rulers are known ; but in the Bhiṭā seal of Bhīmasena the same figures are found, although they are transposed.[1] In two of our inscriptions (Nos. VIII-IX) *Mahārāja* Poṭhasiri is described as *Bhaṭṭāraka-Hamavilāla(Hamā° in* No. IX)*-parigahita*, i.e. protected by the lord Hamavilāla. *Bhaṭṭāraka* of course may be 'a king', 'a sage' or 'a god'. But on the analogy of similar expressions found in other inscriptions it has probably to be taken in the sense of a god.[2] I cannot, however, identify this Hamavilāla or Hamāvilāla with any deity, Śaiva or otherwise. The Chedi country had been a Śaiva stronghold all through the Kalachuri rule.[3] We know very little of the history of Śaivism in this area at an earlier period. There is no indication in these records why the Śaiva establishments at Bāndhogarh were abandoned. Probably after the Maghas and the Bāndhogarh rulers there was no royal patronage and the religious establishments which received their attention and patronage gradually fell into bad days and were finally abandoned, until several centuries later a new line of Śaiva teachers was brought in and made to settle in the country under the patronage of the Kalachuri rulers.

Only five place names occur in the inscriptions from Bāndhogarh. The location of Kauśāmbī (No. II, line 1, etc.) and Mathurā (No. VII, line 2) is well known while that of Pavata or Parvata (Nos. XV and XVII) has already been discussed above. I cannot identify Vejabharadha (No. 1, line 3) and Sapatanairika (No. VII, line 2).

I edit the inscriptions from the estampages prepared by me in 1938.

I. *Inscription of Bhīmasena, Year 51 (Plate I)*

[In a cave between the Ganesh Pahār and the Rāmagiri hills.]

TEXT

1 Sidhaṁ [|] Mahārājasa Vāsiṭhīpūtasa siri-Bhīmasenasa savachhare

2 ekapane 50 1 Vasa-pakhe pachame 5 divase aṭhame 8 etāe pūruvao

3 lāta-ghara[4] khanita goṭhika(ke)hi V[e]jabharadha-negamo[5] Phagusamaka negamo Mada

4 suvaṇakaro Balamito negamo Sivasa[k]o k[ā]ṭhikāri[ka]-kamāra Sak[o]

5 negama Cheti vanijako Sivadharo vanija[ko] [Tīro] |[6]

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[1] *AR, ASI*, 1911-12, p. 51.

[2] Cf., e.g., *Bhaṭṭāraka-Mahāsēna-parigahita* as the epithet of Chāṁtamūla in the Nagarjunikonda inscriptions (above, Vol. XX, pp. 10 ff.). [The word *vilāla* in the name of the deity means 'a cat'. He may have been a local cat-god like the tiger-god Dakshiṇa-rāya of the Sundarbans.—Ed.]

[3] Cf. above, Vol. I, pp. 254 ff. ; Vol. XXI, pp. 148 ff. ; Vol. XXII, pp. 127 ff.

[4] The word *lāta*, with the variants *lātā* and *lātā-ghara*, has obviously been used in the sense of Skt. *layana*, Pkt. *leṇa*, 'a cave-shelter' though I cannot trace the word elsewhere. [cf. p. 169, note 1. —Ed.]

[5] Vejabharadha is obviously a place name which I cannot identify. The word *negama* may mean either a resident of a *nigama* or city or a merchant and has been distinguished from *vanijaka* (Skt. *vaṇik*), 'a small trader'.

[6] The punctuation mark is indicated by a slightly slanting stroke.

TRANSLATION

Success ! **In the year 51, 8th day of the 5th fortnight of the rainy season** (*in the reign*) of *Mahārāja* **Vāsiṭhīputa** (Vāsishṭhīputra) śrī-**Bhīmasena**. On this day is excavated **a cave-dwelling** by the committee (*gōshṭhī*) (*consisting of*) Phagusama, the merchant (*n gama*) of **Veja-bharadha**, the merchant Mada (Madra), the goldsmith Balamita (Balamitra), the **merchant Siva-saka** (Śivaśakra), the carpenter and blacksmith (*kāshṭhakāri-karmāra*) Saka (**Śakra**), **the merchant** Cheti, the **trader** (*vaṇik*) Sivadhara (Śivadhara) and the trader Tīra

II. *Inscription* (*No. 1*) *of Poṭhasiri, Year 86*

[On the back wall of Cave No. 1 in the Ganesh Pahār.]

TEXT

1 [Sidhaṁ] [|*] **Mahā[rāja]sa Kochhīputasa P[o]ṭhasirīsa savachhare chhāsīte 80 6 Hemaṁta-pakhe patham[e] 1 divase paṁchame 5** etāyaṁ puruvāyaṁ **neśa(ga)-**masa Kosaṁba(be)yasa Cha[kaka]sa natikasa Phāguhathi[ka]sa

2 putasa Rakhitikā[e][1] negamasa Chhamikasa [nati]kasa negamasa Datīkasa putasa **Chelāc** etānaṁ domnaṁ janānaṁ sahīyaṁ putaka(ke)hī ārāmo lātāni chagavāro[2] **[cha]** **[|*]**

3 dhamo vaḍhatu [|*] iya[ṁ] chhata-[lātā] [|*]

TRANSLATION

Success ! **In the year 86, on the 5th day of the first fortnight of Hemanta** (*in the reign*) **of Mahārāja Kochhīputa** (Kautsīputra) **Poṭhasiri**. On this day (*the joint gifts*) of **Rakhitika** (**Rak**shita), the grandson of Chakaka (Chakra), a merchant (***negama***) from Kosambi (**Kauśāmbī**) **and** the son of Phāguhathika (Phalguhastin), and of Chela, the grandson of the **merchant** Chhamika (Kshamin) and the son of the merchant Datīka (Datti)—of these two persons **with their** sons —are a garden, cave-dwellings and a vessel. May piety increase. This is the *Chhata* cave[3].

III. *Inscription* (*No. 2*) *of Poṭhasiri, Year 86*

[In Cave No. 2 in the Ganesh Pahār.]

TEXT

1 Sidhaṁ [|*] Ma[hārāja]sa **Kochhīputasa P[o]ṭhasirisa savachhare chhāsīte 80 6 Hemaṁta-pakhe pathama(me) 1 divase pachame 5** etāyaṁ puruvāyaṁ

2 Kosaṁbeyasa negamasa Chakakasa natikasa Phaguhathika-putasa Rakhitikā[e] **negamasa** Chhamikasa natikasa negamasa

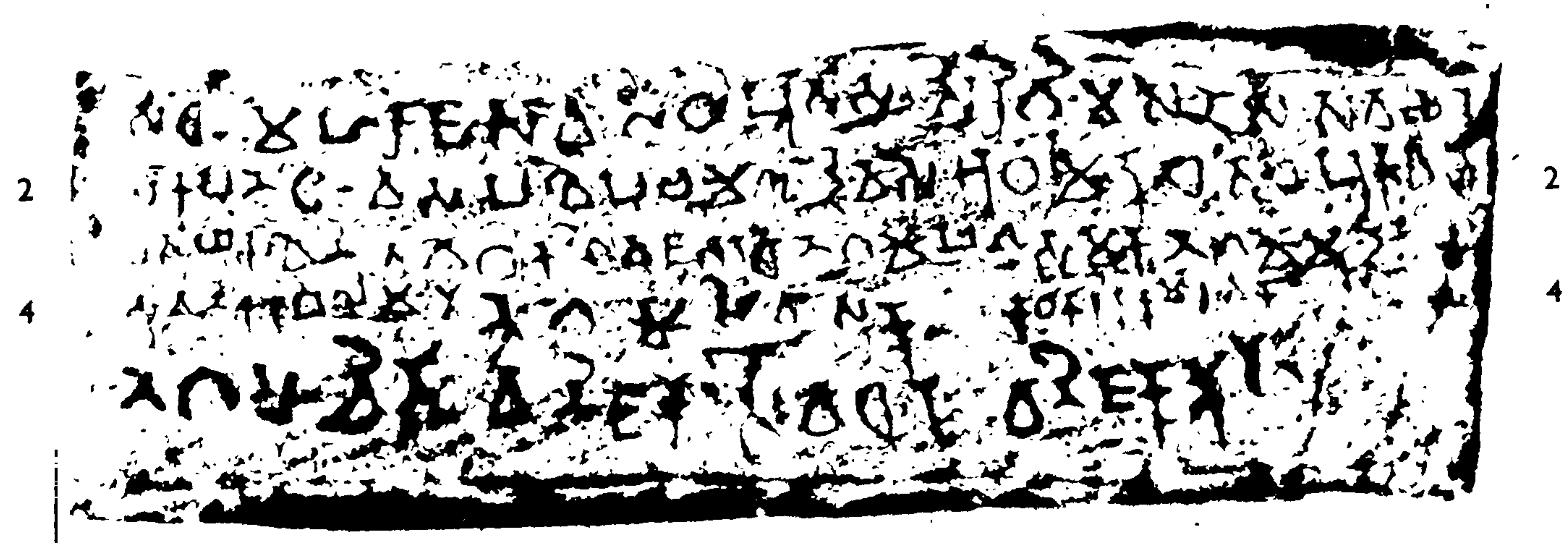
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[1] Read *Rakhitikasa* (also in Nos. III, IV and VI) as in No. V and *Chelasa*. [cf. p. 169, note 2.—Ed.]

[2] Same as Pāli *chaṅgavāra* meaning a hollow vessel, a bowl or a cask.

[3] See above, p. 169.

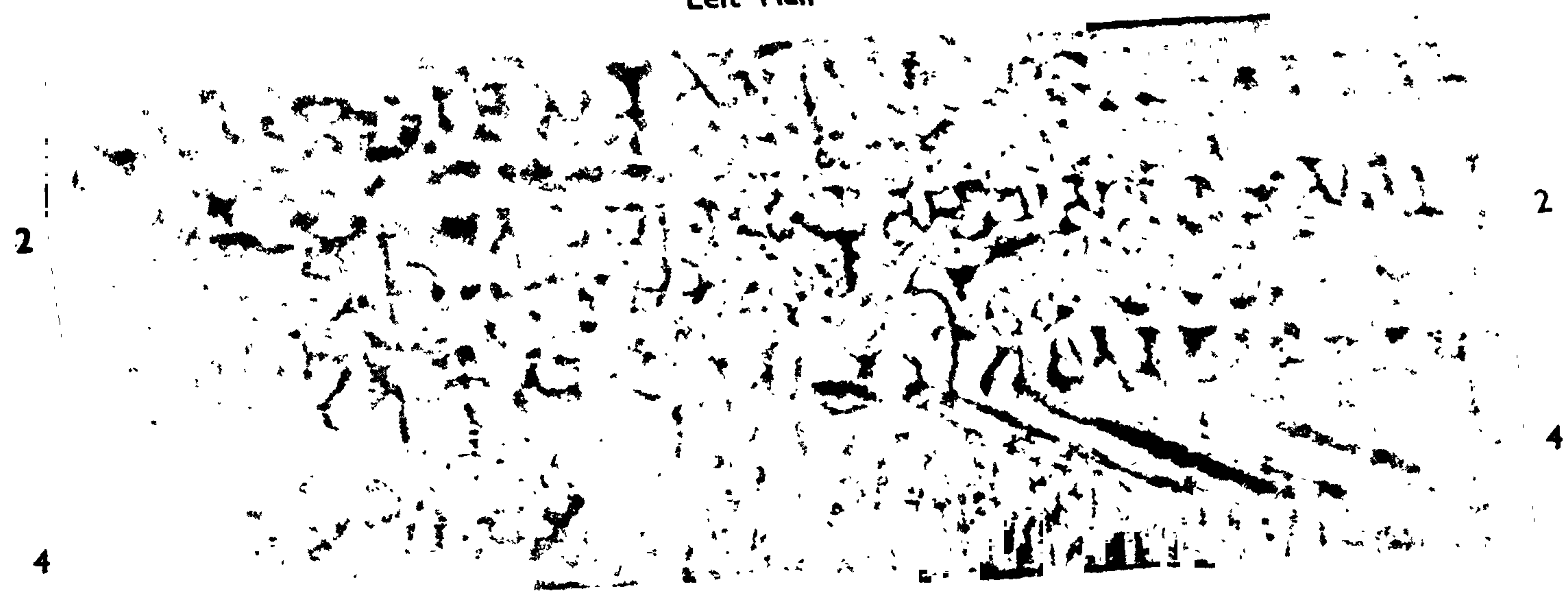
I



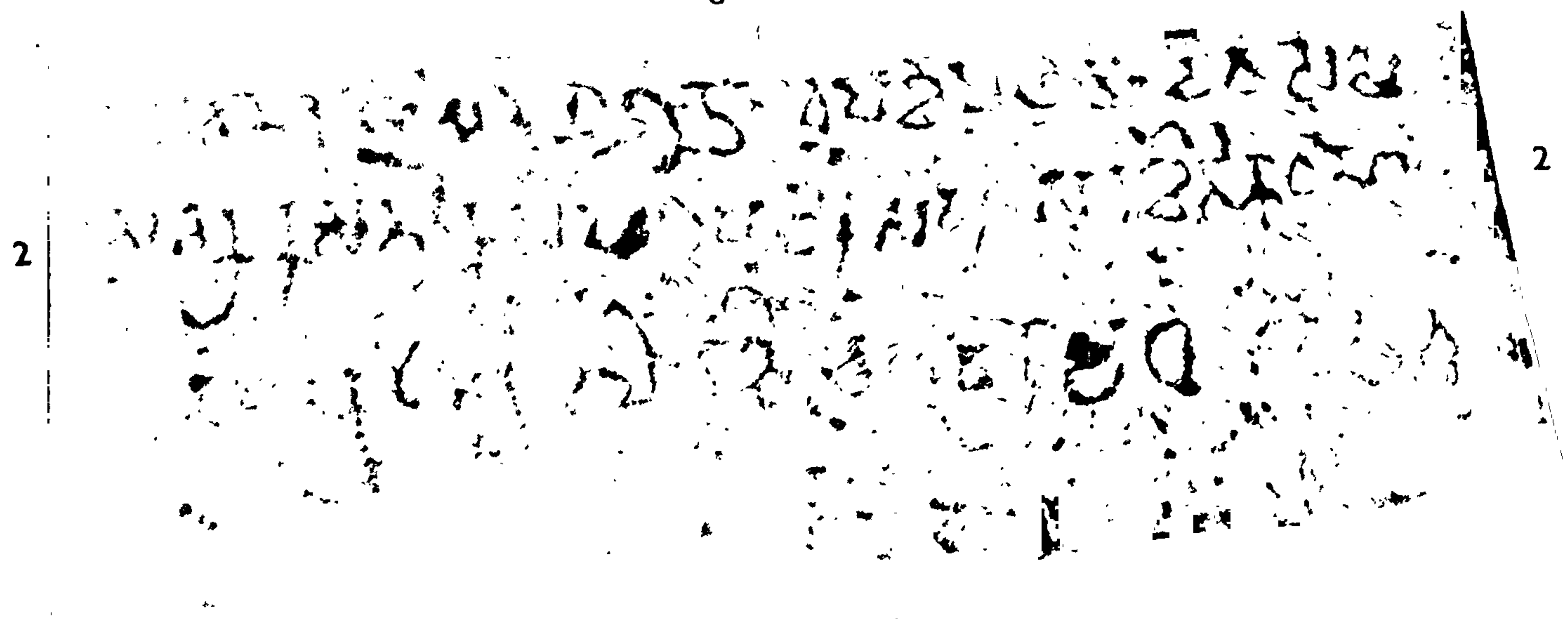
Scale one eighth

iv

Left Half



Right Half



Scale: One-tenth

3 **Datikasa** putasa Ch[e]lāe etāna[ṁ] dona[ṁ] janānaṁ sahiya[ṁ] putaka(ke)hī **ārāmo** lātāni cha chagavāra cha [|*] dhamo va[dhatu] [|*]

4 **iyaṁ sā**[rthi]ka-lāta |[1]

IV. *Inscription (No. 3) of Poṭhasiri, Year 86 (Plate I)*

[In Cave No. 3 in the Ganesh Pahār.]

TEXT

1 Siddham [|] Mahārājasa **Kochhīputasa Poṭhas[irisa] savachhare chhāsite 80** 6 **Hema[ṁ]ta-pakhe patham[e] 1 divase pa[cha]-**

2 **me 5 eta(tā)yaṁ** puruvāyaṁ Kosaṁbeyasa [negama]sa Chakrakasa natikasa **Phaguhathikasa** putasa Rakhitikāe negamasa [Chhamikasa natikasa*]

3 **negamasa** D[e](**Da**)tīkasa putasa Chelāe et[ā]naṁ [doṁ]naṁ janānaṁ putaka(ke)**hī ārāmo** lātāni chagavāro cha [|*] dhamo vaḍhatu [|*].

4 **ima i[ya]** chha[tu][2] [||*]

V. *Fragmentary Inscription (No. 4) of Poṭhasiri*

[In Cave No. 4 in the Ganesh Pahār.]

TEXT

1 Siddhaṁ [|*] Mahārājasa **Ko[chhīputasa] [Po*]ṭha[sirisa]**............**[pa*]-**

2 **chame 5** etāyaṁ puruvāyaṁ Kosaṁ[be]yasa................ **[kasa** pu]-

3 **tasa** Rakhitikasa negamasa Chhami[kasa]................[Che]-

4 lāe etānaṁ dona janānaṁ sahīya putakehī .... lātā................iyaṁ

5 .... **tā ma**[ḍha]va-[lātā][3] [||*]

VI. *Inscription (No. 5) of Poṭhasiri, Year 86 (Plate II)*

[On the back wall of Cave No. 5 in the Ganesh Pahār.]

---

[1] The punctuation is indicated by a horizontal stroke. The last sentence may be translated as 'This is the merchants' (*sārthika*) cave'. The rest of the text is similar to that of No. II.

[2] The last four letters are not clear. The first letter may be *di* and the second *va* or *pa*. Obviously this portion contained the name of the cave. The text of this inscription is similar to that of Nos. II-III. [The reading of the last line seems to be *ima dipayatu*.—Ed].

[3] This inscription apparently contained the same text as Nos. II-IV and VI. The last line gives the name of the cave as *maḍhava* which probably stands for Skt. *maṇḍapa*, meaning 'a hall'.

TEXT

1 Siddham[1] || Mahārājasa **Kochhīputasa Poṭhasirisa saṁvachhare chhāsite 80 6 Hemaṁta-pakhe patham[e] 1 di[va]sa(se) pa[ṁ]chame 5** etāyaṁ pu[ru]vāyaṁ Kosaṁbeyasa nega[ma][2]sa Cha[kak][3]asa[4] natikasa Phaguha-

2 thikasa putasa Rakhitika[e] negamasa Chhami[ka]sa natikasa negamasa Datīkasa putasa Chelāe ete[saṁ] do[ṁ]na[ṁ] janānaṁ sahīyaṁ pu[takehi][5] ārāmo lātāni cha ehagavāro

3 cha [|*] dhamo vadhatu [|*] iyaṁ chha[ta-latā] [||*]

VII. *Inscription (No. 6) of Poṭhasiri, Year 88 (Plate II)*

[On the right of the back wall of Cave No. 9 in the Ganesh Pahār.]

TEXT[6]

1 Sidhaṁ [|*] Mahār[ā]jasa **Kochhīputasa Poṭhasirisa savachhare aṭhās[ī]te 80 8 Hemaṁta-pakhe bitīye 2 divase pachame 5** etāya[ṁ] puruvāya[ṁ]

2 v[ā]nijakasa Māthurakasa Jivanakasa pautt[r]ena [Su]hitasa putt[r]ena Sapatanairika-vathavena vānijakena Gahavudhi[nā] imā dhamacharaṇā [lā]tā

3 kūpi cha khānitā [|*] priyatā[ṁ*] bhagavā [|*] dhamo punya cha iha cha me puṇya[ṁ] vardhatu [|*] sathasariro [cha] ānina-mānasa nivi ditā[7] [|*] dhamo [likha]ti [|*] yo miye

4 mama vā putehi ana[pehi] śatehi kupi ghaṭika raju cha dataṁ sodheya cha tasa ya kupe phala[ṁ] tato adhaṁ an[u]maṁnati yena khānittā [||*]

TRANSLATION

Success ! **In the year 88, 5th day of the second fortnight of Hemanta** (*in the reign*) of *Mahārāja* **Kochhiputa Poṭhasiri.** On this day these cave-shelters and a well, which constitute a pious act, are excavated by the merchant (*vaṇijaka*) Gahavudhi who is a resident of Sapatanairika and the grandson of Jivanaka, a merchant of Mathurā, and the son of Suhita. May the lord be pleased. May piety and merit and my (*own*) merit in this world increase. This endowment I have given (*while*) in perfect health and undivided (*ananya*) mind. This act of merit is put in writing. Whatever has been given by me or by my progeny, numerous and excellent (*śasta*), the well, the water vessel (*ghaṭikā*) and rope and also the dwelling (*saudhēya*), (*of these*) whatever may be the merit (*accruing from*) the well, half of it goes to whosoever dug (*the well*).

[1] Final *m* is indicated by writing it below the line in smaller size. The double *daṇḍa* after *Siddham* is followed by a symbol which may possibly be regarded as the covering stroke of the final *m*.

[2] This *ma* which was omitted at first due to oversight is supplied above the line in a smaller shape.

[3] The letters are lost due to the stone having peeled off.

[4] This looks like *sā* on the impressions.

[5] The portion within the square brackets is broken and lost.

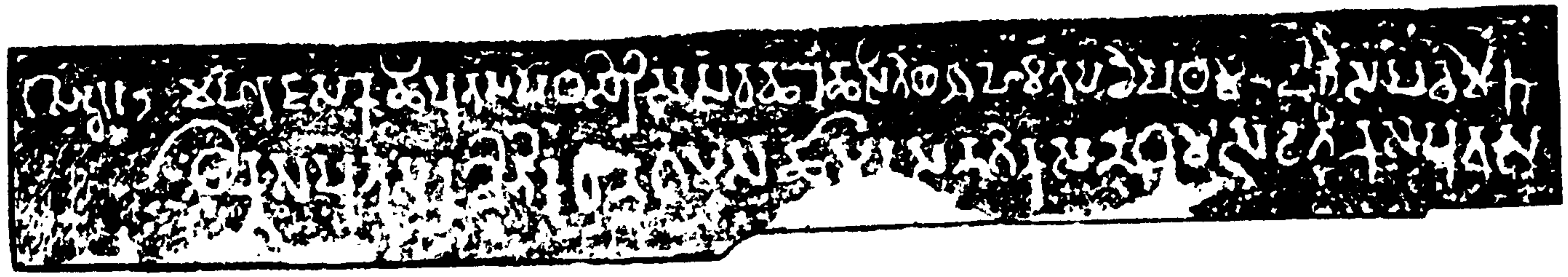
[6] [In some cases *t* and *n* are written alike. The same is the case with No. VI (cf. *janānaṁ* in line 2).—Ed.]

[7] [The context requires °*sarireṇa* and °*mānasena*.—Ed.]

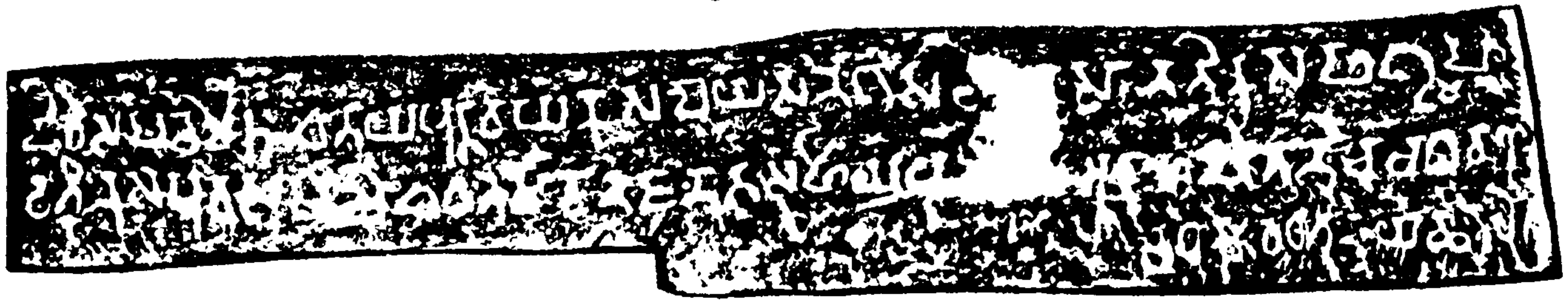
BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS FROM BANDHOGARH — PLATE II

VI

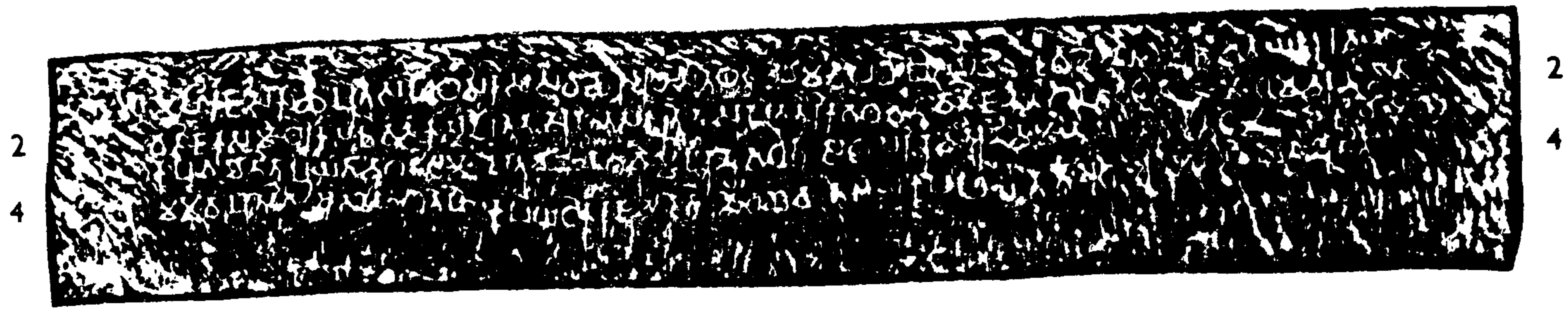
Left Half



Right Half

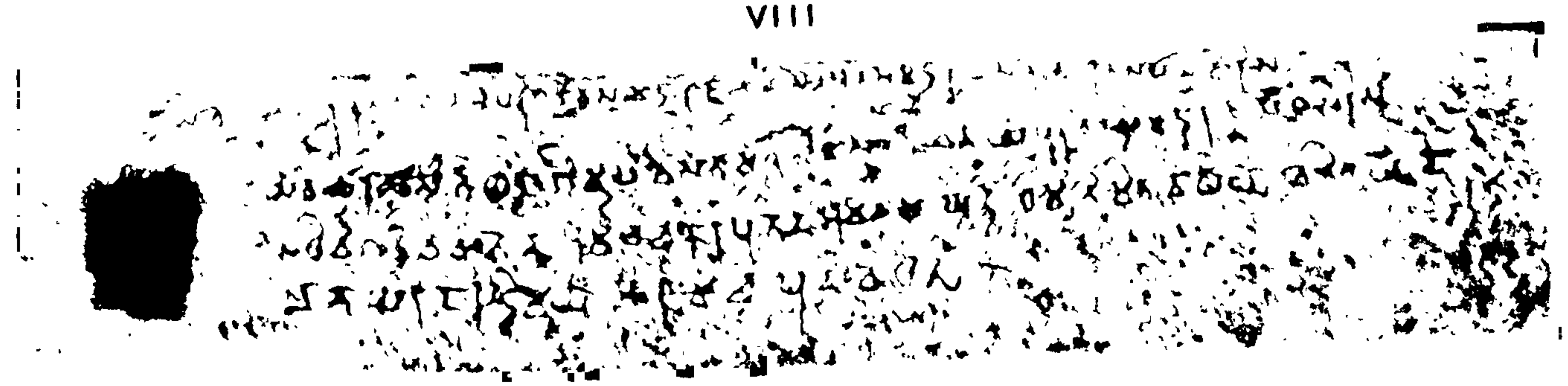


VII

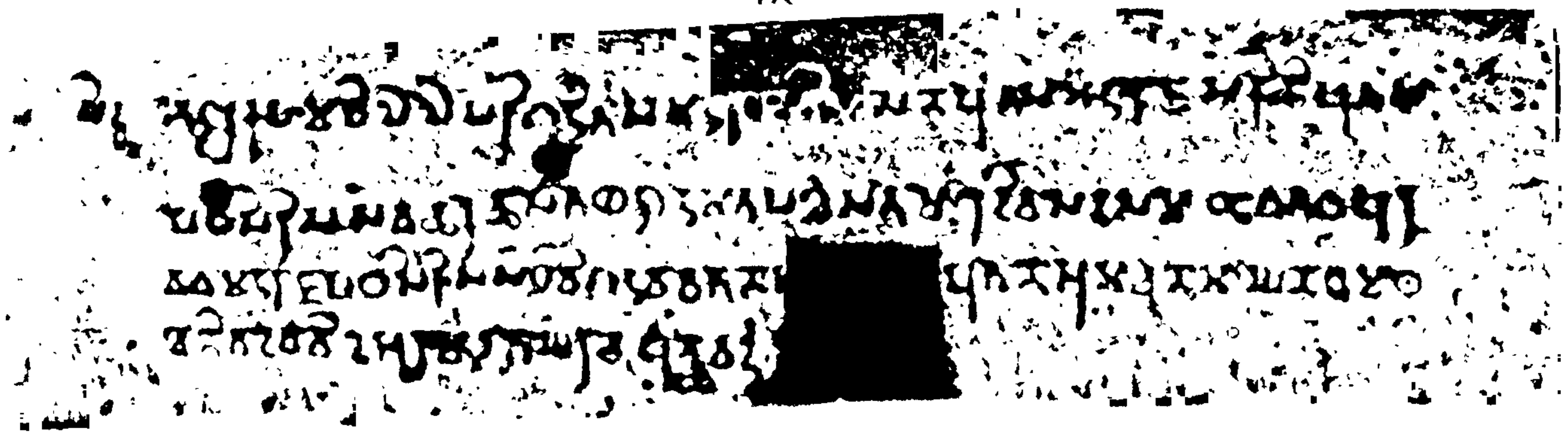


Scale: One-sixteenth

VIII



IX



Scale: One-tenth



Scale: One-sixteenth

VIII. *Inscription* (*No. 7*) *of Poṭhasiri, Year 86* (*Plate II*)

[On the back wall of Cave No. 3 of a group of caves lying from east to west about a mile to the west of Gopālpur.[1]]

TEXT

1 Sidhaṁ [|*] Bhaṭṭāraka-**Hamāvilāla**-pariga[hita]sa mahārāja-**Bhīmasena**-putasa mahārājasa **Kochhi[pu]tasa Poṭhasirisa**

2 **sa[ṁ]vachhare chhāsīte 80 6 Gimha-pakhe satame 7 divase 10** etāyaṁ puruvāyaṁ mahārāja-Poṭhasirisa

3 saṁdhivigahi-vāvatena amacha-Chakora-putena amacha-Maghena dhama-nimita vā[pī]yo khānitāyo [dvo] 2

4 lātā-gharā be jha[ṭi]mayo ārāmo cha [|*] pu[ṇyaṁ var]dhatu [|]

TRANSLATION

Success ! **In the year 86, 10th day of the 7th fortnight of Grīshma** (*in the reign*) of *Mahārāja* **Kochhiputa Poṭhasiri**, son of *Mahārāja* **Bhīmasena** and protected by the god **Hamāvilāla**. On this day, are caused to be excavated for religious merit by the minister (*amātya*) **Magha** who is the son of the minister Chakora and is employed (*to hold*) the office of the **Foreign Affairs** (lit. in charge of Peace and War), 2 wells, 2 cave-shelters and a garden containing shrubs. **May** merit prosper.

IX. *Inscription* (*No. 8*) *of Poṭhasiri, Year 86* (*Plate II*)

[On the back wall of the hall of Cave No. 4, about 50 steps to the east of Cave No. 3 (cf. No. VII)[2].]

TEXT

1 Siddham [|*] Bhaṭṭāraka-**Hamavilāla**-parigahitasa mahārāja-**Bhīmasena**-putasa **mahārajasa Kochhiputasa**

2 **Poṭhasirisa saṁvachhare chhāsīte 80 6 Hemaṁta-pakhe satame 7 divase dasame 10** etāe puru-

vāe mahārāja-Pothasirisa saṁdhi-vigaha-vāvateṇa [a]....[3] puteṇa amacheṇa Māgheṇa **dha**-mātha

4 **khāṇita** 2[4] vavi 2 ārāmā lātā-gharā **cha** [|*] puṇyaṁ varddhat[u] [|*][5]

---

[1] In cave No. 1, which is near the road, there are a few letters visible on the wall. In cave No. 2 in this area, there is writing on the wall in two places and several short records which are no longer legible, except one which reads *bhūtachara*, probably the same as *bhūtachārin*, an epithet of Śiva.

[2] A few letters are visible on two pillars ; but they are quite illegible. There is a reservoir, now completely filled up, in front of the cave which is evidently one of the two mentioned in the inscription. This cave consists of only one big hall and there are no cells attached.

[3] These letters have been destroyed due to the subsequent cutting of an alcove which has also damaged the last *akshara* of line 4. Read *amacha-Chakora* as in No. VIII.

[4] This figure is joined with the preceding letter.

[5] The text is almost similar to that of No. VIII.

X. *Inscription (No. 9) of Pothasiri, Year 86 (Plate II)*

[**On the back wall of a** big hall in Cave No. 7, about a mile and a half to the **west of Gopālpur and** south of Cave No. 6.]

TEXT

1 Si[1]dhaṁ [|*] Mahārājasa **Kochhiputasa Poṭhasirisa saṁvachare 80 6 Gi-pa 6(?) diva 10**[2]

2 etiya **puruvaya negamasa** Ujhasa putena amacha-Bhabāṭhena ketana-latāghara **kārāsi(pi)tā** [|*] **dhamo vadhatu |**[3]

TRANSLATION

Success ! **In the year 86 on the 10th day of the 6th fortnight of Summer.** On this day has been caused to be constructed by the minister Bhabāṭha, son of the merchant (***negama***) **Ujha, a cave-shelter** for dwelling. May piety prosper.

XI. *Inscription of Bhaṭṭadeva, Year 90 (Plate III)*

[Commencing on the back wall and continued to the right wall of the hall in Cave No. 5.][4]

TEXT

Back wall :

Sidhaṁ [|] Mahārājasa **Bha[ṭṭa]**[5]**devasa saṁvachhare navate 90 Hemaṁta**[6]**-pakhe padhame 1 divase padhame 1** etāe puruvāye negamasa Ajñātakasa[7] natikena Vesākhasa[8] **putena ne[ga]mena Dhanamitakena**

Right wall :

[la]yo(ya)na kārita]|*] dhamo vadhatu[9] [||*]

TRANSLATION

Success ! **In the year 90 on the first day of the first fortnight of Hemanta** (*of the reign*) *of Mahārāja* **Baṭṭadeva.** On this day has been constructed by the merchant (***negama***) **Dhanamitaka** (Dhanamitra), the grandson of the merchant (*negama*) **Ajñātaka** and the son of **Vesākha (Vaiśākha)**, a cave-shelter. May piety prosper.

---

[1] The medial *i* sign is not deeply engraved.

[2] Unlike the other inscriptions of this ruler, the details of the date are given only in figures and not both in words and numerical figures. For the season and the fortnight, only abbreviations have been used.

[3] The punctuation is indicated by a horizontal stroke.

[4] There is a cell to the left. There was another cave at a distance of above 20 yards from this cave, the roof of which has fallen and there is now no indication if it originally contained any inscription.

[5] The reading seems to be *Bhaṭṭa* here and not *Bhada*. Cf. *d* in *divase*, which is quite different.

[6] The *anusvāra* is shown in red paint and was not engraved through oversight.

[7] The sign of medial *ā* in *jñā* is engraved on top of the conjunct letter. There is a chisel-mark on *ka* making it look like *kā* on the impressions.

[8] It appears that *vā* was engraved first and then corrected into *ve* with the result that the syllable looks like *vo*.

[9] There is also a chisel-marks on *va* making it look like *vō*. The rock in this cave is very rough and there are numerous chisel-marks which give the impression of vowel sign on the impressions.

BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS FROM BANDHOGARH — PLATE III

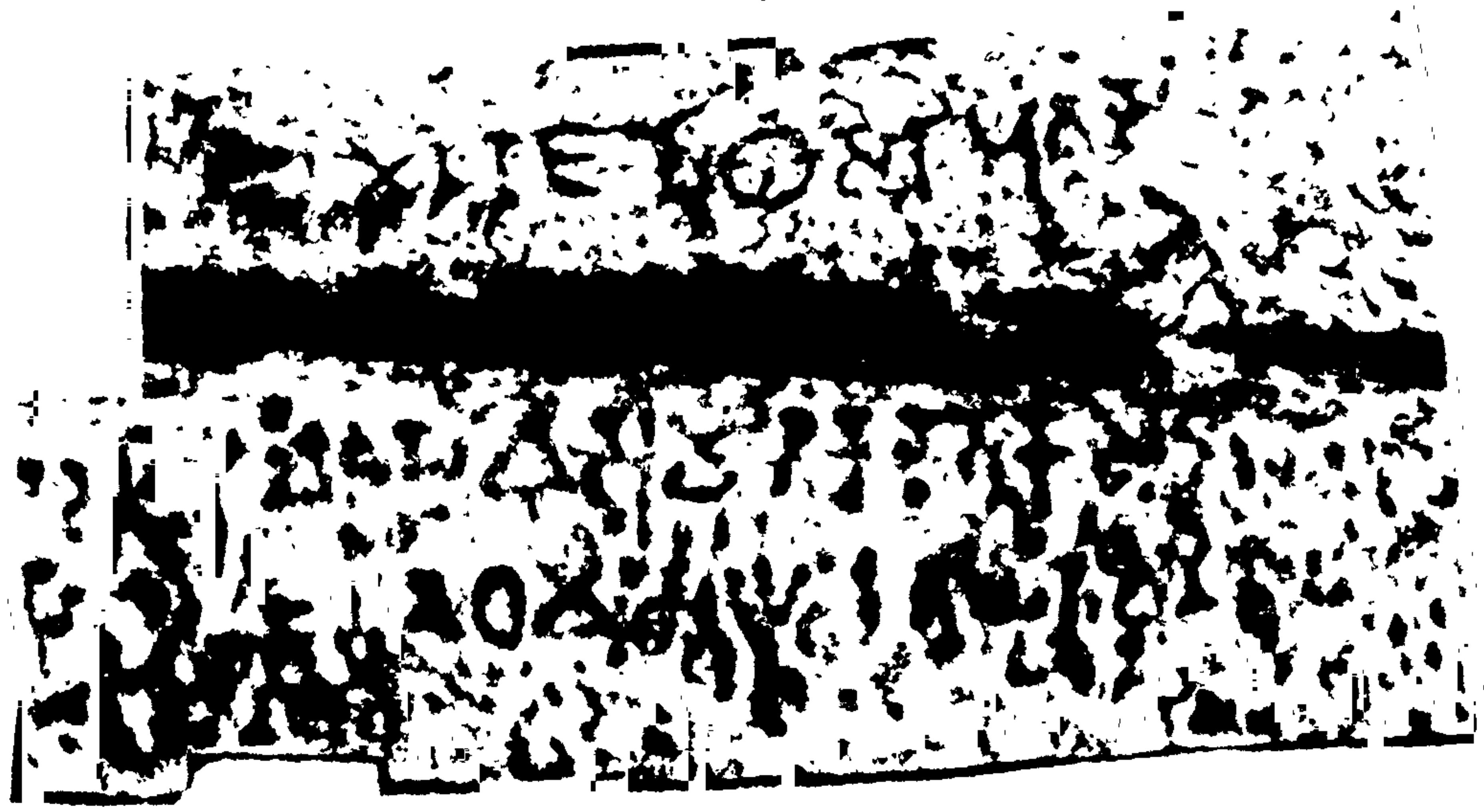
XI



Scale One Sixteenth

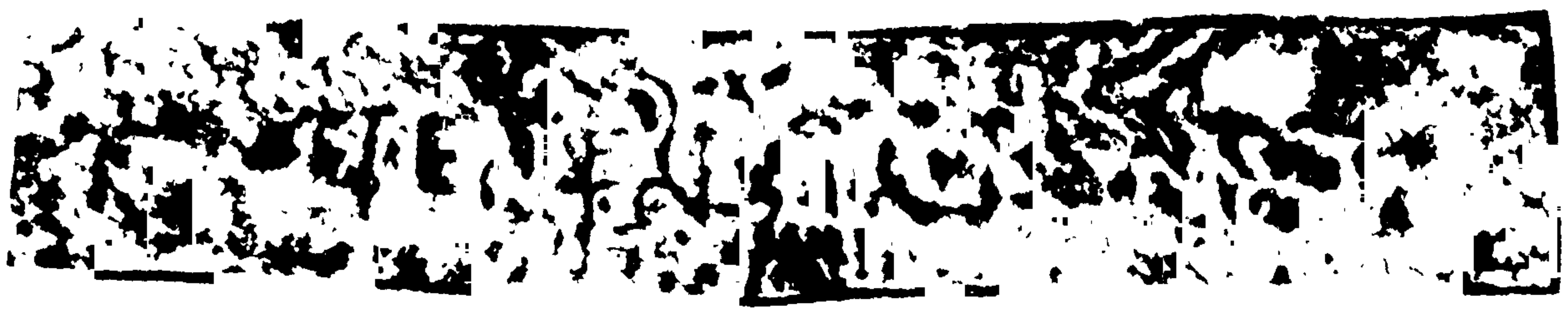
XIII

A

2  2

4 4

B



Scale:One-tenth

XII. *Inscriptions in Cave No. 6*

There is no Brāhmī inscription in this cave which consists of only one hall. There are, however, seven beautifully carved letters in shell characters engraved at the right end of the back wall. There are also letters written in black paint varying from 9 inches to two feet in size, which are now practically effaced. A late inscription is engraved along the wall, partly cutting the letters written in black paint. In one place, however, the word *Śivabhatka(kta)* can be clearly read and in another the word *putasa*. There are a few other small epigraphs, now illegible, which seem to have been only pilgrims' records. On the jamb of the first entrance to the left, the letters *Śiva* are clear. There is no record of any historical importance, nor any image. The small records are, however, valuable in that they clearly indicate the Śaivite association of the place. The hall may have been only a resting place for the pilgrims visiting the caves in the vicinity.

XIII. *Inscriptions of Bhaṭṭadeva (Plate III)*

[In cave No. 8, about a mile and a half to the west of Gopālpur.[1] There are two inscriptions, here marked A and B, both badly mutilated. A is on the back wall and B on the left wall.]

TEXT

A[2]

1 [Si*]dha [|*] Mahārāja-Poṭhasiriputasa [Ko]................

2 .... [pa]khe....

3 [etā*]ya puruvāya Vasumitaka-natt[i]kasa................

4 ....ketana-dhamachara[ṇā] l[ā]t[ā]-ghara khānita [punyaṁ]........[3]

B

1 Mahārājasa Kosikiputasa sri-Bha[ṭṭa]devasa................

TRANSLATION

A

Success ! On ....fortnight (*of the reign*) of .... son of Poṭhasiri. On this day, by ... . the grandson of Vasumita..........., has been excavated a cave-shelter for dwelling as a measure of piety. May merit increase.

B

The illustrious *Mahārāja* Bhaṭṭadeva, the son of Kosikī.........

---

[1] The roof of the cave is fallen.

[2] Of the first line of A, only the beginning is preserved. The second line has practically disappeared due to the wearing of the stone. The third and fourth lines are also badly worn off. Obviously both the inscriptions belonged to the time of Bhaṭṭadeva, son of Poṭhasiri. [It is difficult to be definite on this point.—Ed.]

[3] The last three syllables must have been *vadhatu* as in some other inscriptions.

XIV. *Inscriptions in Cave No. 9* (*Plate IV*)

This cave lies about a mile to the west of Gopālpur and consists of seven cells and a hall. On the north wall of the hall, on two sides of a doorway are the remains of an inscription. On the left side only *Mahārāja-Śivaṁgha*[*sya*] is clear. On the right side 6 to 8 letters at the beginning are missing altogether while 6 more letters following this portion are not clear. Thereafter comes the concluding portion of the record which reads : *nava imā lā*[*tā-gṛihāḥ*]. It is a pity that the inscribed portion after the name of the ruler is lost as it would have not only given a date for the ruler but might have thrown some light on his relationship with the rulers of Bhīmasena's line. It also seems from the record that there were originally 8 cells which along with the hall made a total of 9 as indicated in the inscription.

XV. *Inscription of Chitasena* (*Plate IV*)

[In Cave No. 10, about a mile to the south-west of Gopālpur. There are remains of an inscription on the left wall starting from the wall in the south.][1]

TEXT

South wall :

1 **[Vāsi]ṭhīputasa**

Left wall :

siri-Chitasenasa Pavata-vāthavena vāṇijakena [Pusaka-putena][2] Phagune(na) lātā-gharā khāni[tā] ||[3]

TRANSLATION

(*During the time of*) **Vāsiṭhiputa** (Vāsishṭhīputra), the illustrious **Chitasena**,[4] (these) cave-dwellings are excavated by the trader Phagu (Phalgu), the son of Pusaka (Pushya) and a resident of Pavata (Parvata).

XVI. *Inscriptions in Cave No. 11* (*Plate IV*)

[There are two inscriptions marked here as A and B, both badly damaged, in the cells to the left and right respectively.]

TEXT[5]

A

1 .... [Pusa]ka-putena Phaguna [lātā]-ghara khānāpitā [|*] puna vadhatu [|]

2 vap[i]k=ār[ā]m[o] [cha] [||[6]]

[1] There are a few letters of large size below the inscription on the left wall and also on the back and right walls ; but they are not clear and no sense can be made out of them.

[2] Supplied on the basis of No. XVI.

[3] The second line of the inscription engraved in continuation on the south and left walls is completely worn out.

[4] [It is difficult to take Chitasena as a king unless it is supposed that the date before the name or an expression like *rajye* after it is omitted.—Ed.]

[5] Cf. No. XV.

[6] The punctuation mark has been indicated by two parallel horizontal lines followed by a dash.

BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS FROM BANDHOGARH — PLATE IV

XIV

A



B



Scale: One-eighth

XV

Left Half



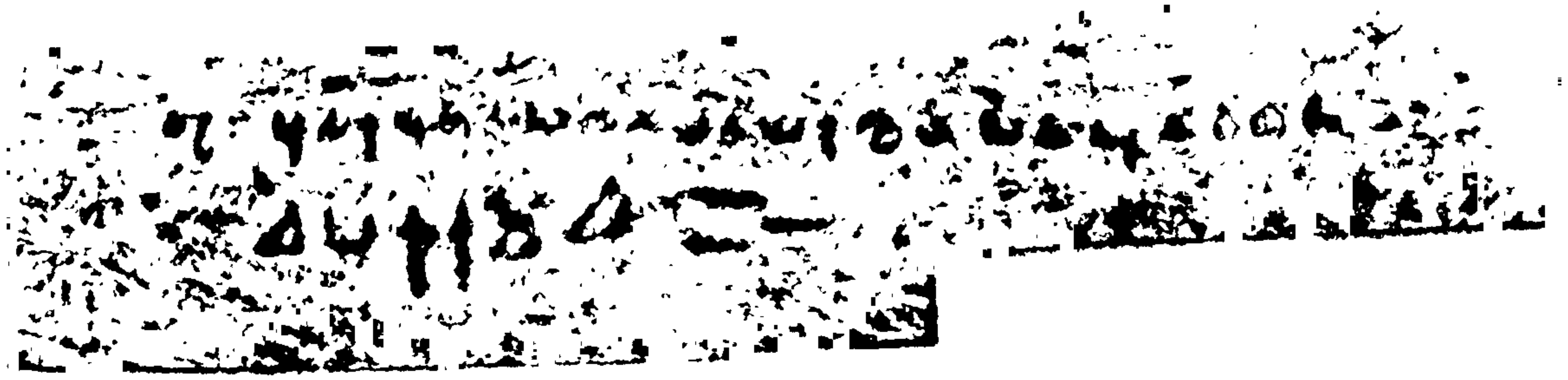
Right Half



Scale one Tenths

XVI

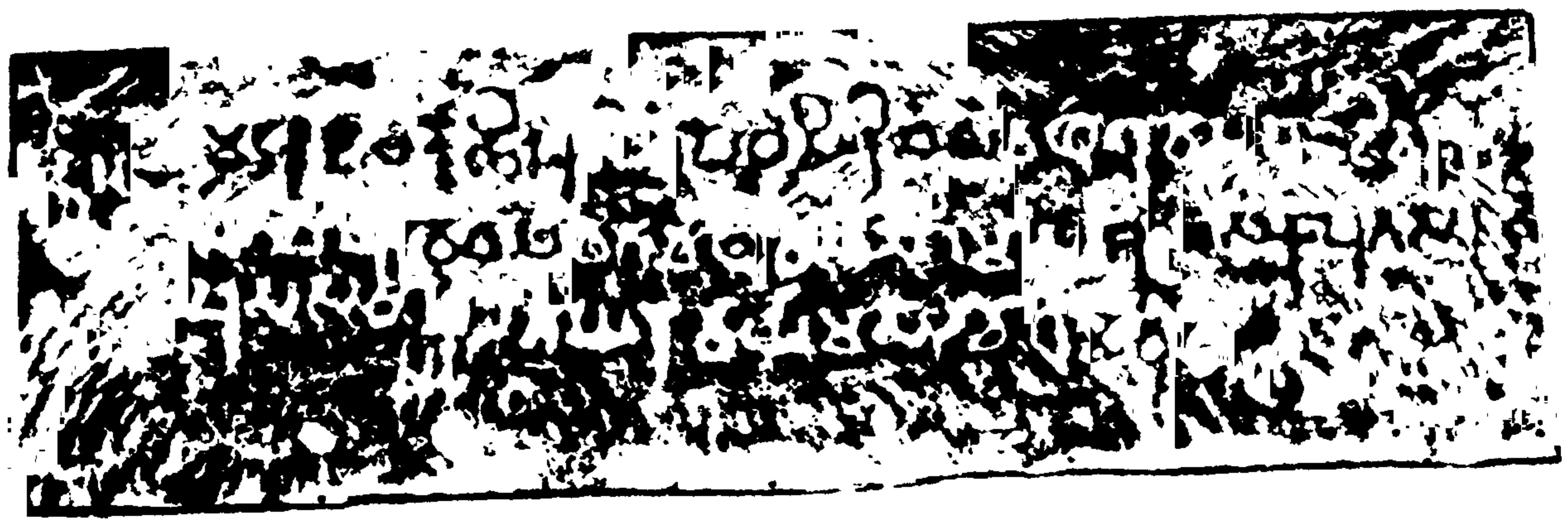
A



B



XVII



Scale: One-tenth

B

1 .... [Posaka]-putena Phaguna [lā]tā-gharaṁ khānāpitā [|*] puna vaḍhatu ||[1]

TRANSLATION

A

These cave-dwellings have been caused to be excavated by Phagu, the son of Pusaka *(who donated)* also a small tank and a garden. May merit increase.

XVII. *Inscription (No. 10) of Poṭhasiri, Year 87 (Plate IV)*

[On the back wall of Cave No. 12 which is partly ruined.]

TEXT

1 [S]iddham ||[2] Mahār[ā]jasa **Kochhīputasa Poṭhasirisa saṁva 80 7 Vāsa-pa 2 diva 5**

2 **etāe** puruvāe Pavata-vathavasa negamasa Āyāsaka-putasa

3 **Pusasa** vāpī lātā-gharo vāyāma-sālā chā [|*] dhama vaḍhatu |[3]

TRANSLATION

Success! **In the year 87, 5th day of the second fortnight of Varshā** *(in the reign)* **of Kochhiputa(Kautsīputra) Poṭhasiri.** On this day, a tank, cave-dwellings and a gymnasium **are** *(the gifts)* of the merchant Pusa (Pushya)[4], the son of Āyāsaka (Āyāsa) and a resident **of Parvata.**

XVIII. *Inscription (No. 1) of Vaiśravaṇa (Plate V)*

[On the left wall of the verandah, which is partly fallen, in Cave No. 13.]

TEXT

1 [5]**Ma**[hā]s[e]nā[pa]t[er]=**Bhadrabālasya** putreṇa rājñ[ā]

2 [**Vaiśravaṇena** idaṁ] l[ā]tā-gṛiha[ṁ] khānita[ṁ]|[6]

TRANSLATION

This cave-dwelling has been caused to be excavated by the king **Vaiśravaṇa, the son** of *Mahāsēnāpati* Bhadrabāla.

[1] The punctuation mark has been indicated by two parallel horizontal lines followed by a dash.

[2] This is followed in the original by a horizontal stroke.

[3] The punctuation mark is indicated by a horizontal stroke. In the third cell of another cave situated on the right of the present cave is a small record which seems to read : *Mala[gā]ri[ka]*.

[4] Pusa, the son of Āyāsaka of the present record, is obviously identical with Pusaka, the father Phalgu of Nos. XV-XVI.

[5] The line begins with two parallel horizontal strokes followed by a dash.

[6] The punctuation mark is indicated by one horizontal stroke.

XIX. *Inscription* (*No. 2*) *of Vaiśravaṇa* (*Plate V*)

[On a detached rock which once formed part of a cave but is now lying near a nullah.]

TEXT

1 [1]**Mahāsenāpater=Bhadrabālasya** putre[ṇa]

2 **Vaiśravaṇena** ida[ṁ] lātā-[gṛi][haṁ khānitaṁ |*][2]

XX. *Inscriptions of Year 80* (*Plate V*)

[In three caves to the south-east of Gopālpur. The three inscriptions are in one line each bearing an almost identical text.]

TEXT

A. (*In Cave No. 1, on the back wall of the inner hall.*)

Sava 80 Gi-pa 1 diva 6 ketana[ṁ] Vachhaputa-Bhojasa Bhojapilisa cha [||*]

B. (*In Cave No. 2, on the back wall of a cell to the right of Cave No. 1.*)

Sava 80 Gima 1 [di]va 5 ketana[ṁ] Vachhaputa-Bhojasa Bhojapilisa cha [||*]

C. (*In Cave No. 3.*)

.... ketana[ṁ*] Vachha-putana Bhojasa Bhojapilisa cha [||*]

TRANSLATION

In the year 80, 5th day of the first fortnight of summer. (*This is the*) dwelling (*which is the gift*) of Vachha's son Bhoja and Bhojapili. [According to C, ' of Vachha's sons, Bhoja and Bhojapili'.]

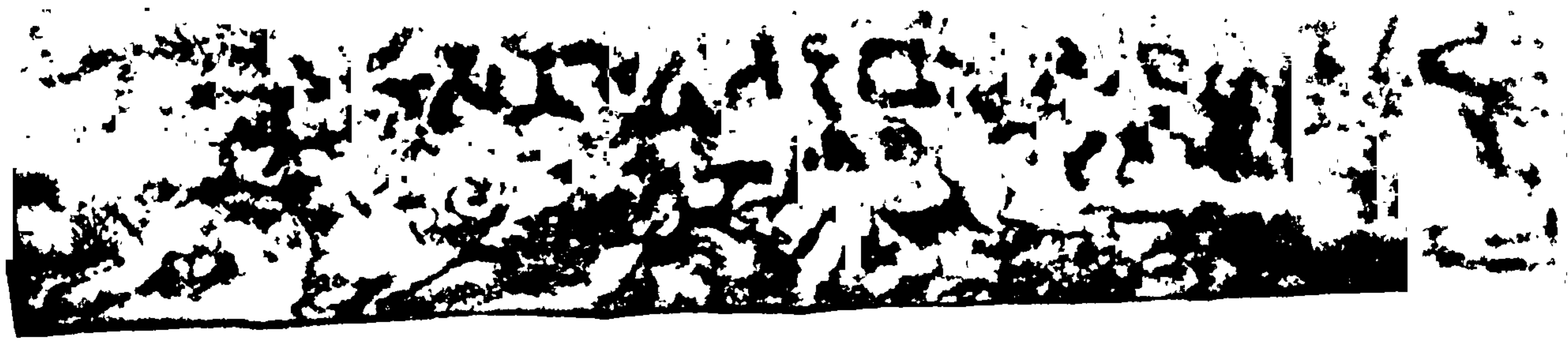
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[1] The line begins with two parallel horizontal strokes followed by a dash.

[2] The text is almost identical with that of No. XVIII.

BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS FROM BANDHOGARH — PLATE V

XVIII



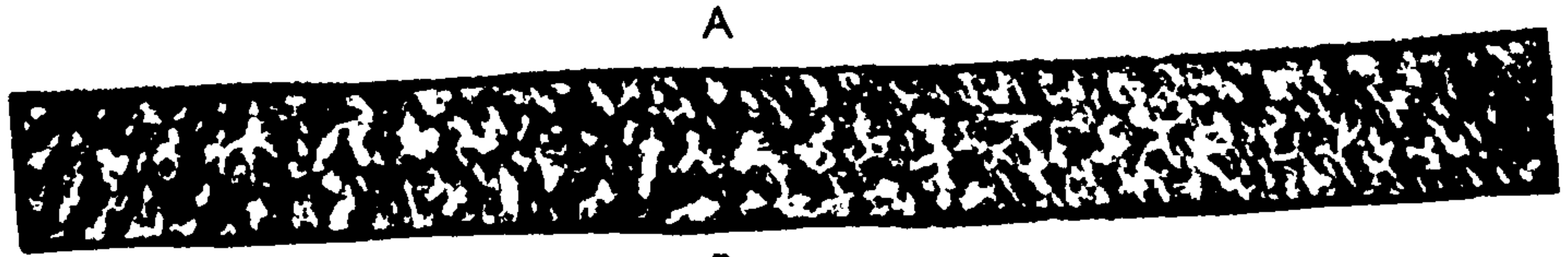
XIX



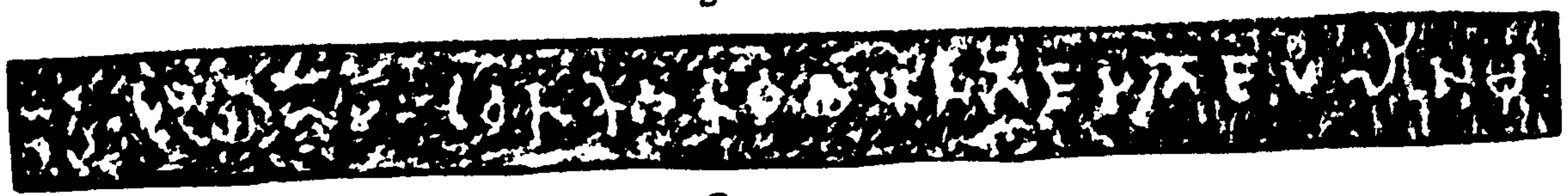
Scale: One-eighth

XX

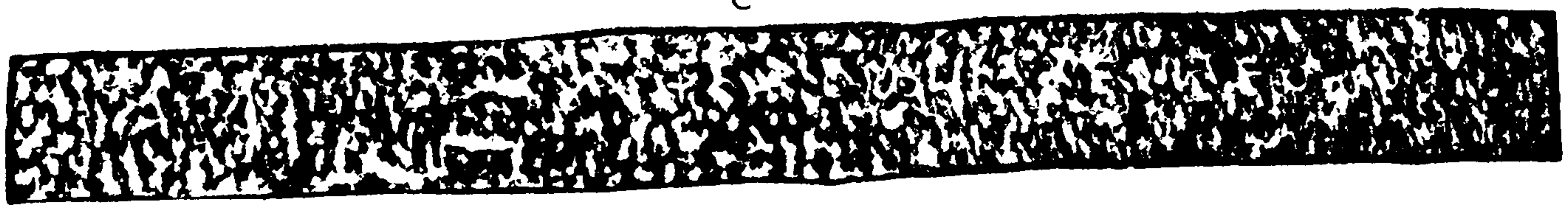
A



B



C



Scale: One-sixteenth

No. 24—TWO GRANTS FROM GALAVALLI

(*2 Plates*)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

A few years ago two sets of copper-plate grants were dug up from the fields belonging to Mr. B. Rajagopala Rao, President of the Panchayat Board of **Galavalli**, a village in the Bobbili Taluk of the Srikakulam District, Andhra. The priest of the Kāmēśvarasvāmī temple at Galavalli secured them and sent them to Mr. N. Ramesan, then Revenue Divisional Officer of Parvatipuram. Mr. Ramesan presented the inscriptions to the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry, and published both the epigraphs in the said Society's journal, Vol. XX, pp. 161-70, 171-76. As neither the treatment of the earlier inscription nor its published facsimile appeared to me satisfactory, I was eager to examine the original plates. In January 1956 I visited the office of the Andhra Historical Research Society at Rajahmundry and had an opportunity of examining both the inscriptions through the courtesy of Mr. R. Subba Rao, Secretary of the Society. Mr. Subba Rao was also kind enough to allow me to take impressions of the two records.

1.—*Plates of Gaṅga Year 393*

The inscription is written on **three** plates which measure each 7¼″ by 2¾″. They were strung on a ring which passed through a hole (about ¾″ from the left end of the plates and about ⅜″ in diameter) and the ends of which were soldered beneath a circular **seal** bearing the usual Eastern Gaṅga emblems of the bull to right, sun, moon, *aṅkuśa* and *chāmara*. The weight of the plates, without the ring and seal, is 115 *tolas*. An interesting fact about the record is that the main document is written on the second (inner) side of the first plate, continued on both sides of the second plate and completed on the first (inner) side of the third plate, while there is an interesting endorsement of a later date which had been begun originally on the second (outer) side of the third plate but was given up and incised afterwards on the first (outer) side of the first plate. In this respect, the epigraph under study closely resembles the Terasingha copper-plate inscription of Tushṭikāra, edited above.[1] Only four *aksharas* of the endorsement had been engraved on the outer side of the third plate before it was given up. The full text of the endorsement as found on the outer side of the first plate covers no less than six lines. The original document, incised on the remaining four faces of the plates, contains 28 lines of writing in the following order : IB—7 lines, IIA—8 lines, IIB—7 lines, IIIA—6 lines.

The **characters** employed in the main document belong to the class known as the **later Kaliṅga script** and closely resemble those of records like the Chicacole (Srikakulam) plates[2] of Anantavarman who has been assigned to a date about the beginning of the tenth century A.D. The endorsement is written partly in the East Indian variety of the Northern Alphabet and partly in Telugu-Kannaḍa characters. It begins with *O* instead of the symbol for *Siddham* usually found in early records. It is well known that the chief characteristic of the later Kaliṅga script is the representation of the same letters in several different forms prevalent in both the Northern and Southern Alphabets. The inscription under study represents almost all the consonants in more than one form. Cf. *k* in °*Kaligaṁ* (line 2) ; kh in *śikharā* (line 2), *sakala* (line 3), *Khaṇḍyama* (line 28), *g* in *Kaligaṁnagara* (line 2), *guṇa* (line 10), *Gaṁg-ā*° (line 12) ; ch in °*achal-ā*° (line 2), *char-āchara* (line 3), °*āchalō* (line 9); *j* in °*vijaya* (lines 1-2), *jaya* (line 6), *Manujēdraṁ* (line 14), *vijaya rājya*

[1] See Vol. XXX, pp. 274 ff.

[2] *JAHRS*, Vol. VIII, pp. 169 ff. and Plates ; *Journ. As. Soc.*, Letters, Vol. XVIII, pp. 47 ff. and Plates.

(lines 26-27) ; *ṭ* in *pāṭaka* (line 15), *trikūṭāni* (line 18); *ḍ* in *chūḍā* (line 4), *Baḍavaḍā* (line 15 ; cf. *Kaunḍuka-Gunḍē°* in *l.* 16) ; *ṇ* in *ramaṇīya* (line 1), *°maṇē°* (line 4), *praṇāmā°* (line 5) ; *t* in *pratishṭhita* (line 3), *vigata* (line 5), *janita* (line 6), *dhvast-ārāti* (line 9), *satya-tyāga* (line 10), *iti* (line 28); *d* in *pād-ā°* (line 11), *°d-Dēvēndravarmmadē°* (lines 13-14) ; *dh* in *°ādhi°* (line 2), *°ādhāra* (line 11), *dharma* (line 25) ; *n* in *bhuvana* (line 3), *naya-vinaya* (line 9) ; *p* in *°pur-ā°* (line 1), *prati°*(line 3), *pratāp-ā°* (line 6), *parama* (line 13) ; *bh* in *bhuvana* (line 3), *°bhagavatō* (line 4), *bhūyō bhūyō* (line 24) ; *m* in *ramaṇīya* (line 1), *°āmala* (line 2), *kamala* (line 5), *parama* (line 11); *y* in *ramaṇīya* (line 1), *yugala* (line 5), *vinaya-dayā* (line 9), *°audārya* (line 10), *bhūyō bhūyō* (line 24) ; *r* in *nagar-ā°* (line 2), *sachar-āchara-gurō°* (line 3), *°śvarāya* (line 16) ; *l* in *Kaligaṁ*, *°āchal-āmala* (line 2), *yugala* (line 5), *likhitaṁ* (line 27) ; *v* in *sarva* (line 1), *°vat°* (line 2), *vigata* (line 5), *pratāp-āva°* (line 6), *vara* (line 8), *daivika* (line 23) ; *ś* in *śikhara* (line 2), *śaśāṅka* (line 4) ; *sh* in *vishaya* (lines 14, 15, 18) ; *s* in *sabda* (line 6) , *samasta-sāmanta* (line 7) ; *h* in *Mahēndra* (line 2), *māhēśvara* (line 11), *mahārāja* (line 14). Sometimes two letters are almost undistinguishable from each other ; e.g. *ch* in *°chala* (line 2) and *y* in *yaśō* (line 7) ; *ch* in *°chalō* (line 9) and *v* in *°vatō* (line 4) ; *t* and *n* in *janita* (line 6) and respectively in *śita* (line 8) and *dākshinya* (line 10). In some cases, the same sign of the medial vowel is differently represented ; e.g. *ū* in *bhū* in *bhūyō bhūyō* (line 24). There are instances of *ṅga* represented by *gaṁ* (cf. lines 2, 26).

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit. The main document is written in prose except for the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas about the end. The endorsement is, however, entirely written in verse. There are really two stanzas in this section ; but one of them has been quoted twice. It appears that the engraver of the endorsement began to incise the stanzas in the East Indian alphabet with which he was not quite at ease. After completing the first stanza, he gave up that script and engraved both the stanzas in the Telugu-Kannaḍa alphabet. That is how the first verse of the endorsement was incised twice. As regards **orthography**, the inscription resembles other epigraphs of the time and area in question. Final *n* has occasionally been changed wrongly to *anusvāra* (cf. line 24) which also takes the place of final *m* at the end of the second and fourth feet of verses. The charter is **dated in the Gaṅga year 393 (889-91 A.D.)**.

The main document begins with the *Siddham* symbol and the usual *praśasti* of the Early Eastern Gaṅgas in lines 1-11, referring to the issue of the charter from the *adhivāsaka* (royal residence) at **Kaliṅganagara** resembling Amarapura (the city of the gods) and to the devotion of the issuer of the grant to the god, *Bhagavat* **Gōkarṇasvāmin** (Śiva), installed on the peak of **Mount Mahēndra**. As usual, the issuer of the charter is described (lines 11-12) as a devout worshipper of the god Mahēśvara (Śiva), as meditating on (or favoured by) the feet of his parents, and as an ornament of the spotless family of the Gaṅgas. He is further introduced in lines 12-14 as the son of *Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka śrīmad-***Dēvēndravarmadēva.** Curiously enough, the passage in line 14, containing the name of the issuer of the grant and the district in which the gift land was situated, reads : *°mahārāja-Manujēdraṁ(ndra) vagalēla-vishayē.* It has to be noticed that while the father is endowed with full imperial titles, the son is represented as a *Mahārāja* and with *śrī* instead of *śrīmat.* Some letters moreover appear to be lost in the passage and its intended reading may have been *Manujēṁdrava[rmadēvaḥ kuśalī*] Galēla-vishayē.* Whether the intention of the scribe was to include here a passage containing the usual address of the issuer of a grant to the officers and subordinates is impossible to determine. But it appears that *Mahārāja* **Manujēndra** or **Manujēndravarman** issued the charter during the rule of his father, *Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka* Dēvēndravarman. He may have therefore been a sub-king under his father during the latter's old age. A similar instance is offered by the passage introducing the issuer of a grant as *mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka-śrī-Anantavarmadēva-sa(sū)nu-yuvarāja-śrī-Rājēndravarma(rmā) kuśala(lī)* occurring in an Eastern Gaṅga charter[1] of the year 313 (809-11 A.D.). Although a confusion is sometimes noticed in the

[1] *Bhārati* (Telugu), June 1954, pp. 574 ff.

grants of this family in respect of the use of the titles *Mahārāja* and *Mahārājādhirāja* with the name of the issuer and that of his father,[1] the above suggestion regarding the relation of Manujēndra with his father seems to be supported by other considerations. In the first place, the date of the record under study, viz. the Gaṅga year 393, suggests the identification of king Dēvēndravarman of our record with the king of the same name who issued the Chidivalasa plates[2] in the Gaṅga year 397 (893-95 A.D.), since it is not possible to argue that the latter was a son and grandson respectively of Manujēndra and Dēvēndravarman of the epigraph under study. Secondly, as will be shown below, the endorsement to the main document would suggest that it was a king named Dēvēndravarman who was responsible for the grants recorded in both of them. It is therefore possible to think that Manujēndra made the grant under orders of his father, although some words to this effect are lost in the document.

The **object** of the record (lines 14 ff.) was the grant of three villages, viz. Nuṁkapāṭaka-grāma and Baḍavaḍā-grāma, both situated in the Galēla-*vishaya*, and Chintachēḍu-grāma in Hōmva-vishaya. The grant was made in favour of Kauṇḍuka-Guṇḍēśvara, probably a deity called Guṇḍēśvara worshipped at a locality called Kuṇḍuka or Kōṇḍuka. The gift was received on behalf of the deity by Sāmavēda-bhagavanta who was the son of Brahmātma-bhagavanta of Vallakōnda (or, Challukōnda) and probably the priest in charge of the temple of Guṇḍēśvara. The boundaries of the gift villages were indicated by a causeway (*sētu*) and certain *trikūṭas*[3] which are stated to have been wellknown to the people of the district (line 18). Some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas are quoted in lines 19-26. The date of the charter, viz. year 393 of the increasingly victorious sovereignty of the Gāṅgēya dynasty, is quoted in words in lines 26-27. The document is stated to have been written by Chīḍapa who was the son of *Kāyastha* Khaṇḍyama called a *Rahasya*. The expression *rahasya* indicates the official designation of a Privy Councillor also called *Rahasi niyukta*, *Rāhasika* or *Rahasyādhikṛita* in inscriptions.[4]

As indicated above, the **endorsement** engraved on the first side of the first plate consists of two stanzas. The first of these, which has been repeated, says that the illustrious **Dēvēndravarman**, lord of **Kaliṅga**, received blessings from the god Śiva and that he granted two localities called Yēgū or Ēgu and Mahanta, collectively known as Giṇṭi and situated in Kōṇḍaguḍi, in favour of Yōgātman. The second stanza shows that the village of Giṇṭi was really granted in favour of Guṇḍīśvara, no doubt the same as the deity called Guṇḍēśvara in the original document, and it further states that the grant was made by king Dēvēndravarman 'afterwards in his presence' (*paśchāt tasya samīpataḥ*). The implication is that king Dēvēndravarman ratified the grant in the presence of the deity Guṇḍīśvara at a later date. Yōgātman seems to have been a successor of Sāmavēda-bhagavanta in the office of the priest of the Guṇḍīśvara or Guṇḍēśvara temple. The formation of his name reminds us that of the name of Brahmātma-bhagavanta, father of Sāmavēda-bhagavanta. There is no doubt that the endorsement was engraved at a later date. But whether it was a forgery or a genuine addition to the original record, approved by royal authority, is difficult to determine. Since, however, the palaeography of the endorsement seems to suggest a later date than that of the original grant, the first alternative looks more probable.

The gift villages mentioned in the original document and the endorsement are difficult to identify. We are not sure if the name of the Galēla *vishaya* is preserved in that of modern Galavalli where the plates were discovered.

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1 Above, Vol. XXX, pp 25-26.

2 *JAHRS*, Vol. II, pp. 146 ff. and Plates ; *Journ. As. Soc.*, Letters, Vol. XVIII, pp. 77 ff. and Plates.

3 The word *trikūṭa* appears to mean the junction of three villages. (*Journ. As. Soc.*, Letters, Vol. XVIII, p. 79, note).

4 Cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 17 note ; Vol. XXX, p. 275. Khaṇḍyama is also known from the Chicacole (Srikakulam) plates (Gaṅga year 351) of Satyavarman, which mention Tāru-grāma in Galēla (Galēlai)-vishaya.

TEXT[1]

First Plate, First Side

1 Ō [||*] **Dēvēndravarmā** Śiva-lavdha(bdha)-sa(śa)rmā śrīmā[n]=Kali[ṁ*]g-ādhipatir=varēṇya-[ḥ |*]

2 Yōgātmanē Kōṇḍaguḍāv=adāsīt(t=sa) Yēgu(gū)-Maha-

3 ntau khalu Giṇṭi-sa[ṁ*]jñau [||1*][2] **Dēvēndravarmmā** Si(Śi)valabdha-śarmmā śrī-

4 mān=Kali[ṁ*]g-[ā]dhipatir=varēṇya[ḥ |*] Yōgātmanē Kōṇḍaguḍāv=adā-

5 sīt(t=sa) Ēgu(gū)-Mahantau kha[lu Gi]ṇṭi-[śa]yijñau[3] [|| 2*] Dattavān Giṇṭi-nā-

6 mānaṁ grāmaṁ Guṇḍīsva(śva)rāya vō(vai |) **Dēvēndravarmma**-rājēndra[ḥ*] paśchā[t*] tasya samīpataḥ [|| 3*]

First Plate, Second Side

1 Siddham[4] [|*] Svasty=Amarapur-ānukāriṇas=sarvata(rtu)-sukha-ramaṇīyād=vija-

2 yavat-**Kaligaṁ**(**ṅga**)**nagar**-ādhivāsakān=Mahēndr-āchal-āmala-śikharā(ra)-

3 pratishṭhitasya sa-char-āchara-gurō[ḥ*] sakala-bhuvana-nirmā-

4 ṇ-aika-sūtradhāra[sya*] śaśāṅka-chūḍā-maṇēr=bhagavato Gōkarna(rṇa)sv[ā]-

5 minaś=charaṇa-kamala-yugala-praṇāmā[t*] vigataḥ(ta)-Kali-

6 ka[lusha*]-kalaṅkō=nēk-āhava-saṁkshōbha-janita-jaya-sa(śa)bda[ḥ*] pratāp-āva-

7 nataḥ(ta)-dig-dēśa-vinirggata-yaśō(śāḥ) samasta-sāmanta-chakra-

Second Plate, First Side

8 chūḍā-maṇē(ṇi)-prabhā-mañjarī-puñja-rañjita-vara-charaṇa[ḥ*] śi(si)ta-kumu-

9 da-kund-ēndā(dv-a)vadāta[ḥ*] dhvast-ārāti-kul-āchalō naya-vinaya-dayā-dā-

10 [na]-dākshinya(ṇya)-sau(śau)ry-[au]dārya-satya-tyāg-ādi-guṇa-sam[p]a-

11 d-ādhāra-bha(bhū)tō(taḥ) paramamāhēśvarō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ā-

12 nudhyātō **Gaṁg-āmala-kula**-tilaka[ḥ*] mahārājādhirāja-pa-

13 ramēśvara-paramabhaṭa(ṭṭā)raka-śrīmad-**Dēvēndravarmma**-

14 **dēva**-sūnu-mahārāja-śrī-**Manujēdraṁ**(**ndra**)**va**[5] **Galēla**-vishayē

15 Nuṁkapāṭakagrāma-Baḍavaḍāgrāma(mau) **Hōmva**-vishayē Chintachē-

Second Plate, Second Side

16 ḍugrāma[ṁ cha*] Kauṇḍuka-Guṇḍēśvarāya daṁtta(dattavān |) śrīmat(mad)-**Vallakōnda**[6]-Brahmātma-bha-

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[1] From the original plates and impressions.

[2] There is a floral design here to separate the foregoing part in the East Indian alphabet from the following portion in the Telugu-Kannaḍa script. The metre of the first stanza is *Indravajrā*. The second verse is a repetition of the first. The metre of the third stanza is *Anushṭubh*.

[3] Read *saṁjñau*.

[4] Expressed by symbol.

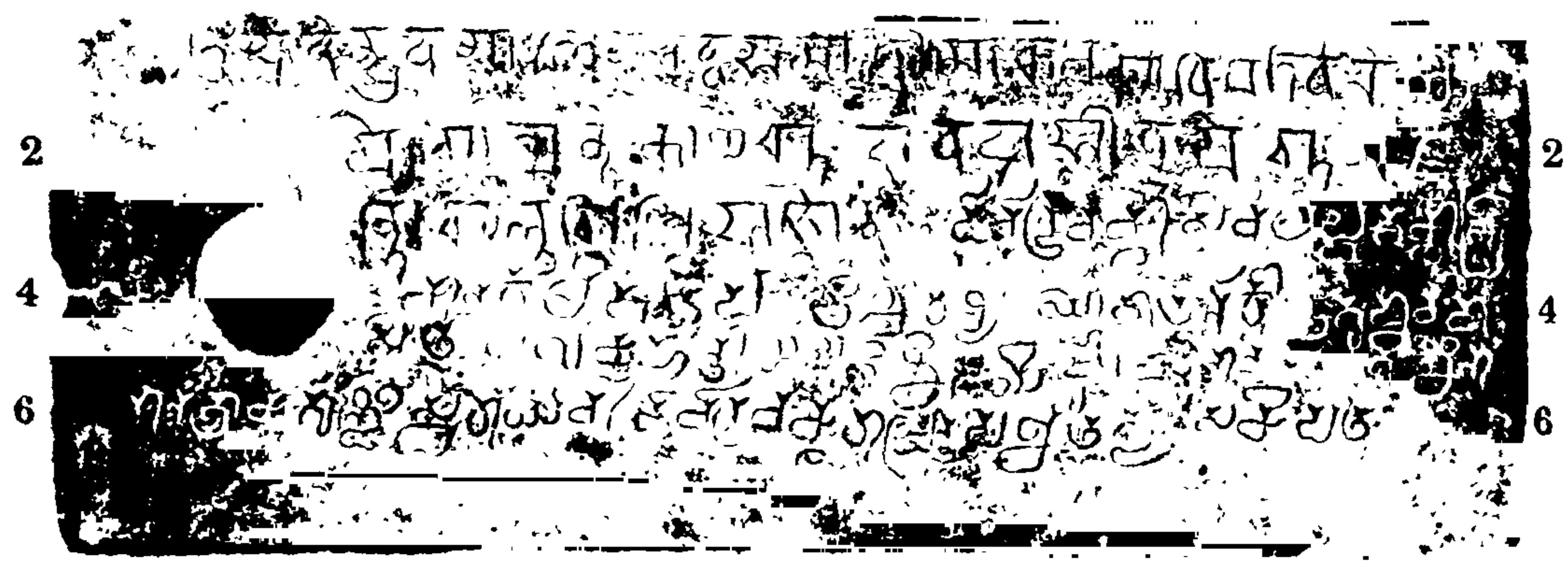
[5] The intended reading may be *Manujēndravarmadēvaḥ kuśalī*.

[6] The first *akshara* of the name may also be read as *cha*

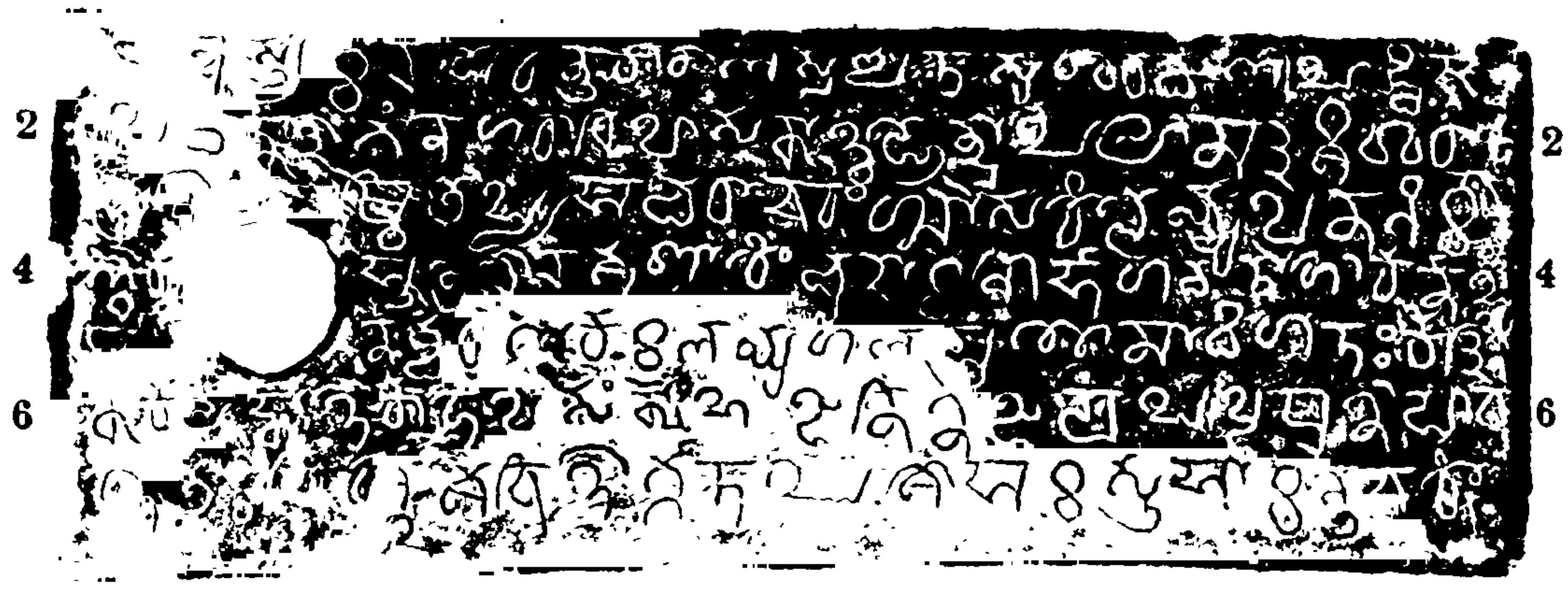
TWO GRANTS FROM GALAVALLI—PLATE I

1.—PLATES OF GANGA YEAR 393

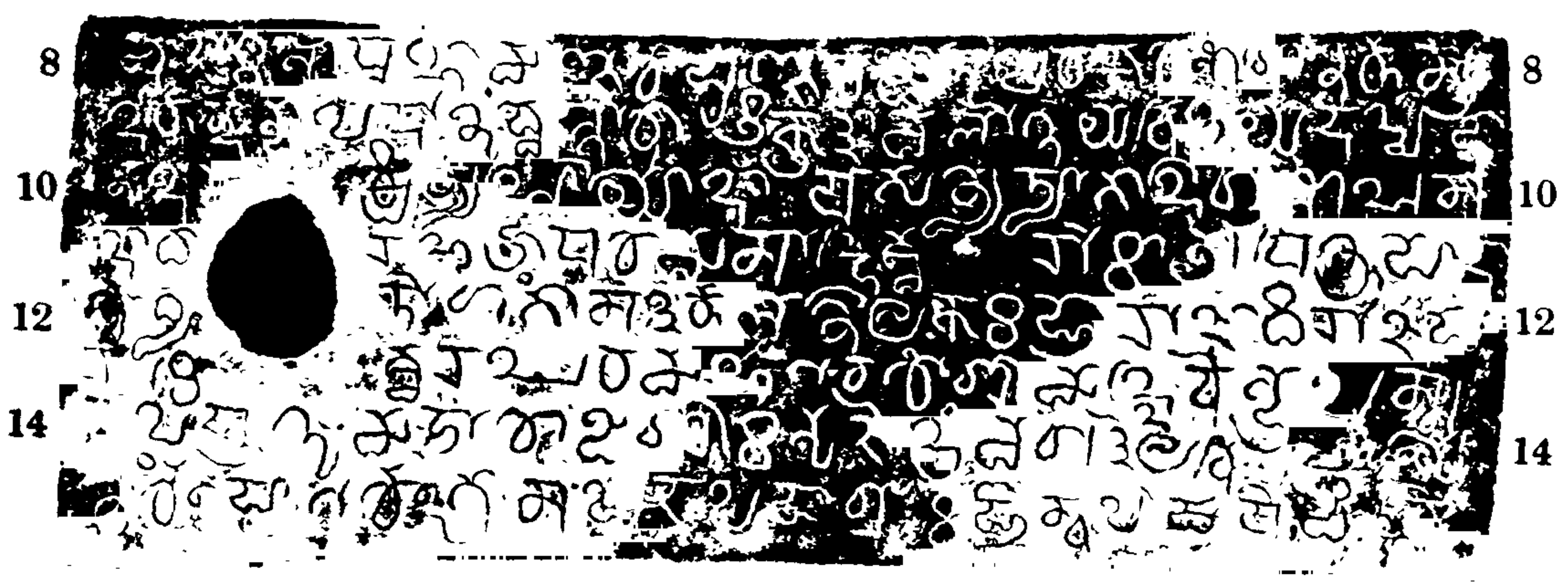
i,a



i,b

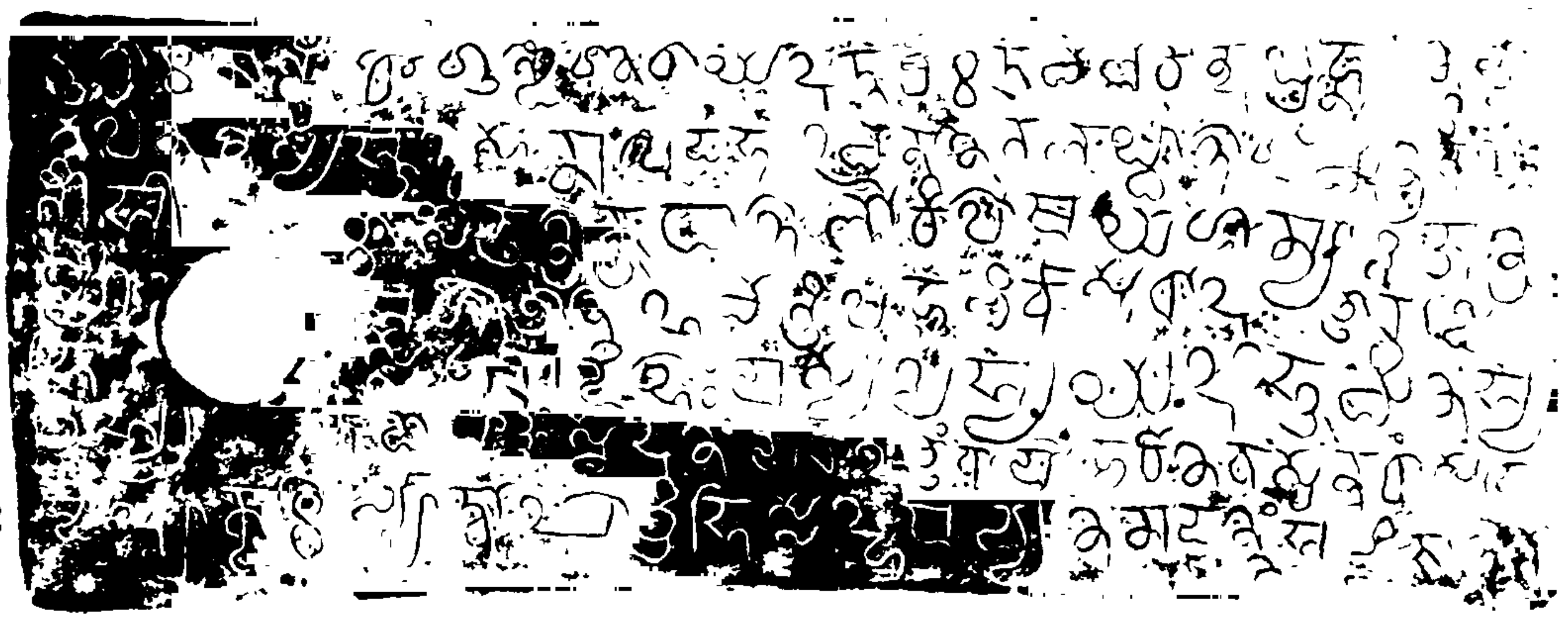


ii,a

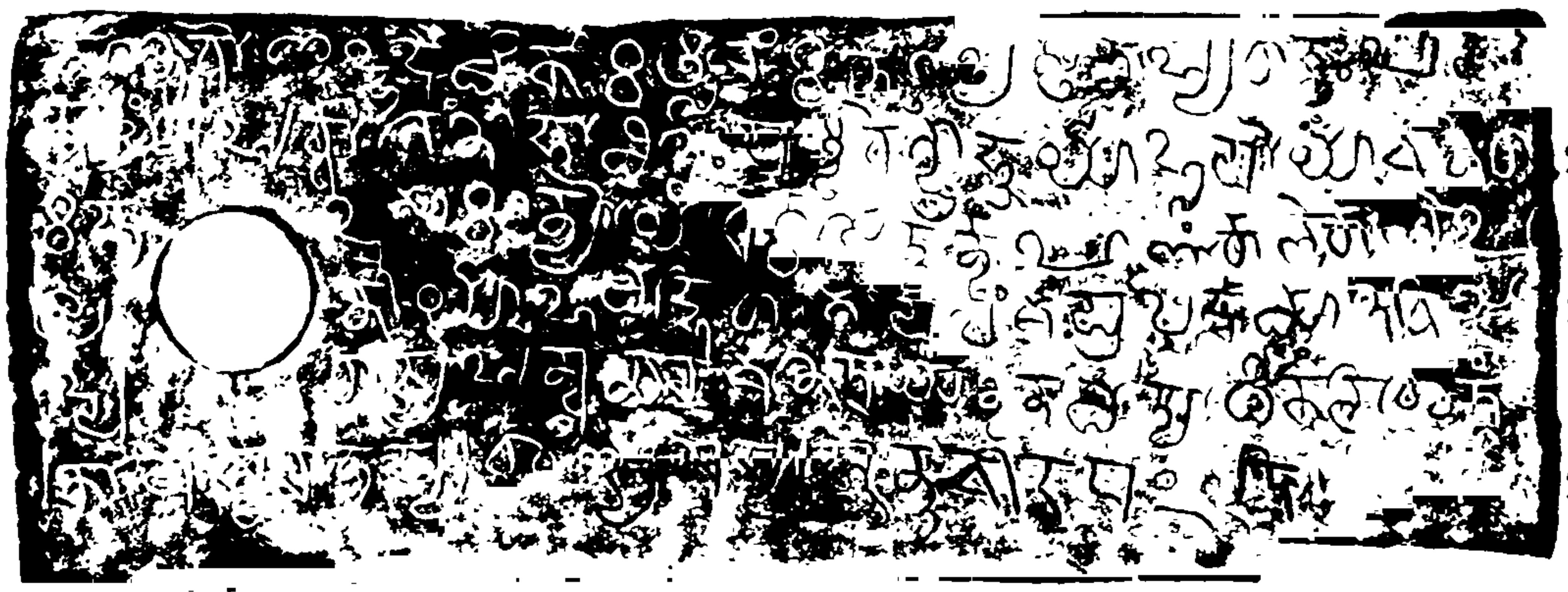


Scale: **Four-fifths**

ii,b



iii,a



iii,b



17 gavanta[ḥ*] tasya sūnu[ḥ*] Sāmavēda-bhagavanta[ḥ*] tēna labdhāni(nāṁ) grāma-trayā-

18 ṇi(nāṁ) sīmā sētu-trikūṭāni lōka-vishaya[1]-gamyāni [|*] atra

19 Vyāsa-gītāni(gītāḥ ślōkāḥ) bhavanti [|*] Bahubhir=vasudhā dattā rāja-

20 bhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmi[s*]=tasya

21 tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam ||) Sva-dataṁ(ttāṁ) para-datta(ttā)ṁ vā yō harēta vasuṁdharāṁ-(rāṁ |) sa vi-

22 shṭā(shṭhā)yāṁ kṛimir=bhūtvā pitri(tṛi)bhis=saha pachyatē [||*] Mad-dattaṁ sa[d*]-dvijā-tīnāṁ

Third Plate, First Side

23 pātu(ti) vō(ya) iha daivikaṁ(kam |) matsi(ch-chhi)raṁ(rō)-makuṭa-nyasta[ṁ*] tasya rājñaḥ pada-

24 dvayaṁ|(yam ||) Sarvvān=ētāṁ(tān) bhāvinaḥ pārtthivēndrāṁ(drān) bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rā-

25 mabhadra[ḥ |*] sāmānyō=yaṁ dharma-sētur=nṛipāṇāṁ kālē kālē pā-

26 lanīyō bhavadbhi[ḥ ||*] **Gāgēṁ(ṅgē)ya-vaṁśa-pravarddhamāna-vija-**

27 **ya-rājya-saṁvachha(saṁvatsa)ra-śata-traya(yē) tṛi(tri)-navaty=ādhikaṁ(kē)** likhitaṁ

28 Kāyastha-rahasya-Khaṇḍyamasya sūnu-Chīḍapa(pēna) iti ||

Third Plate, Second Side

1 [Ō] Dēvēndra[2]

2.—Grant of Rājarāja I Dēvēndravarman, Śaka 998

The inscription is written on four plates, each measuring 9¼ inches by 4 inches. They were strung together on a ring, the ends of which were soldered beneath the king's seal bearing the bull emblem and other symbols. The first plate is inscribed only on the inner side while the other three plates have inscription on both the sides. There are altogether fifty two lines of writing, their distribution on the various faces of the plates being as follows : IB—9 lines, IIA—9 lines, IIB—8 lines, IIIA—8 lines, IIIB—8 lines, IVA—8 lines, IVB—2 lines. The four plates together, without the ring and seal, weigh 166 *tolas*.

The characters belong to the Gauḍīya class and closely resemble those of some of the copper-plate grants of the early members of the Imperial Gaṅga family[3] as well as of the later members of the Sōma-vaṁśa of Kōsala and Utkala[4] and of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty of Tōsalī.[5]

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[1] Better read *vishaya-lōka*.

[2] The endorsement, later engraved on the outer (first) side of the first plate, appears to have been originally begun here and abruptly abandoned. The reason for this may be the unsatisfactory formation of the *aksharas*.

[3] See, e.g., the Nadagam (above, Vol. IV, pp. 189 ff., and Plates) and Madras Museum (ibid., Vol. IX, pp. 96 ff., and Plates) plates of Vajrahasta III, father of Rājarāja I who issued the charter under study. Cf. C. P. No. 3 of 1918-19 published in *JAHRS*, Vol. VIII, pp. 171 ff., and Plates. See also Rājarāja's own grant (C. P. No. 4 of 1918-19) published in op. cit. pp. 166 ff., 176 ff., and Plates, and the charters of his son Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga such as the Korni plates of Śaka 1003 (ibid., Vol. I, pp. 40 ff., and Plates).

[4] See, e.g., the Kisarkella plates of Mahābhavagupta IV Uddyōtakēsarin (above, Vol. XXII, pp. 135 ff., and Plates).

[5] See, e.g., the Santiragrama grant of Daṇḍiamahādēvī (above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 79 ff., and Plates).

The sign for *v* has been used to indicate the letter *b*. The **language** is Sanskrit and the epigraph is composed in both prose and verse. As regards **orthography** also, the inscription closely resembles other records of the area and age in question. Final *m* has been wrongly changed to *anusvāra* at the end of the second and fourth feet of verses. In the place of *rbbh*, *rbhbh* has been wrongly written in more than one case (cf. lines 5, 20). There are also some other cases of wrong spelling such as *singha* for *siṁha*, *subha* for *śubha* and *saṁśikta* for *saṁsikta* (cf. lines 7, 20, 41-43). Consonants are not only often reduplicated in conjunction with superscript *r* but in one case also in that of subscript *y* (cf. °*mattyaḥ* in lines 30-31). The date of the charter is given in the chronogram *vasu-nanda-nidhi* of the Śaka era, i.e. **Śaka 998**, while the details of the date quoted are the **Vishuva-saṅkrānti in the month of Chaitra**, i.e. the day of the vernal equinox. The date of the charter thus appears to be **March 23, 1077 A.D.**

We know that the later members of the Eastern Gaṅga family began their charters with the *praśasti* : *svasty=Amarapur-ānukāriṇaḥ* etc., in prose as in the charter of the Gaṅga year 393, edited above. The early members of the imperial branch of the family adopted the same *praśasti* for the introduction of their grants.[1] But **Vajrahasta III** (1038-70 A.D.) introduced a new *praśasti* beginning with *śrīmatām=akhila-bhuvana-vinuta-naya-vinaya*, etc., in prose and verse. This eulogy contains no less than twelve stanzas, five in the description of the reigning monarch (Vajrahasta III), one each in that of his father and the latter's two younger brothers, two in that of his grandfather and one in that of his great-grandfather. The entire *praśasti* was copied in the charters of his son and successor **Rājarāja I Dēvēndravarman** (1070-78 A.D.) who issued the grant under study. This king, however, added four new stanzas to the introduction, one referring to the end of his father's rule and three in his own eulogy. The great Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A.D.), son and successor of Rājarāja I, used the same introduction, as found in his father's charters, in his earlier grants with the omission of most of the stanzas, although in his later records containing a modified but elaborate account of the early members of the family[2] he re-introduced a few of the verses.

The inscription begins with the *Siddham* symbol and the word *svasti* followed by a prose passage (lines 1-10) referring to the son of Guṇamahārṇava(Guṇārṇava)-mahārāja (*circa* 879-96 A.D.) who belonged to the family of the Gaṅga lords of Trikaliṅga. These Gaṅgas are described as belonging to the Ātrēya *gōtra* and as having obtained, through the grace of lord Gōkarṇasvāmin (Śiva), the unique conch-shell and drum, the 'five great sounds', the white umbrella, the golden fly-whisk and the bull emblem or crest. It has to be noticed that the possession of the five *mahāśabdas*, explained with reference to North Indian rulers as the enjoyment of five official desginations beginning with the word *mahat* and in regard to South Indian kings as the privilege of enjoying the sounds of five musical instruments,[3] is usually associated with feudatories. Some early medieval South Indian dynasties, however, associated the privilege with imperial dignity and the claim of the Imperial Gaṅgas reminds us of a similar one on behalf of their western neighbours, the Eastern Chālukyas of Vēṅgī.[4]

The son of Guṇamahārṇava was Vajrahasta I (*circa* 896-940 A. D.) who is next described in a stanza (verse 1) saying that he united under his rule the earth (i.e. the Gaṅga kingdom), which had been previously divided into five parts ruled separately by different kings, and reigned for fortyfour years. Then comes a section in prose (lines 13-15) speaking of the three sons of Vajrahasta

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[1] See, e.g., *JBORS*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 272 ff. and Plates ; *JAHRS*, Vol. VIII, pp. 182 ff. and Plates.

[2] See *JAHRS*, Vol. I, pp. 44 ff ; Vol. VIII, pp. 183 ff. ; also above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 239-40, 250, note 11.

[3] Above, Vol. XXX. p. 166, note 7.

[4] Cf. *SII*, Vol. I, p. 54 (text lines 23-24). The introductory part of earlier Eastern Chālukya grants begins with the *praśasti* : *śrīmatāṁ sakala-bhuvana-saṁstūyamāna*, etc. (ibid. p. 33, text line 1), which reminds us of *śrīmatām=akhila-bhuvana-vinuta*, etc., of the charters of the Imperial Gaṅgas like the one under publication.

I, viz. Guṇḍama I (*circa* 940-43 A.D.), Kāmārṇava I (*circa* 943-78 A. D.) and Vinayāditya (*circa* 978-81 A. D.),[1] who ruled for three, thirtyfive and three years respectively. Then follow two stanzas (verses 2-3) describing Aniyaṅkabhīma (Anaṅgabhīma) I (*circa* 981-1016 A. D.), son of Kāmārṇava I, as having ruled for thirtyfive years. The following three stanzas (verses 4-6) speak respectively of three sons of Aniyaṅkabhīma I, viz., Kāmārṇava II (*circa* 1016 A. D.), Guṇḍama II (*circa* 1016-1019 A. D.) and Madhukāmārṇava (*circa* 1019-38 A. D.), who respectively reigned for six months, three years and nineteen years. The next seven stanzas (verses 7-13) describe Vajrahasta III (1038-70 A.D.) who was the son of Kāmārṇava II from the Vaidumba princess Vinaya-mahādēvī, and ruled for thirtythree years after having been installed on the throne in Śaka 960 (*viyad-ṛitu-nidhi*), month Vṛishabha (solar Jyēshṭha), sudi 3, Sunday, Rōhiṇī-nakshatra, Dhanur-lagna. As already indicated above, this description, with the exception of verse 13 referring to the end of the king's rule covering a period of thirtythree years, is quoted from the charters of Vajrahasta III himself. The details of the date of his coronation are irregular for the month of Vṛishabha in Śaka 960 ; but, for the month of Mēsha (instead of Vṛishabha), they correspond to Sunday April 9, 1038 A. D.[2] The remaining three stanzas of the introductory part (verses 14-16) describe the reigning monarch Rājarāja I Dēvēndravarman who was the son of Vajrahasta III from the queen Anaṅgamahādēvī. Verse 16 speaks of him as an ornament of the kings of **Kaliṅga** and gives the date of his coronation as **Śaka 992** (*nayana-Abjagarbha-nidhi*), Jyēshṭha sudi 8, Thursday, Uttaraphalgunī-nakshatra, Siṁha-lagna. The details correspond to Thursday, May 20, 1070 A. D. We have elsewhere[3] seen how the above description of the early Imperial Gaṅgas is more reliable than the modified genealogy quoted in the later charters of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A. D.), son and successor of Rājarāja I, as well as in the grants of Chōḍagaṅga's descendants.

The charter under study was issued from **Kaliṅganagara** by *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Trikaliṅgādhipati* **Dēvēndravarman Rājarājadēva** who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva). Its object was to grant the village of **Kōḍila** (originally written *Kōḍili*) in the **Varāhavarttanī** *vishaya*, for the merit of the king and his parents, in favour of three hundred Brāhmaṇas belonging to the Ātrēya *gōtra*, the three *pravaras* including Śyāvāśva (i.e. Atri, Archanānasa and Śyāvāśva) and the Chhandōga *charaṇa*. The occasion of the grant, as already indicated above, was the Vishuva-saṅkrānti in Śaka 998. The names of the donees have not been quoted in the record. The absence of the usual imprecatory and benedicatory verses and of any reference to the royal officials who were responsible for the preparation of the document may lead one to suspect that the charter is incomplete. But this characteristic is not peculiar to the present grant of Rājarāja I. We know that another record[4] of the king, issued on the same date and occasion, also ends abruptly in the same way. The village granted by this charter was Bṛihat-Kōḍilagrāma in Varāhavartanī, to which was added another locality called Bhinālavāṭaka. The gift land is stated in this case to have been made a *grāma-grāsa* which was divided into six parts, four of them being granted to Vāsudēvaśarman of Vatsa-gōtra, who was a resident of Kalipura, and the remaining two parts to Nārāyaṇaśarman of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*. It is interesting to note that neither of these two records refers to the creation of a revenue-free holding out of the gift land. The donees therefore appear to have been liable to pay rent or cess for their holdings.[5] This is probably why the expression *grāma-grāsa* instead of the well-known *agrahāra* has been used to indicate the nature of the holding under Vāsudēvaśarman and Nārāyaṇaśarman. Such a possibility also explains the absence of the usual details noticed in

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1 Kāmārṇava I and Vinayāditya were killed by Jaṭāchōḍa Bhīma before Śaka 904=982 A. D. (*JAHRS*, Vol. X, pp. 32 ff.).

2 See Bhandarkar's List, No. 1090.

3 Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 238 ff.

4 *JAHRS*, Vol. VIII, pp. 176 ff.

5 Cf. *JRAS*. 1952, pp. 4 ff.

this connection in charters recording grants of rent-free holdings. There is little doubt that Bṛihat-Kōḍilagrāma of the said record was situated near about Kōḍilagrāma of the charter under publication.

The *vishaya* (district) of Varāhavarttanī is known from several other records.[1] The village of Kōḍila has been identified with modern Kodisa about two miles from Galavalli where the plates were found.

TEXT[2]

[Metres : verses 1, 3, 11, 13, 16 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verses 2, 6, 12, 14 *Anushṭubh* ; verse 4 *Vaṁśa-sthavila* ; verses 5, 9 *Mālinī* ; verses 7, 8 *Gīti* ; verses 10, 15 *Vasantatilaka.*]

First Plate

1 Siddham[3] svasti [| *] śrīmatām=akhila-bhuvana-vinuta-naya-vinaya-dayā-dāna-dākshiṇya-|[4] sa-

2 tya-śaucha-śauryya-dhairyy-ādi-guṇa-ratna-pavitrakāṇām=Ātrēya-gōtrāṇāṁ vima-

3 la-vichār-āchāra-puṇya-salila-prakshālita-Kali-kāla-kalmasha-mash[ī]ṇāṁ mahā-

4 Mahēndr-āchala-śikhara-pratishṭhitasya sa-char-āchara-gurōḥ sakala-bhuvana-ni-

5 rmmāṇ-aika-sūtradhārasya śaśāṅka-chūḍā-maṇēr=bhbha(r=bbha)gavatō Gōkarṇṇasvāminaḥ

6 prasādāt=samāsādit-aika-śaṅkha-bhērī-pañcha-mahāśavda(bda)-dhavala-chchhatra-hēma-chāma-

7 ra-vara-vṛishabha-lāñchhana-samujva(jjva)la-samasta-sāmrājya-mahimnām=anēka-samara-saṅghaṭṭa-samu-

8 palavdha(bdha)-vijaya-lakshmī-samāliṅgit-ō[t*]tuṅga-bhuja-daṇḍa-maṇḍitānāṁ **Trikaliṅga-**mahībhujā-

9 ṁ **Gaṅgānām**=anvayam=alaṅkarishṇōr=Vvishṇōr-viva vikram-ākrānta-dharā-maṇḍalasya Guṇama-

Second Plate, First Side

10 hārṇṇava-mahārājasya putraḥ ||o||[5] Pūrvvaṁ bhūpatibhir=vvibhajya vasudhā yā pañchabhiḥ pa-

11 ñchadhā bhuktā bhūri-parākramō bhuja-va(ba)lāt=tām=ēka ēva svayaṁ(yam |) ēkīkṛitya vijitya śat[r*]u-ni-

12 vahān śrī-Vajrahastaś=chatuś-chatvāriṁśatam=aty-udāra-charitaḥ sarvvām=arakshīt=samāḥ || [1*]

13 tasya tanayō Guṇḍama-rājā(jō) varsha-trayam=apālayad=madīṁ(hīm) || tad-anujaḥ Kā-

14 mārṇṇavadēvaḥ pañcha-triṁśatam=avda(bda)kān | tasy=ānujō Vinayādityas=sa-

15 mās=tisraḥ || Tataḥ Kāmārṇṇavāj=jātō jagatī-Kalpabhūruhaḥ ||(|) yō=rājad=rāji-

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[1] See, e.g., *JAHRS*, Vol. I, p. 45, 119, etc.

[2] From the original plates and their impressions.

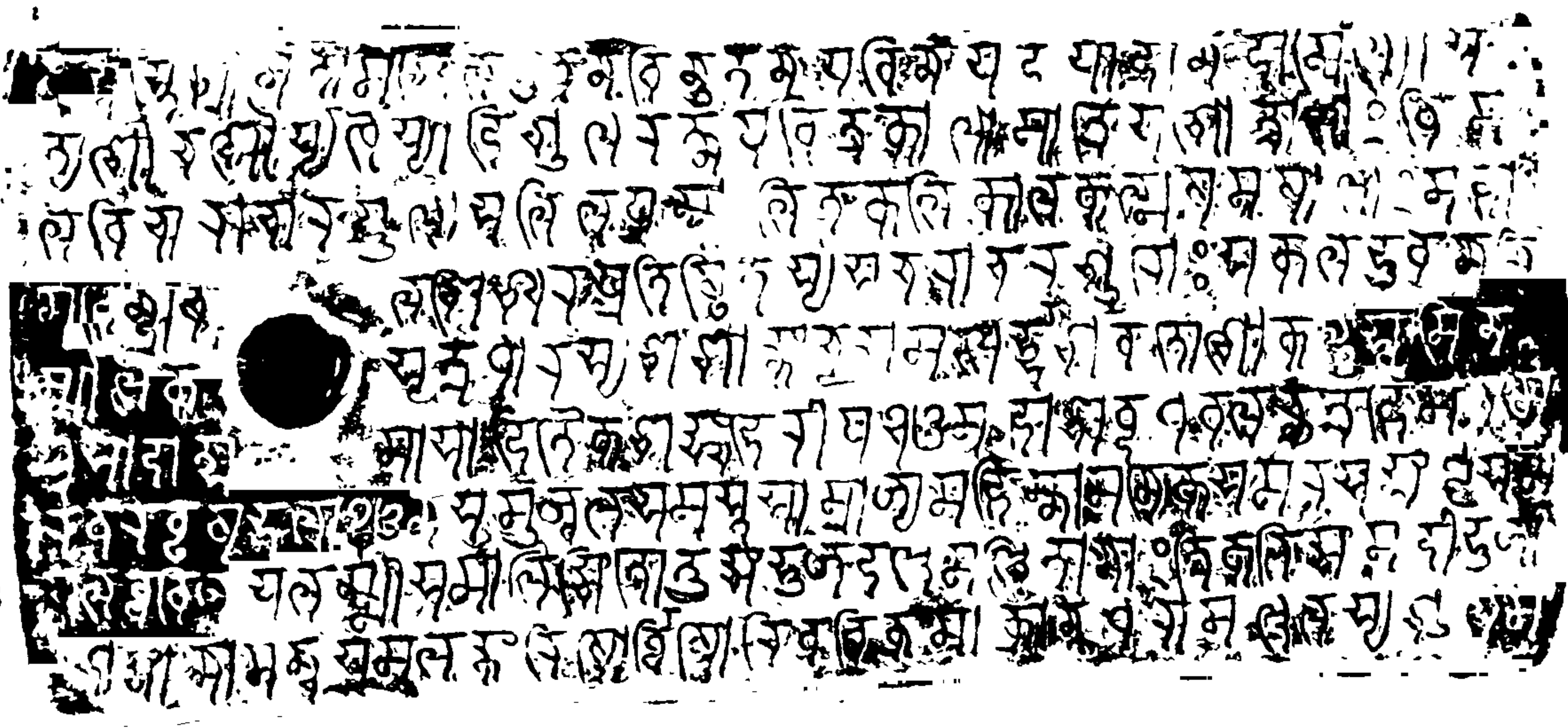
[3] Expressed by symbol.

[4] The punctuation mark is unnecessary.

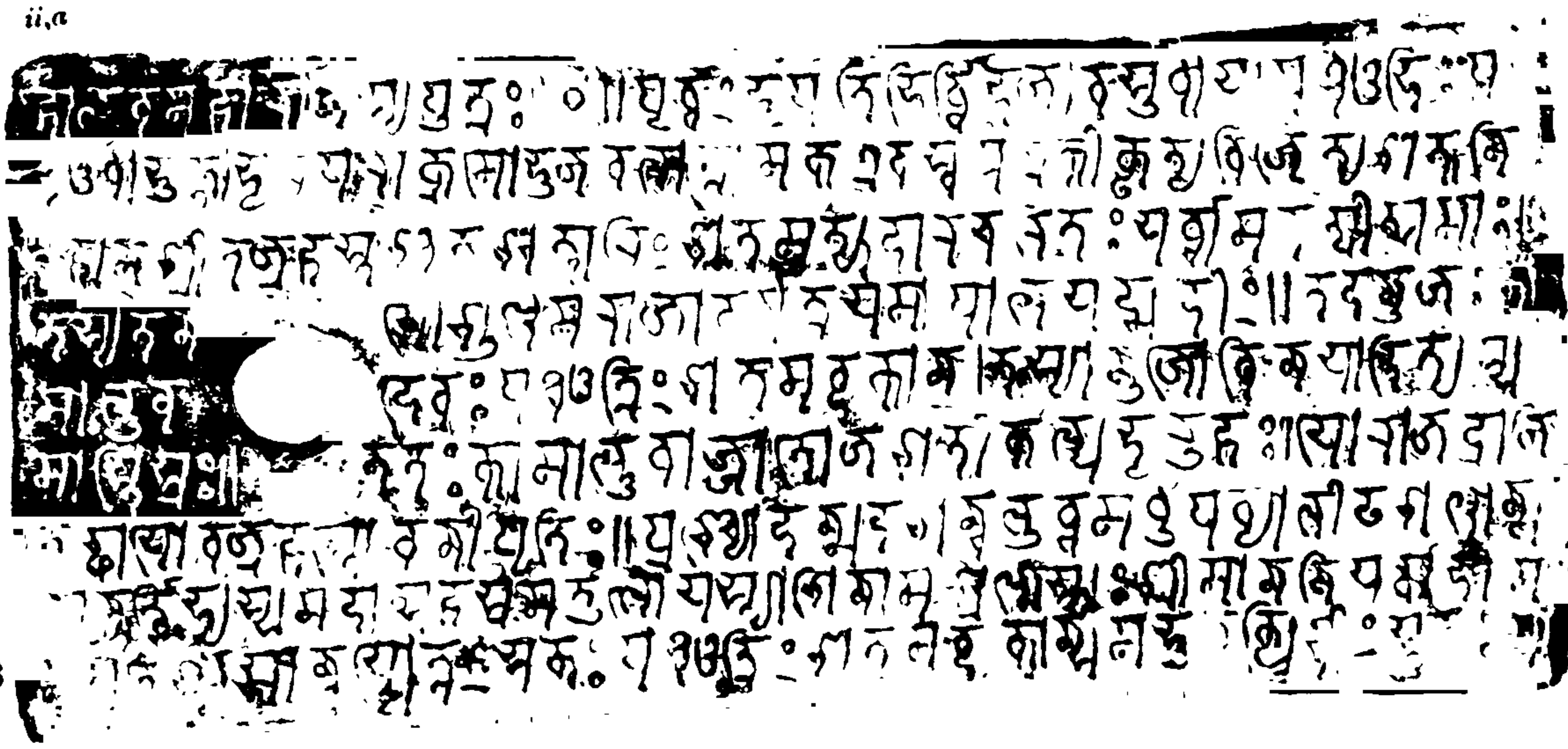
[5] The punctuation mark indicates the separation of the following part in verse from the foregoing section in prose.

2.—PLATES OF RAJARAJA I DEVENDRAVARMAN, SAKA 998

i

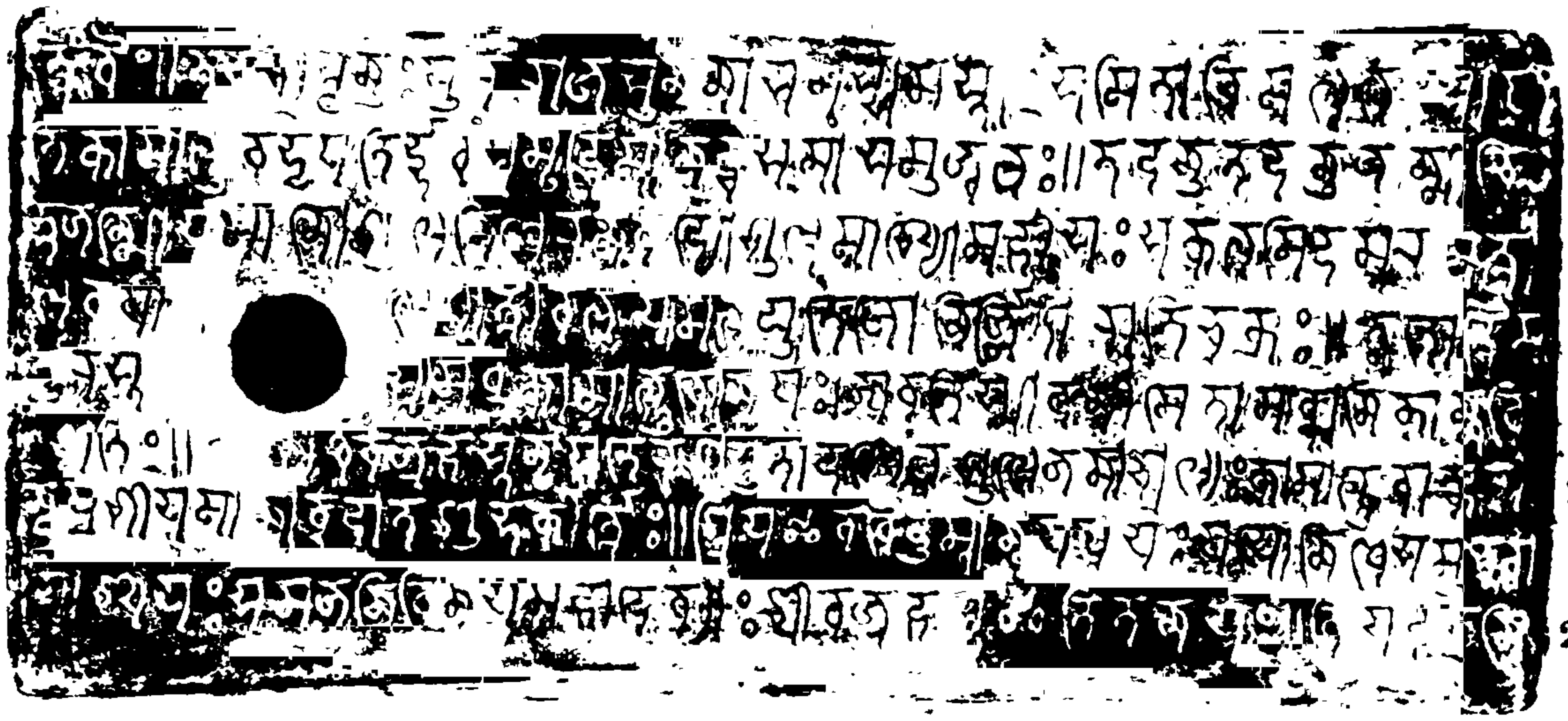


ii,a

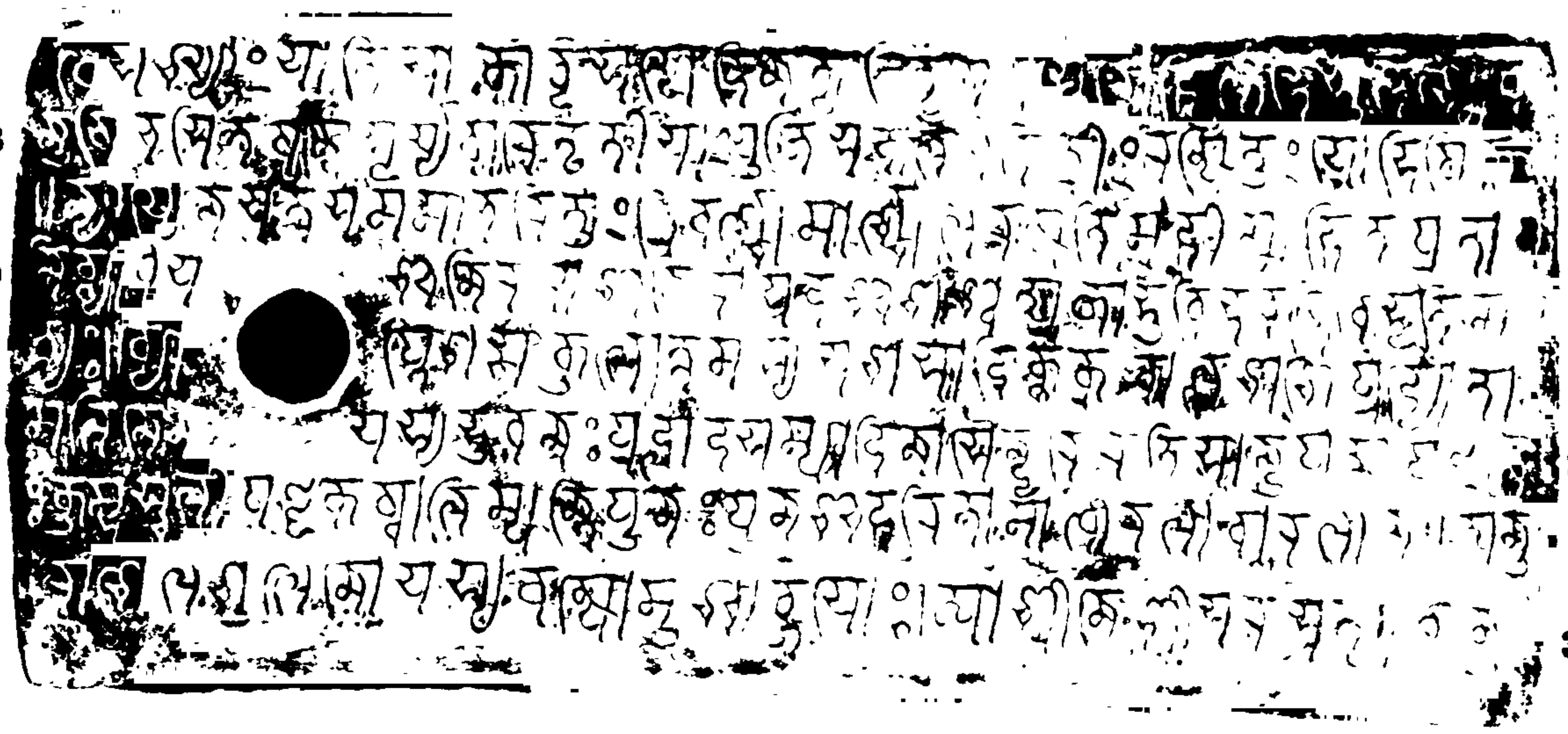


Scale: Three-fourths

ii,b



iii,a



16 ta-chchhāyō Vajrahastō=vanī-patiḥ || [2*] Praśchyōda(ta)n-mada-gandha-luvdha(bdha)-madhupa-vyālīḍha-gaṇḍān=[ga]-

17 jānna(n=a)rtthibhyas=samadāt=sahasram=atulō yas=tyāginām=agraṇīssaḥ(ṇīḥ | sa) śrīmān=Aniyaṅkabhīma-

18 nṛipatir=Gaṅg-ānvay-ōttaṁsakaḥ pañcha-triṁśatam=avda(bda)kān=samabhunakprithīṁ(k=pṛithvīṁ) stutaḥ pā-

Second Plate, Second Side

19 rtthivaiḥ || [3*] Tad-agra-sūnuḥ Surarāja-su(sū)nunā samas=samastāṁ sa(śa)mit-āri-maṇḍalaḥ [|*] sma pā-

20 ti Kāmārṇṇava-bhūpatirbhbha(r=bbhu)vaṁ samṛiddhimān=arddha-samāṁ samujva(jjva)-laḥ || [4*] Tad-anu tad-anujanmā Chi-

21 ttajanm-ōpamānō guṇa-nidhir=anavadyō Guṇḍam-ākhyō mah-īsaḥ(śaḥ |) sakalam=idam=arakshat=trī-

22 ṇi varshāṇi dhātrī-valayam=a-laghu-tējō-nirjjit-ārāti-chakraḥ || [5*] Tatō dvaimā-

23 turas=tasya Madhukāmārṇṇavō nṛipaḥ | avati sm=āvanīm=ētām=avdā(bdā)ni(n=ē)kān-na-vi-

24 ṁśatiṁ(tim) | [6*] Atha Vajrahasta-nṛipatēr=agra-sutād=akhila-guṇi-jan-āgra-[ga*]ṇyah [|*] Kāmārṇṇavāt=kav-ī-

25 ndra-pragīyamān-āvadāta-śubha-kīrttēḥ || [7*] Śriya iva Vaidumvā(mb-ā)nvaya-payaḥ-payōnidhi-samubhbha(dbha)vā-

26 yāś=cha [|*] yaḥ samajani Vinaya-mahādēvyāḥ śrī-Vajrahasta iti tanayaḥ || [8*] **Viyad-ṛitu-ni-**

Third Plate, First Side

27 **dhi-sa[ṁ*]khyāṁ yāti Sā(Śā)k-āvda(bda)-saṅghē Dinakṛiti Vṛishabha-sthā Rōhiṇī-bhē su-lagnē** [|*] **Dha-**

28 **nushi cha sita-sha(pa)kshē Sūryya-vārē tṛitīyāṁ(yā)-yuji** sakala-dharitrīṁ rakshituṁ yō=bhishiktaḥ

29 || [9*] Nyāyyēna yatra samam=ācharituṁ tri-varggē(rggaṁ) mārggēṇa rakshati mahīm=mahita-pratāpē [|*]

30 nirvyādhayaś=cha niraghāś=cha nirāpadaś=cha śaśvat=prajā bhuvi bhavanti vibhūtima-

31 ttyaḥ || [10*] Vyāptē Gaṅga-kul-ōttamasya yaśasā dik-chakravālē śaśi-pradyōt-ā-

32 malinēna yasya bhuvanaḥ(na)-prahlāda-sampādinā [|*] saindūrair=ati-sāndra-paṅka-paṭalai-

33 ḥ kumbha-sthalī-paṭṭakēshv=ālimpanti punaḥ punaś=cha haritām=ādhōraṇā vāraṇān || [11*] Anu-

34 rāgēṇa guṇinō yasya vakshō-mukh-āvja(bja)yōḥ | āśrī(śri)nē Śrī-Sarasvatyāv=anu-

Third Plate, Second Side

35 kūlē virājataḥ ||o|| [12*][1] Āgachchhann=uru-vikramēṇa sahasā śastr-ābhighātād=di-

[1] **There are two double *daṇḍas* here, with a globular mark between them, to indicate the separation of the foregoing part quoted from the grants of Vajrahasta III from the following portion composed by the court poet of Rājarāja I.**

36 vō yēn=āvyāhata-viśva-vṛitti-mahimā hēlā-nirastō=śaniḥ | tēn=ākāri **nikā-**

37 ma-kāmya-tanunā rājya[ṁ*] mahī-maṇḍalē triṁśad-vatsaram=**abhra-su(śu)bhra-yaśasā** varsha-trayē-

38 ṇ=**ādhikaṁ**(kam) || [13*][1] Tatō=naṅga-mahādēvyāṁ Vajrahasta-mahīpatēḥ | **Gauryām=** iva **Ha-**

39 **rasy=ābhūt=**Kārttikēya iv=**ātmajaḥ** || [14*] **Lakshmī-vadhū-vadana-paṅkaja-mākara-**

40 nda-sandōha-chāru-parichumva(mba)na-chaṁcharīkaḥ ||(|) yō mānē(ni)nāṁ cha **guṇināṁ** cha durātma-

41 nāṁ cha sā(śā)ntiṁ cha mōdam=atulaṁ cha bhayaṁ cha dattē || [15*] **Śāk-āvdē(bdē) nayan-Āvja(bja)garvbha(rbbha)-nidhi-gē Jē(Jyē)shṭhē=**

42 **shṭamī-siṅgha(siṁha)kē lagnē ch=Ōttaraphalguṇi(nī)-Guru-dinē pakshē su-su(śu)-bhrē** su(śu)bhe | **Lōkālō-**

Fourth Plate, First Side

43 ka-mahā-mahīdh[r*]a-valay-ālaṅkāravatyā bhuvas=saṁśi(si)ktas=sa Kaliṅga-rāja-tilakaḥ

44 śrī-**Rājarājō** nṛipaḥ || o ||[2] [16*] **Kaliṅganagarāt**=paramamāhēśvara-paramabha[3]-

45 bhaṭṭāraka-mahī(hā)rājādhirāja-**Trikaliṅg-ādhipati**-śrīmadvē(d-**Dē**)**vēndravarmmā**

46 **Rājarājadēvaḥ kuśalī** samast-āmātya-pramukha-janapadā-

47 n=sama(mā)hūya samājñāpayati viditam=astu bhavatāṁ(tām) || **Varāhavartta-**

48 **nyāṁ** |[4] **Kōḍil-ā**[5]**khyō grāmaś**=chatus-sīm-āvachchhinnas=sa-jala-s[th]alas=sarvva-pīḍā-vivarjjitā(taḥ)

49 mā(ā)-chandr-ārkka-kshiti-sama-kālaṁ yāvat mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśō-bhvṛi-

50 ddhayē |[4] **Vasu-Nanda-nidhi-gaṇitē Śāk-āvdē(bdē)** |[4] **Chaitrē māsi Visu(shu)-vati saṁkrāntyāṁ(ntyām)**

Fourth Plate, Second Side

51 Ātrēya-gōtra-Śyāvāśva-ttry-ārshēya[6]-Chchhandōga[7]-tri-sa(śa)ta-Vra(Brā)hmaṇēbhyaḥ **dhārā-pūrvvakam=ammā**(smā)-

52 **bhir=ddatta iti** ||

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[1] This stanza was added by the court poet of Rājarāja I to the description of Vajrahasta III as found in the latter's own charters.

[2] There are two double *daṇḍas* here, with a globular mark between them, to indicate the separation of the foregoing introductory part in verse from the following grant portion in prose.

[3] This letter is redundant.

[4] The punctuation mark is unnecessary.

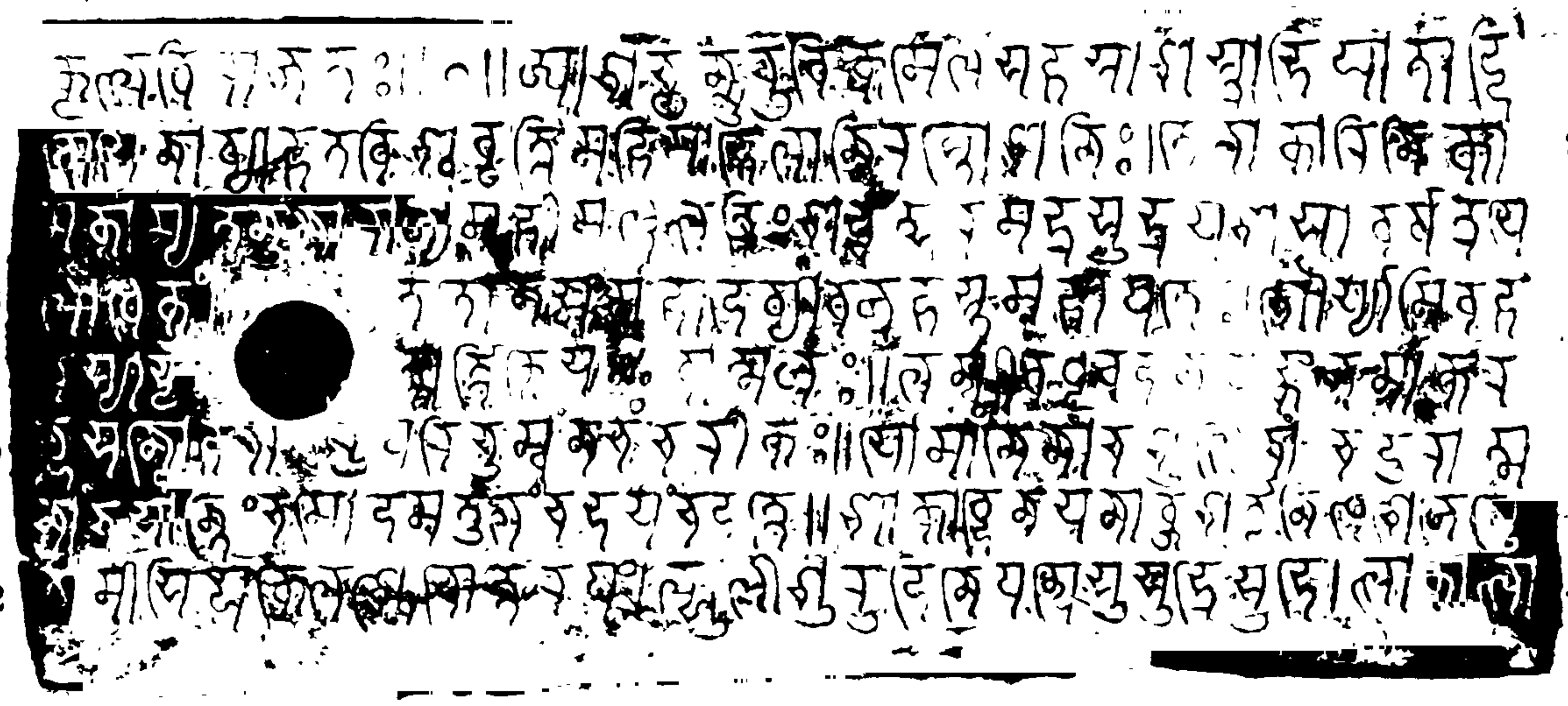
[5] Originally *li* was engraved in the place of *lā*. The *i-mātrā* seems to have been cancelled later.

[6] The passage is intended to mean that the donees had three *pravaras* including Śyāvāśva. We know that the three *pravaras* of the Ātrēya *gōtra* are Atri, Archanānasa and Śyāvāśva.

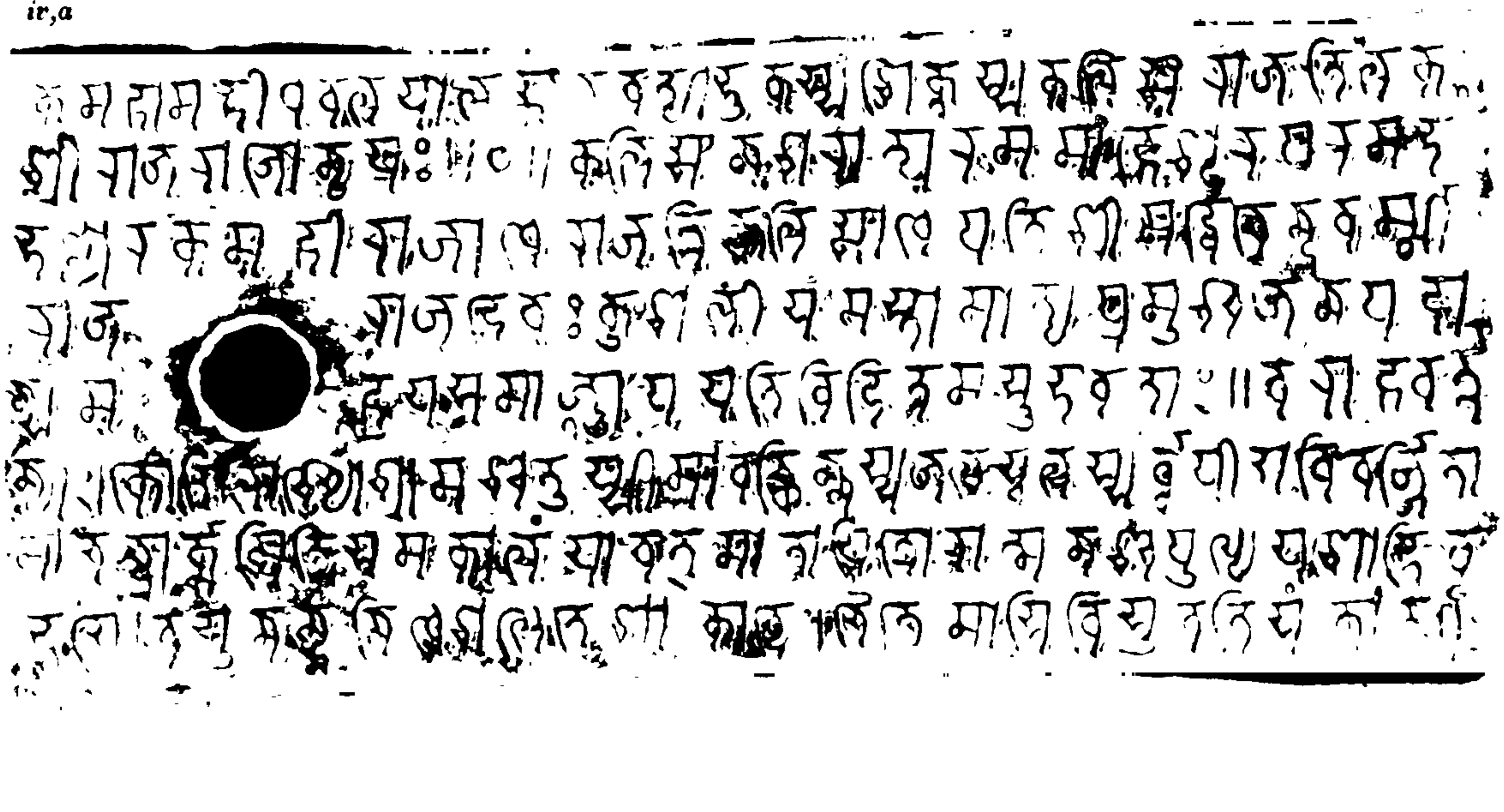
[7] This is to indicate that the donees belonged to the Chhandōga *charaṇa*.

2.—PLATES OF RAJARAJA I DEVENDRAVARMAN, SAKA 998

iii,b



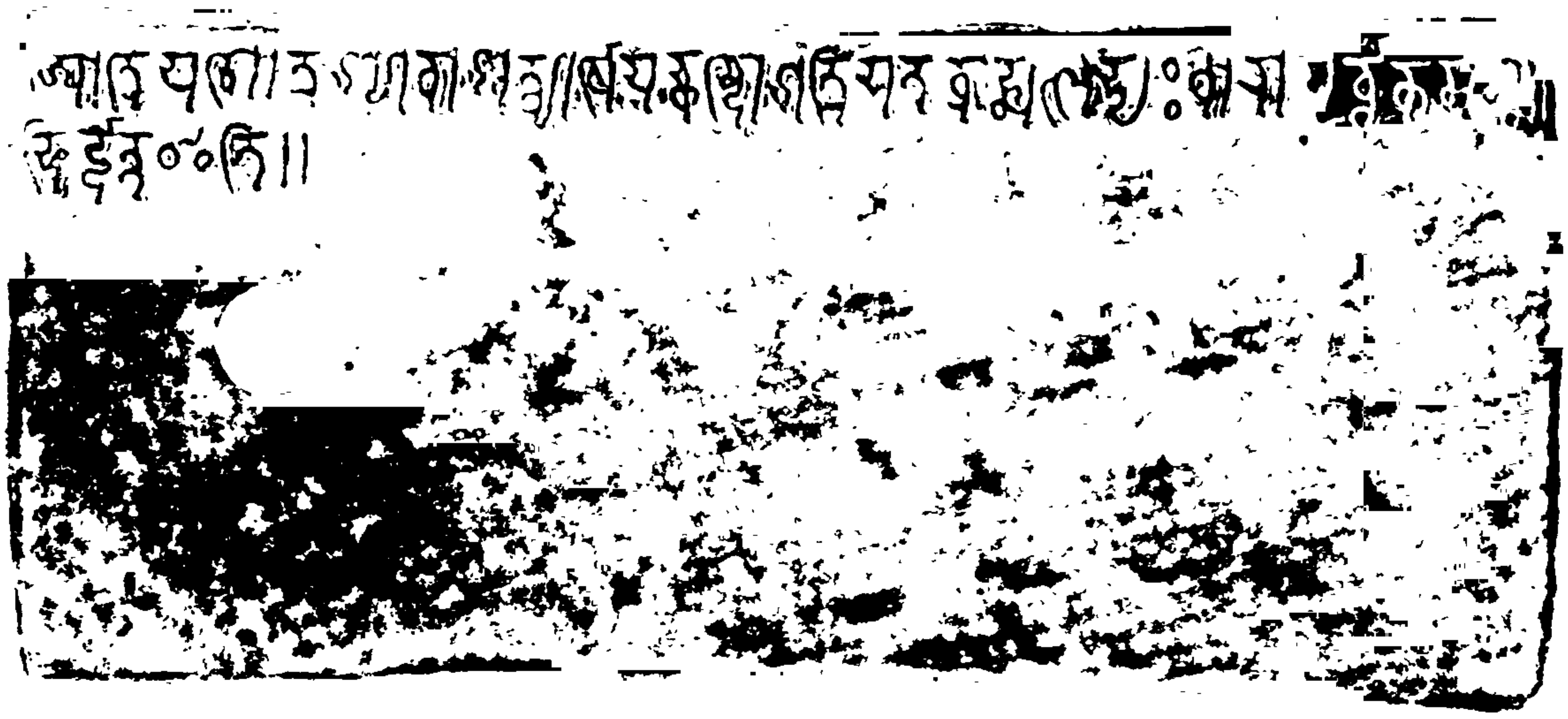
iv,a



Scale: Three-fourths

iv,b

52



52

No. 25—SIRPUR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF BALARJUNA

(*1 Plate*)

MORESHWAR G. DIKSHIT, RAIPUR

The accompanying inscription, published here for the first time, was found on the 2nd January 1955, in the course of excavations conducted by me, under the auspices of the University of Saugar, at **Sirpur** in the Raipur District of Madhya Pradesh. The stone bearing the inscription was found lying upside down on the floor in the northern verandah of the monastery at a depth of 8 feet below the surface. The stone is a yellowish variety of soft sandstone, measuring about 14 inches broad, 8¼ inches high and about 3 inches thick. From the chisel marks at its back, it appears to have been fixed up high on the wall near which it was found. The slab was very heavily laden with moisture at the time of its discovery and it was with repeated hot sand-baths that it could be restored to its original hardness.

The inscription consists of 14 lines of writing, each line containing about 32 letters of nearly one half inch in heihgt. The **characters** are early Nāgarī current in the 7th or 8th century A.D. and are incised neatly and beautifully and also deeply, particularly in the upper part of the letters. The writing is generally in a good state of preservation except at the upper left and lower right corners and at the beginning of lines 11-14. A few scratches also appear on the surface evidently resulting from its fall from the original position in the wall.

The inscription is in **Sanskrit** verse throughout except the concluding sentence occurring in line 14. The sign for *v* is invariably used for *b*. As regards **orthography**, it may be noted that *s*, *ś* and *sh* are clearly distinguished. Of lexical interest are the two words *vyañjana* (lines 8-9) and *sētikā* (line 8).[1]

The inscription opens with a stanza in praise of the lotus-feet of the Sugata (i.e. Buddha). The next few verses record the construction of a monastery (*vihāra*) by a Bhikshu named Ānandaprabha during the reign of **Bālārjuna**, as well as of the establishment of a *sattra* (feeding house) for the monks residing in the monastery, for the upkeep of which a white-rice field was given. The field is stated to have been purchased from the Saṁgha and given together with the supplementary crops grown in it. The monks were to enjoy it in succession till the sun shines in the sky.[2]

The eulogy (*praśasti*) was composed by the illustrious Sumaṅgala, son of Tāradatta, and the inscription was incised by one Prabhākara.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it enables us to fix the date of the Vihāra in which it was found ; for king Bālārjuna mentioned in it could be no other than the homonymous king Mahāśivagupta *alias* Bālārjuna of the Pāṇḍava dynasty, who is known from several inscriptions[3] and whose reign-period is generally assigned to c. 590-650 A.D.[4] or about the first quarter of the 7th century A.D. This king, though Śaivite by religion, gave liberal patronage to Buddhism,

[1] The word *sētikā* occurs in the Anjañeri grant (A) of Pṛithivīchandra Bhōgaśakti (above, Vol. XXV, p. 232) and in the unpublished Surang Mound (Sirpur) inscription. [The word *vyañjana* meaning 'condiment' is of common occurrence while *sētikā* is found in several epigraphic and literary records in the sense of a measure. See below note 2.—Ed.]

[2] [The author has totally misunderstood the meaning of the inscription. What has been read by him as *satraṁ* is clearly *saktaṁ*, although the reading intended may be *sattraṁ*. But even then the object of the inscription is not what has been understood by Dr. Dikshit. The *anvaya* of verses 4-5 (*yugmaka*) would stand as follows : *sa saṅghataḥ mūlyēna vihāra-kuṭiṁ vyañjan-āṁśēna sahitāṁ sita-taṇḍula-sētikāṁ cha krītvā tayā [=sētikayā] yāvat Vivasvān nabhas-talalam=alaṅkurutē [tāvat] anudinaṁ samastaiḥ yatibhiḥ pratyēkam=ātma-paripāṭi-vaśēna tad-vyañjan-āṁśa-sahitaṁ bhōjyaṁ kārayitvā sattraṁ chakrē.* The stanzas mean to say that Ānandaprabha started a free-feeding establishment for the *yatis* or monks of the local monastery and that, for this purpose, he purchased from the Saṅgha a hut within the monastic establishment as well as a *sētikā* (equal to four *palas* or two handfuls) of white rice with an adequate quantity of *vyañjana* (condiment) for each of the monks per day. For *sētikā*, see above, Vol. XXV, p. 235, note 3; Vol. XXX, p. 177. Apparently Ānandaprabha paid a suitable amount of money to the monks who undertook the responsibility of securing the quantity of rice and condiments required for the purpose.—Ed.].

[3] For his inscriptions at Sirpur, see Hiralal, *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar* (2nd edn.), Nos. 173 and 184. For the Lakshmaṇ temple inscription of his mother Vāsatā, see above, Vol. XI, pp. 184 ff.

[4] *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Vol. VIII, p. 55.

-as is known from his Mallār plates[1] which record his donation to a Vihāra of Buddhist nuns. Recently three more inscriptions have been found at Sirpur, which record his gifts of land to Buddhist monasteries.

The composer of the *praśasti*, Sumangala, son of Tāradatta, is already known to us from several inscriptions at Sirpur and also from the Senakapāṭ inscription published above.[2]

I edit the record from the original stone which is now preserved in the Museum of the University of Saugar.

TEXT[3]

[Metres : verses 1, 6 *Sragdharā* ; verse 2 *Āryā* ; verse 3 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verses 4, 7 *Anushṭubh* ; verse 5 *Vasantatilakā*.]

1 [Ōm][4] [|*] Mukta-śrī-ka[lpa]-jātaḥ[5] satē(ta)tam=api karaiḥ spṛiśyamānaḥ sudhāṅśō(dhāṁśō)r=nō vā mlānaḥ kadā-

2 chin=na cha hima-nivahēn=āpi nītō=nyathātvaṁ(tvam) | n=ōdyat-prōddāma-kalpa-kshaya-samaya-marut-prēraṇa-

3 sy=āpi gandhōrasyō=nyaḥ[6] kō=pi yushmān=sukhayatu Sugatasy=ādbhutaḥ pāda-padmaḥ || [1*][7] Dha[va]-

4 la[8]-kula-kamala-bhānau bhūbhṛiti bhūpāla-maṇḍalī-tilakē | pratipaksha-kshati-dakshē rakshati

5 Vā(Bā)lārjjunē kshōṇīṁ(ṇīm) || [2*] Dūr-ōtsārita-matsaraḥ śama-sudh-āsvāda-prasaktaḥ sadā bhikshuḥ sa-

6 d-vasudh-ādhipa-pratikṛitir=dakshaḥ kshamā-rakshaṇē | Ānandaprabha ity=udāra-karuṇā-bhārā-

7 t=prabhāvo[9]=bhavad=bhaktiṁ Śāstari Māra-vairiṇi bhṛiśaṁ vi(bi)bhrad=bhava-chchhēdini || [3*] Sa vihāra-kuṭīṁ

8 chakrē krītvā mūlyēna Saṅghataḥ | vyañjan-āṅśē(n-āṁśē)na sahitāṁ sita-taṇḍ[u]la-sētikāṁ-(kām) || [4*] Satraṁ[10] ta-

9 y=ānudinam=atra cha kārayitvā tad-vyañjan-āṅśa(n-āṁśa)-sahitaṁ yatibhiḥ samastaiḥ | pratyēkam=ā-

10 tma-paripāṭi-vaśēna bhōjyaṁ yāvan=nabhas-talam=alaṁkurutē Vivasvān || [5*] Vāt-ōddhūt-āmvu(mbu)-patra[11]-

11 sthita-salila-kaṇa-śrēṇi-līlā-vilōlāṁ Lakshmīm=ālōkya lōka-sthitim=api vipul-āpa-

12 d-graha-[gra]syamānāṁ(nām) | vu(bud)dhvā ch=ōddāma-duḥkha-prabhava-bhava-gatau vā(bā)ndhavaṁ dharmam=ēkaṁ dānaṁ dattā

13 ....[12]dam=iha yatibhiḥ sarvadā pālanīyaṁ(yam) || [6*] Sumanō-nugatām=ētāṁ chakrē srajam=iv=ō-

14 [jva(jjva)lāṁ(lām)] | sūnuḥ śrī-Tāradattasya praśastiṁ śrī-Sumaṅgalaḥ || [7*] Utkīrṇṇ=ēyaṁ Prabhākarēṇa || o [||*]

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[1] See Vol. XXIII, pp. 113-122.

[2] See ibid., Vol. XXXI, pp. 31 ff.

[3] From the original stone and inked impressions.

[4] Expressed by a symbol, traces of which are visible on the stone.

[5] Only faint traces of this letter are visible. [The correct reading of the passage is *mukta-śrīkō na jātaḥ*.—Ed.]

[6] [The correct reading is *gamyō ramyō=nyaḥ*.—Ed.]

[7] There is a fault in the stone after this.

[8] [The word *dhavala* has been used in the sense of 'pure'. Since, however, *dhavala* and *pāṇḍu* are synonymous, the author may have hinted at Bālārjuna's descent from the epic hero Pāṇḍu.—Ed.]

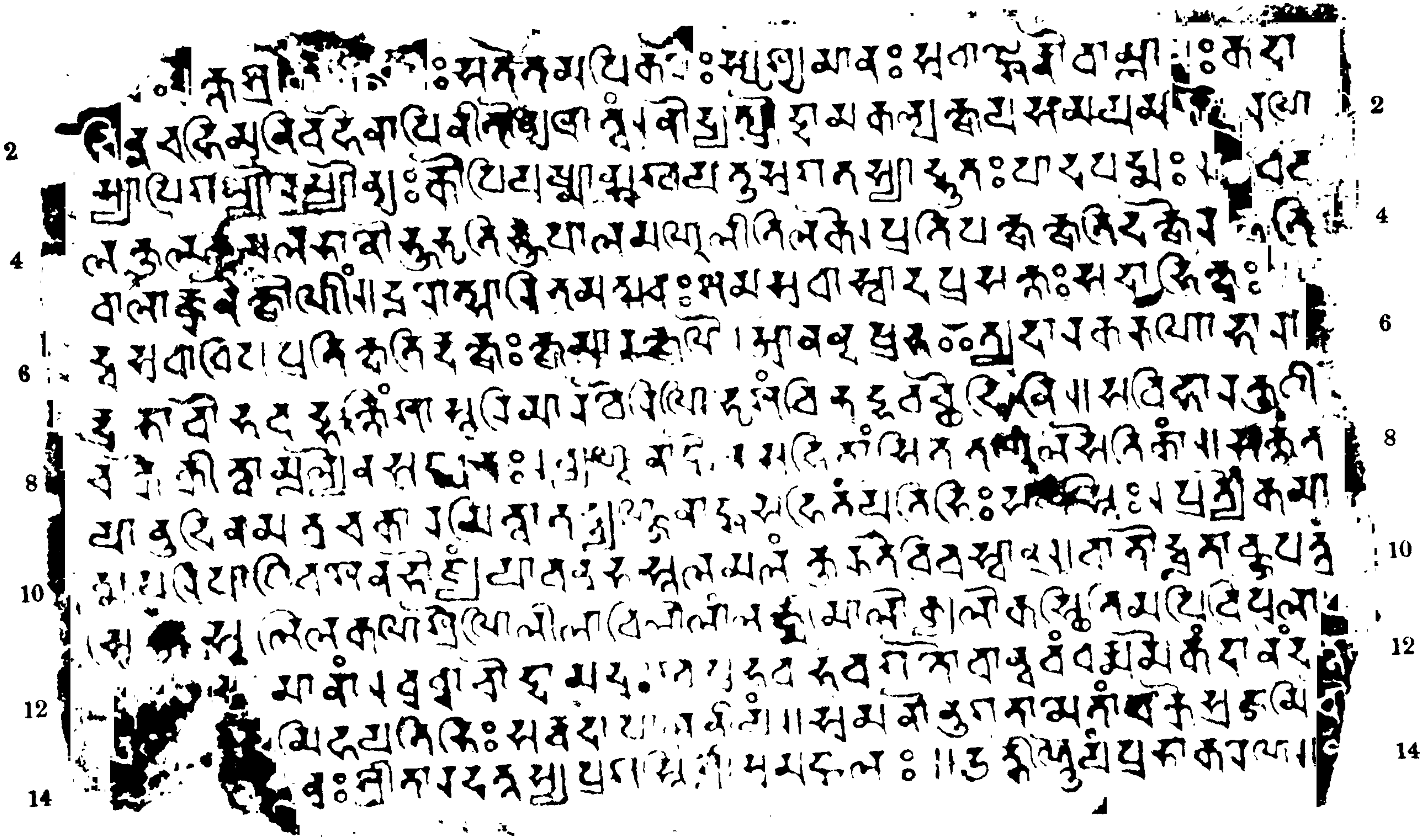
[9] [The correct reading is *karuṇā-bhār-ārdra-bhāvō*.—Ed.]

[10] [The correct reading is *saktaṁ*. But see above, p. 197, note 2.—Ed.]

[11] There is a dot over this letter owing to a flaw in the stone. [The correct reading of the expression is *saja(bja)-pattraṁ(tra)*°.—Ed.]

[12] Two letters here are abraded in the original. [The reading is *datt-āvadhā[nai]r=i*°.—ED.]

SIRPUR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF BALARJUNA



Scale: Two-thirds

No. 26—TWO EASTERN GANGA GRANTS FROM ANDHAVARAM

(*2 Plates*)

R. Subrahmanyam, Guntur

A. *Plates of Anantavarmadēva*

This set of three copper plates was discovered at **Andhavaram**[1] in the Narasannapeta Taluk of the Śrīkākulam District, Andhra State. Each of the plates measures about 6⅜" by 2⅜." They are fastened together by means of a circular ring (4⅜" in diameter), the two ends of which are secured below an elliptical seal which bears in relief a crude representation of the couchant bull or *nandin* facing the proper right with a crescent above and a floral design (perhaps a lotus) below. The ring was cut by me for taking impressions. The first and third plates are inscribed on one side only and the second on both the sides. Each side contains eight lines of writing. Though the edges of the plates are not raised into rims, the preservation of the inscription is quite satisfactory.

The **script** of the inscription bears close resemblance to that employed in the Siddhāntam plates of Dēvēndravarman[2] and other records of the early Eastern Gaṅga kings. The engraving is carelessly done. The carelessness of the scribe is responsible for several mistakes of omission and commission. Medial *i* and *ī* are not clearly distinguished in many cases. Often *p* is written like *s* (cf. *prati°* in line 2 and *praṇāmā°* in line 3) and *s* like *p* (cf. *sarvvasa°* in line 9). The letter *bh* often looks like *t* (cf. *saṁkshōbha* in line 6) and *t* like *n* (cf. *bhagavatō, svāminō=nāvarata* in line 3). The consonant after *r* is doubled in some cases (cf. *sarvvartu* in line 1). The use of *anusvāra* for class nasal in *saṁkshōbha* and *v* for *b* in many places is noteworthy. The **language** is Sanskrit and except for the customary verses quoted at the end (lines 24-30) the inscription is in prose.

The charter records the gift of the village Kālamaḍambiśakuna in the Varāhavartanī *vishaya*, after making it into an *agrahāra* and exempting it from all taxes, to the Brāhmaṇa residents of Ānandapura, who belonged to different *gōtras* and were well-versed in the Vēdāṅgas, by *Mahārāja* **Anantavarman** of the Gaṅga family for the merit of his parents. The grant was issued from Kaliṅganagara on the eleventh day of the dark half of Jyēshṭha of the year 216 in the victorious reign of the king. This date of the grant is written both in words and numerical symbols: but there is some disparity between the two. While it is clearly stated in words as *śata-dvaya-shōḍaś-ōttarē*, numerical symbol 2 in the hundred's place and 6 in the ten's place alone are written.[3] This appears to be the engraver's mistake. The grant was drafted at the oral order of the king by Guṇag-ōpādhyāya and engraved by Mātṛichandra.[4]

The royal *praśasti* set forth in the record under review does not materially differ from that found in the records of Dēvēndravarman, dated in years 183 and 195.[5] One Anantavarman is known from an earlier record[6] discovered in the village of Gurandi near Parlakimidi. This record, dated in

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[1] Of the two other copper-plate grants found along with the present set, one belonging to Vajrahasta is edited below while the other issued by the Māṭhara king Anantaśaktivarman has been published above, Vol. XXVIII pp. 177 ff. and Plate. Of the two records published here, A is No. 6 and B No. 7 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1951-52, App. A.

[2] Above, Vol. XIII, pp. 212 ff.

[3] [See p. 202, note 1 below.—Ed.]

[4] One Mātṛichandra figures as the father of the composer of the Siddhāntam plates of Dēvendravarman (above, Vol. XIII, p. 215).

[5] Above, Vol. III, pp. 130 ff.; Vol. XIII, pp. 212 ff.

[6] *JAHRS*, Vol. II, pp. 272 ff.

year 204, mentions Anantavarman as the son of Dēvēndravarman. Though our record does not mention the name of Dēvēndravarman as the father of the donor, since it is dated only twelve years later, and since the Santabommali plates,[1] dated in year 221 record a gift of Nandavarman, son of Anantavarman, it is reasonable to identify Anantavarman of our plates with Anantavarman, son of Dēvēndravarman of the above epigraph. If this identification is accepted, Anantavarman of our record should have ruled over Kaliṅga at least upto the 216th year of the Gaṅga era. Calculating from the starting point of the era as fixed by Mr. Somasekhara Sarma, this charter can be said to have been issued on Thursday, the 6th June, 720 A.D.[2]

Of the localities mentioned in the inscription, Kālamaḍambiśakuna-grāma appears to be the Sanskritized form of some village name which I am not able to identify. Varāhavartanī-vishaya appears in many early Gaṅga records and has been identified with the region between the rivers Vaṁśadhārā and Nāgāvaḷī, i.e. the modern Srikakulam and Narasannapeta Taluks of the Srikakulam District. Of the other localities mentioned in the record, Dantapura has been cited as the capital of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga in many of their records[3] and it has been identified with Dantavarapukōṭa on the banks of the Vaṁśadhārā in the Narasannapeta Taluk.

TEXT

First Plate

1 ōṁ[5] svasti [|*] Sarvv-artu-sukha-ramaṇīyād=vijayavatāḥ(taḥ) Kaliṅga-na[ga*]rān= Mahēndr-āchal-āmala-

2 śikhara-pratipṭhi(shṭhi)tasya char-āchara-gurōḥ [sa*]kala-su(bhu)vana-ki(ni)rmmāṇ-aika-sūtradhā-

3 rasya bhagavatō Gōkarṇṇa-svāminō=nā(na)varata-praṇāmād=apagata-sakala-

4 Kali-kalaṅkō nija-nistṛi(striṁ)śa-dhār-ōpārjjita-sakala-Kaliṅg-ādhirā-

5 [shya](jyaḥ) prava(vi)tata-chatur-udadhi-taraṅga-mālā-mēkhal-āvanital-āmala-yaśā

6 anēk-āhava-saṁkshōbha-janita-jaya-śavda(bdaḥ) pratāp-āvanata-samasta-sāmanta-cha-

7 kra-chūḍāmaṇi-prabhā-mañjarī-puñja-rañjī(ñji)ta-charaṇa-kamalaḥ parama-māhēśva-

8 rō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānuddhyātaḥ śrīmad-Gāṅg-āmala-kul-ōdga(dbha)vō mahārājaḥ

Second Plate, First Side

9 śrīmān=A[na*]ntavarmmā Vā(Va)rāhavartta[nyā][ṁ*] Kālamaḍamvi(mbi)śakuna-grāmē sarvva-samavētā[n]=kuṭumvi(mbi)nāḥ(naḥ)

10 samājñāpayati [|*] viditam=astu bhavatā[ṁ*] yath=āya[ṁ*] grāmaḥ sarvva-kara-bharāt= pra-

11 timuchy=ā-chandr-ārkka-pratishṭham=udaka-pūrvva[ṁ*] kṛitvā mātā-pittrōḥ puṇy-ābhivṛiddha-

12 yē visa[r*]jana-dāna-nimittaṁ Jya(Jyē)shṭha-mās-āsita-paksh-aikādaśyā[ṁ*] Ānandapu-

[1] Ibid., pp. 185 ff.

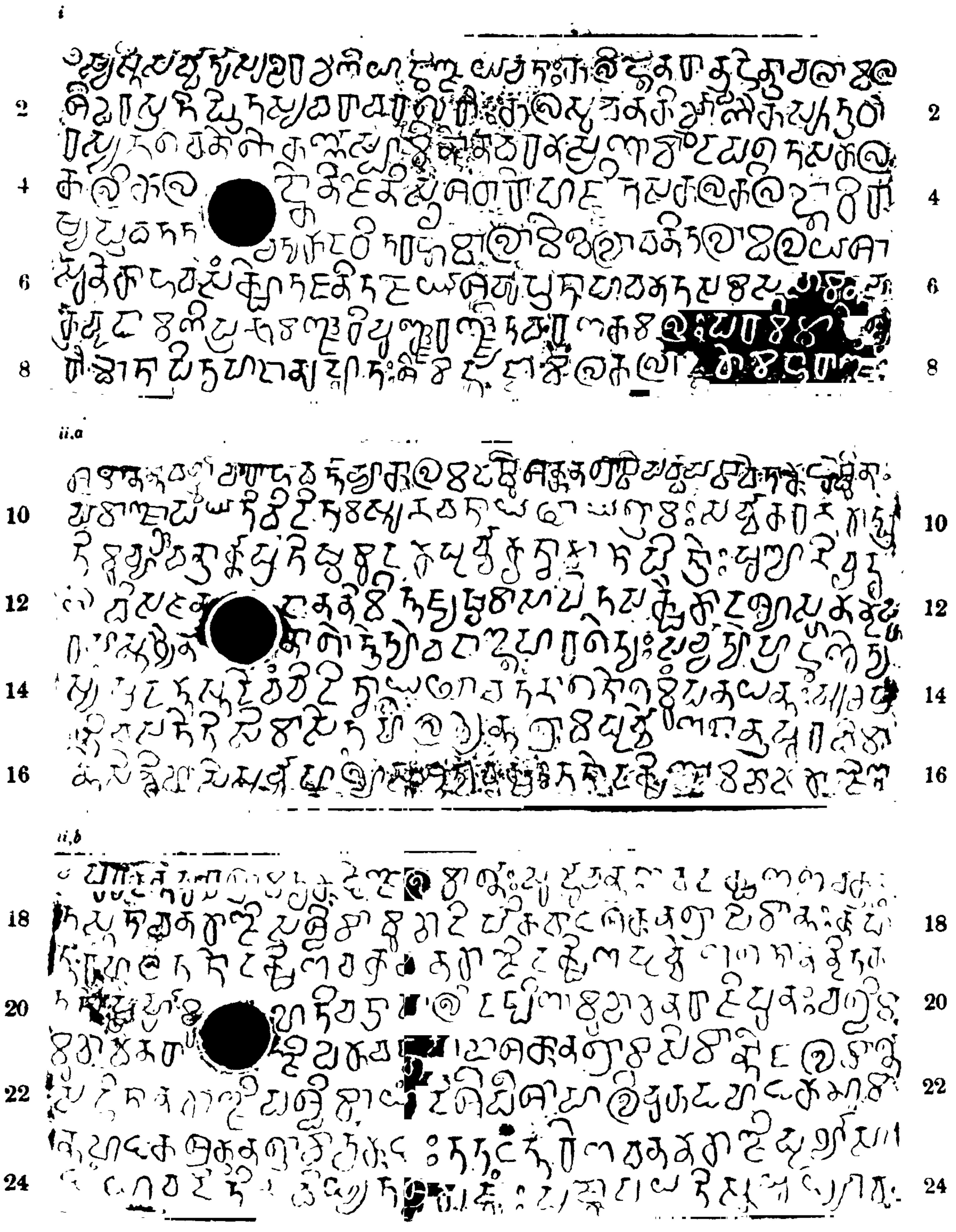
[2] [Scholars are not unanimous on the starting point of the Gaṅga era. The view that it commenced some time in 493-98 A.D. seems to be nearer the mark. See *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. III, p. 216 above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 326 ff., and Vol. XXVII, p. 192.—P.B.D.]

[3] Above, Vol. XXV, p. 285; *JAHRS*, Vol. IX, p. 27.

[4] From impressions.

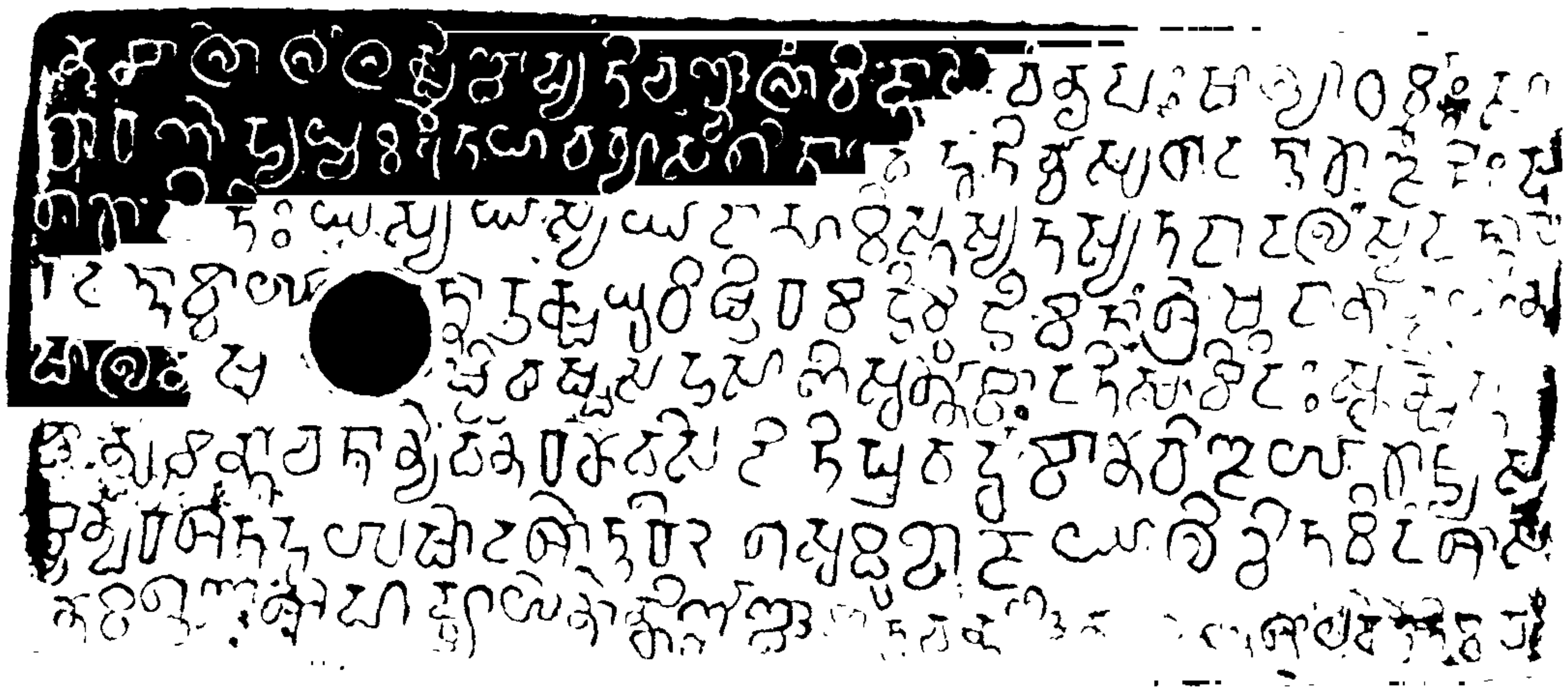
[5] Expressed by symbol.

A.—ANDHAVARAM PLATES OF ANANTAVARMADEVA



Scale: Actual Size

iii



Scale: Actual Size

B.—Andhavaram Plates of Vajrahastadeva

i



Scale: Three-fourths

13 ra-vāstavyai(vya)-nānā-gōttrēbhyō Va(Vē)dāṅga-pāragēbhyaḥ sarvva(rvvē)bhyō Brāhmaṇēbhya[ḥ*]

14 [syaṁ](saṁ)pradattas=tad=ēvaṁ viditvā yathā(th-ō)cha(chi)ta-bhāga-bhōgamuṁ(m=u)-panayantaḥ [su]kha[ṁ*] pra-

15 tivasatē(th=ē)ti [|*] simā-sitahi[1] la(li)khyanta(ntē) [|*] grāma-pūrvvēṇa Indrapura-chi(sī)m-ā-

16 ntō Sindhi[vā]sē sarvva-pālyāṁ(lyām) [a]śvat[tha]-vṛikshaḥ tatō dakshiṇā(ṇa)-ma(mu)khā va[na*]rāj[ḥ*] I-

Second Plate, Second Side

17 ndrapura-Dantapura-grāma-tṛi(tri)kūṭē jala-mārggaḥ arddha-chandra iva dakshiṇa(ṇē)-ṇa(na) vakra-[sthi]-

18 tas=tatā(tō) vanarāji[ḥ*] paśchimā(ma)-mukhā Dirpikavāṭaśakuna-grā[ma*]-si(sī)m-āntaḥ ku(kū)pā(p-ō)-

19 ttara-hala[ḥ*] tatō dakshiṇa-[mukhā*] vakra-vana-rāji[ḥ*] dakshiṇa-pū[r*]vvēṇa gata(tō) nandi-taru[ḥ]

20 tatō(taḥ) pūrvvā(rvva)-mukhā Tivadrāhali[2] da[kshi]ṇā(ṇa)-mukhā vana-rāji[ḥ*] punaḥ paśchima-

21 mukhā vana-rāji[ḥ*] Ōruvaṅgapāḍā-Śakunagrāma-sīm-āntō(ntē) jala-mārgga-

22 sahitā [va*]na-[rā]ji[ḥ*] paśchimāyāṁ diśi Piśāhali-Vukaḍapāṭaka-[Sā]ma-

23 ntapāṭaka-Śra(Śa)kunagrāma-tṛi(tri)ku(kū)ṭaḥ tata uttarēṇa vanana[3]-rāji[ḥ*] pūrdhyāsā-

24 [yaṁ][4] yāvad=iti [|*] bhavi[shya]taś=cha rajñaḥ[5] prajñāpayati [|*][6] Āyuryyā(r=yyau)va-

Third Plate

25 nam=ālōlaṁ lakshmīñ=ch=āpy=ati-chañchalāṁ(lām) [1*] vijñāy=aivaṁ nṛipaiḥ shā(pā)lyō dharmmaḥ sā-

26 dhāraṇ-ōdya[ma][7]ḥ || [1*] Tathā cha Vyāsa-gītā || Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ Sa-

27 gar-ādibhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā da(pha)laṁ(lam) [|| 2*] Sva-dattā[ṁ*] [pa]-

28 ra-dattām=vā(ttāṁ vā) yatnād=raksha Yudhishṭhira [|*] mahī[ṁ*] mahimatāṁ śrēshṭha dānāchchhra(ch=chhrē)yō=na(nu)-

29 pālana[m || 3*] Shashṭi-vashsha(rsha)-sahas[r*]āṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmidaḥ [|*] ākshēptā

30 ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēd=iti(vasēt [|| 4*] iti) pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājyē sa-

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[1] The intended reading might be *sīmā-sthitayaḥ*.

[2] This may be the name of a locality; cf. Piśāhali in line 22.

[3] This *na* is redundant.

[4] The intended reading of this expression might be *pūrvasyāṁ*.

[5] There is an *anusvāra* over this *akshara* which has to be ignored.

[6] This and the three following verses are in the *Anushṭubh* metre.

[7] The form of this letter which looks like a conjunct is peculiar. The two dots of the following *visarga* are joined up.

31 [mva](saṁva)tsara-śata-dvaya-shōda(ḍa)ś-ōttarē 26[1] svamukh-ājñayā likhitam=idaṁ śāsa-

32 nama(naṁ) Guṇag-ōpādhyāyēn=ōtkīrṇṇañ=cha Mātra(ṭri)chandra-nā[ma](m-ā)kshaśālikēn=ēti mava[2] [||*]

B. *Plates of Vajrahastadēva*

These plates were also discovered at **Andhavaram.** The set consists of three plates of which the first and the last are engraved on one side only, while the second on both the sides. Examination of the plates shows that they had an earlier inscription on them which was completely erased before the present inscription was engraved. But the surface was not smoothened before engraving the later record and this has caused considerable difficulty in deciphering it.[3] The edges of the plates have been raised into rims. The plates are of a fairly uniform size measuring 7¾″ by 3¾″ and about ¼″ thick at the edges. The longer sides have a slight inward curve. The plates were strung on a solid copper ring ⅜″ thick and fairly circular in shape with a diameter of 4″. The two ends of this ring are secured under a circular bronze **seal,** 2¼″ in diameter. On this seal are seen the figures of a couchant bull with the crescent on the top, a conch in the rear and a lotus bud with its stalk in a vertical position in front. Below the bull are the figures of an elephant-goad, a small circular disc divided into eight sectors, probably a representation of the sun, and a *pūrṇa-ghaṭa*. All these figures are cast in high relief. The ring with the seal weighs 94 *tolas* while the three plates together weigh 186 *tolas*.

The **script** of the inscription is old Nāgarī and bears close resemblance to that of the Ponduru plates[4] of Vajrahasta and the Chicacole plates[5] of Madhukāmārṇava. The **language** is Sanskrit and the record is all in prose. As regards orthography, the sign of *v* is used for *b* (cf. *śavda* in line 11) and rarely that of *ś* for *s* (cf. *śīmā*° in line 26). The usual imprecatory and benedictory verses are conspicuous by their absence in this record.

The charter was issued from **Dantipura.** It records the gift of the village of Gōshṭhavāḍa or Gōṭhavāḍa in the Krōshṭukavartanī *vishaya* by **Vajrahasta,** son of Kāmārṇṇava, to Maḍapa Bhīmana, son of Dhaṇḍanayāka of Vēmma-kula. The date and the purpose of the grant are not stated in the record. The charter, however, may be assigned to the 10th century on palaeographic grounds. The inscription contains the usual *praśasti* of the Eastern Gaṅga family to which the donor belonged. The gift village was declared out of bounds for the police and military personnel and exempted from all kinds of taxes.

Like the present plates, the Ponduru plates[6] also mention one Vajrahasta as the son of Kāmārṇava. According to B. V. Krishnarao[7] and others[8], the Pondūru plates which belong to Vajrahasta II, are dated in year 500. The donor of the present record may be identified with Vajrahasta II, son of Kāmārṇava I.

The gift village Gōshṭhavāḍa or Gōṭhavāḍa appears to be identical with Gottivāḍa in the Srikakulam Taluk of the District of that name. This, however, cannot be verified as its boundaries are not specified.

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[1] [The reading is *21*[*6**].—Ed.]

[2] The intended reading of this expression might be *ēvam=ēva*.

[3] [It seems that it was the text of the present record which was cancelled.—Ed.]

[4] *JAHRS*, Vol. XI, pp. 8 ff.

[5] Ibid., Vol. VIII, pp. 180 ff.

[6] *JAHRS*, Vol. IX, pp. 23 ff.

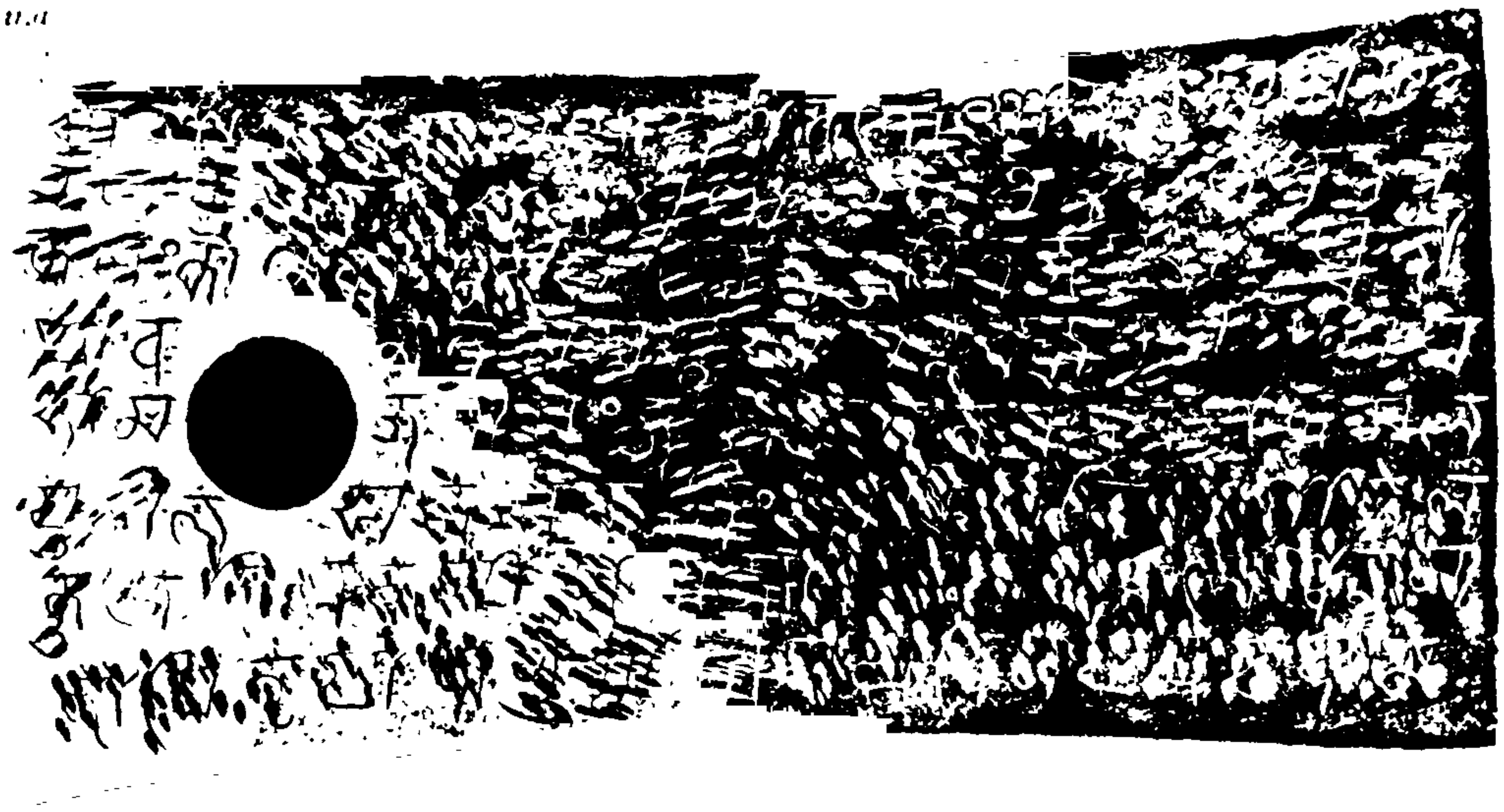
[7] Ibid., p. 32.

[8] Cf. above, Vol. XXVI, p. 332.

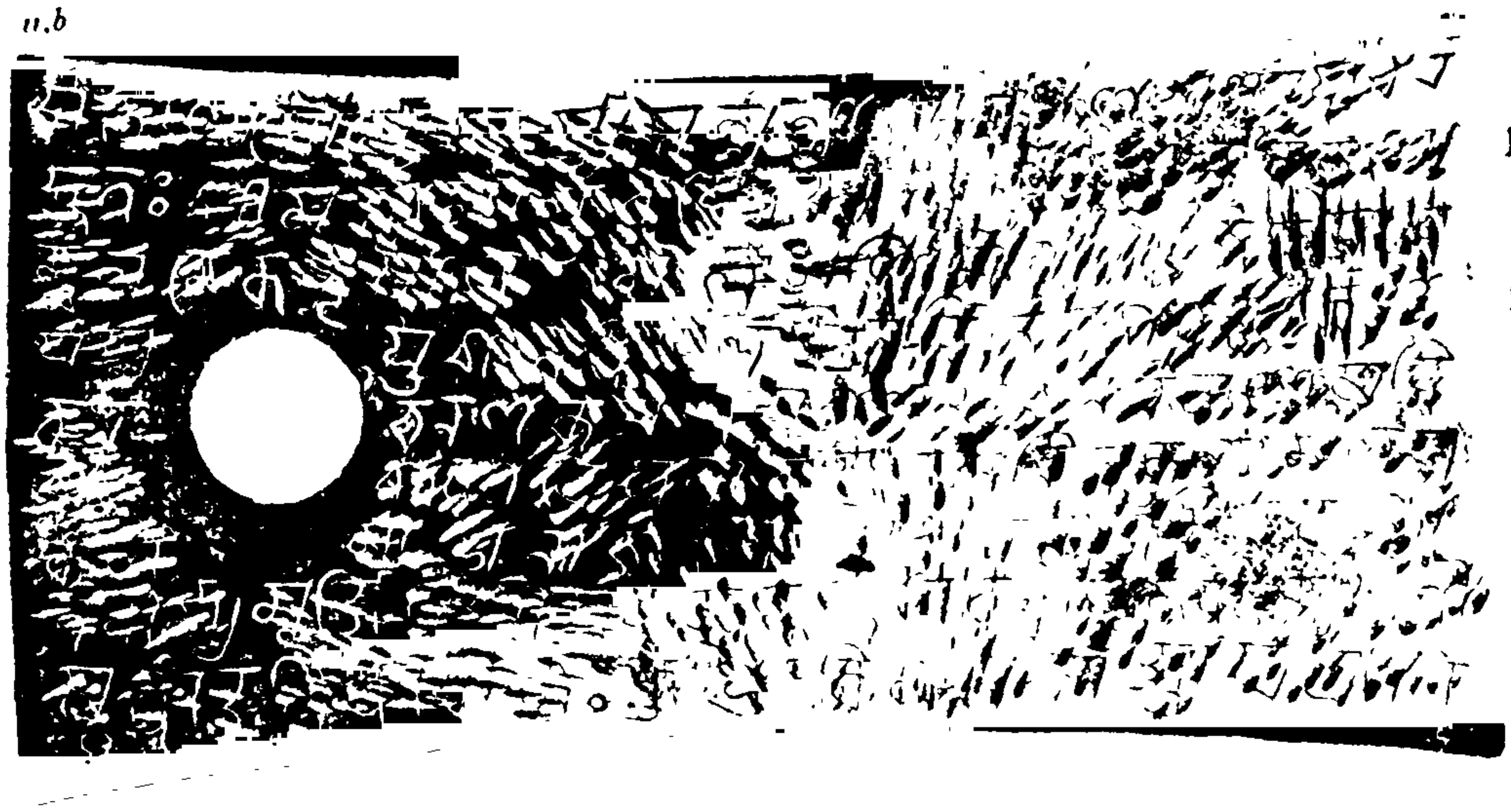
TWO EASTERN GANGA CHARTERS FROM ANDHAVARAM—PLATE II

B.—ANDHAVARAM PLATES OF VAJRAHASTADEVA

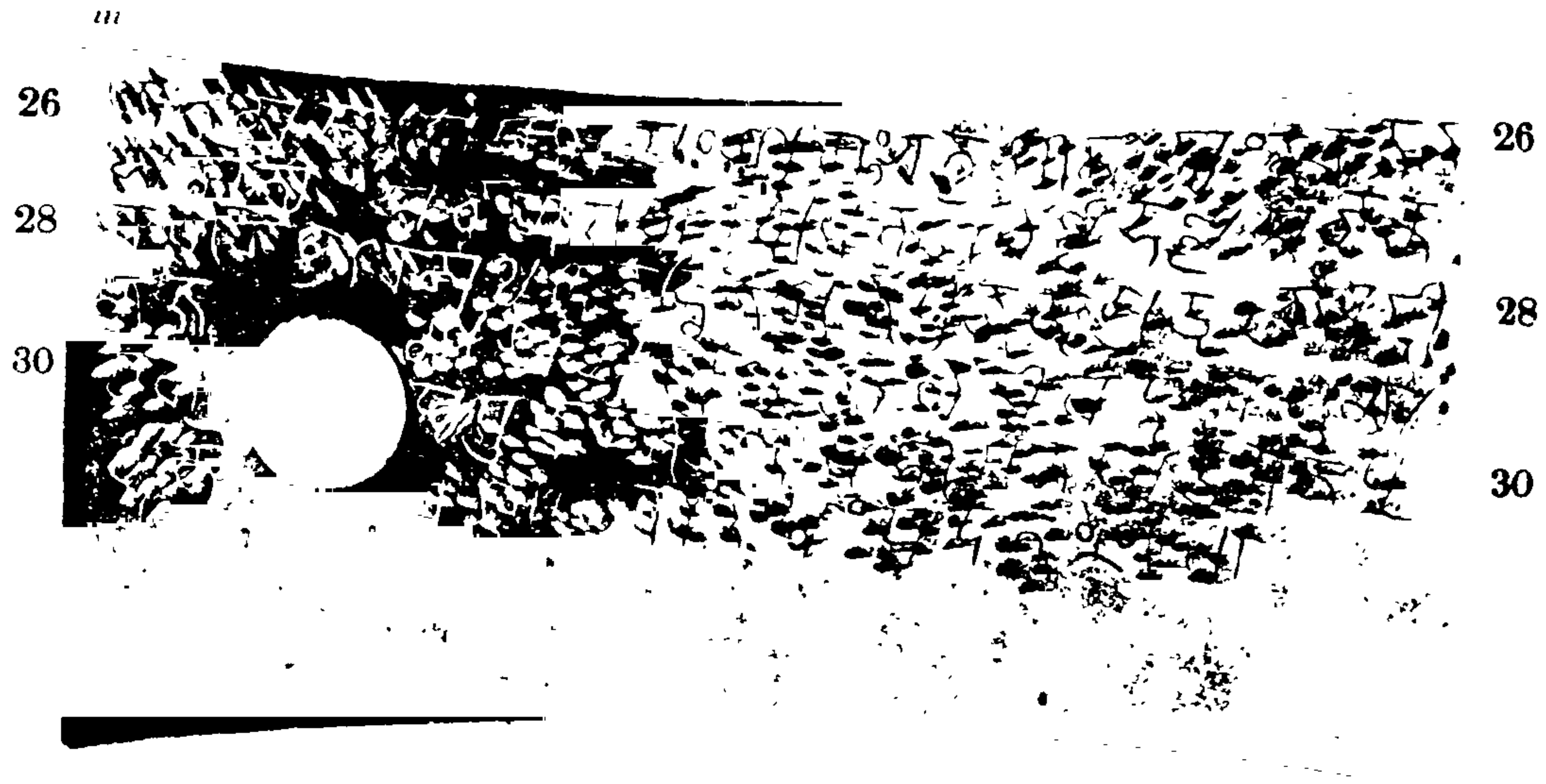
ii.a



ii.b



Scale: Three-fourths



Scale Three-fourths

SEALS

A



B



(from Photographs)

TEXT

First Plate

1 Svasty=Amarapur-ānukāriṇaḥ sarvv-aitu-śu(su)kha-rama-

2 ṇīyād=vijaya-va[dh-ū*]dvahana-sudhā-dhavalaya(lita)-śrī-

3 prāsāda-mālā-[da](sv-a)dhi[sh]ṭhita-vara-vilāsinī-

4 lalita-lāsyād=urda(dda)ṇḍa-paṇḍita-kul-ālaṁkṛita-

5 śrī-**Dantipura**-vāsakāt prasiddha-siddha-tāva(pa)-

6 [s-ā]dhyāsita-kaṁda[r-ō]darē(ra)-Mahēṁdr-āchal-āma

7 [la]-kanaka-śikhara-pratishṭhitasya char-āchara-gu-

8 rōḥ sakala-bhuvana-nirmāṇ-aika-sūra(tra)dhārasya

Second Plate, First Side

9 śaśāṁka-chūḍāmaṇēr=bhagavatō Gōkarṇasvāminaś=cha-

10 ra[ṇa]-kamala-yugala-praṇāmā[d=vi]gata-sakala-Kala(li)-

11 kalaṁkō=nēk-āhava-saṁ[kshō]bha-janita-jaya-śavda(bda)[ḥ] pratā-

12 p-āvanata-samasta-sāmanta-chakra-chūḍāmaṇi-pra-

13 bhā-ma[ṁ*]jarī-puṁja-ra[ṁji]ta-vara-charaṇa-kamala-

14 yugala[ḥ*] sakala-Kaliṁg-ādhipati[ḥ*] Gaṁg-āmala-

15 kula-tilaka[ḥ*] mā(ma)hārājādhirāja-paramēśvara[ḥ*] mā-

16 tā-pitṛi-pād-ānudhyātā(taḥ) naya-vinaya-daya(yā)-dāna-

Second Plate, Second Side

17 dā[kshi]ṇa(ṇya)-śauryyō(ryy-au)dāryya-satya-tyāg-ādi-guṇa-saṁpad-ādhāra-

18 bhūtaḥ śrīmat-Kāmārṇṇavadēva[s=ta*]sya sūnu[r=vipu]la-vikram-ō-

19 nna[ta](t-ā)nēka-bhūpāla-mauli-maṇi-marīchī(chi)-raṁjita-pāda-

20 padma-yugala[ḥ*] vimala-chi[tt-ā]rchita-bhagavan-Mārttaṇḍa-

21 vara-charaṇa-kamala-yugala[ḥ*] Surasari[d=i*]v=āśēsha-di-

22 g-[mu]kha-vyāpi-pratāpa[ḥ*] Surasarit-kul-āmala-sa-

23 kala-mā(ma)hārāja-tilaka[ḥ*] mamārarājamiva[1] vikhyā-

24 ta-vīryya mū(ū)rjita-śrīmad-**Vajrahastadēva**[ḥ*] Krōshṭukavartanyāṁ Gō-

25 shṭhavāḍa-niva(vā)sinaḥ kuṭuṁvi(bi)naṁ(naḥ) samājñāpayati vi-

[1] Read *Amara-rāja iva*

Third Plate

26 ditam=astu vō yath=āyaṁ grāmaḥ chatu[ḥ*]-śi(sī)m-ābhyaṁtara-jala-

27 samētya(ta)[ḥ*] sarva-pīḍā-vā(bā)dha-varjita[ḥ*] a-chaṭṭa-bhaṭṭa-sarva-ka-

28 ra-parihāra[matya][1] dēva-dvija-guru-pu(pū)jakaḥ(kasya) su[hṛit]-vaṁ(d-vaṁ)sa(śa)-dī-

29 na-jan-āśraya[sya*] Vē[mma]-kula-dīpaka-[Dhaṇḍa]nā-

30 yakasya putra[sya*] śrī-Maḍapa-Bhīmanashya(sya) udaka-pū-

31 rvakēna[2] Gōṭhavāḍa[ḥ*] saṁpradatta iti ||

[1] Read *parihārikṛitya*

[2] Read *pūrvakaṁ*.

No. 27—GUJARRA INSCRIPTION OF ASOKA

(*1 Plate*)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

The hamlet of **Gujarrā** lies in the Datia District of Vindhya Pradesh, near the village of Parāśarī on the Datia-Unao road, about 11 miles to the south-east of Datia and 12 miles to the north of Jhansi in U. P. At a little distance from the hamlet, there is a hill locally known as *Siddhō-kī-ṭoriyā̃* or 'the hillocks of the Perfected Ones'. The inscription under notice is engraved on a boulder lying at the foot of this hill.

The inscription was discovered by Mr. Lal Chand Sharma, a forest contractor of Jhansi, who by chance came upon the inscribed rock while out a-hunting. Mr. Sharma showed some indistinct photographs and inaccurate eye-copies of the record to Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Deputy Director-General of Archaeology in India, at New Delhi, on the 30th November 1953. A glance at them was enough for Dr. Chhabra to recognise that the epigraph was one of the Rock Edicts of the celebrated Maurya emperor **Aśoka**[1] (c. 269-232 B.C.) and naturally he pressed Mr. Sharma for information regarding its exact findspot, so that he could visit the place in order to examine the inscription and take inked estampages of it for study and publication. But Mr. Sharma, who was under the impression that the document contained a clue to the existence of a hidden treasure in its neighbourhood, was not prepared to give the required information unless Dr. Chhabra would agree to share with him the treasure when brought to light as a result of his study of the record. Dr. Chhabra tried to convince him that such epigraphs do not contain any information regarding buried treasures, but in vain. He, however, followed up the matter until, thanks to the interest taken in the matter by Mr. J. S. Lall, then Collector-in-Charge of Jhansi, Mr. Lal Chand Sharma and his younger brother, Mr. Lakhpat Ram Sharma, Municipal Commissioner of Jhansi, ultimately agreed to disclose the name of the findspot of the epigraph. They requested Dr. Chhabra to reach Jhansi on the 15th of November 1954 for being escorted to the spot. Although Dr. Chhabra could not visit the place on that date, the two Sharma brothers took Mr. Lall to Gujarrā to show the inscription, and the discovery was announced in some daily papers. On the 5th of December 1954, Dr. Chhabra visited the village in the company of Mr. Lall, Mr. S. K. Sen, Additional Deputy Commissioner of the Datia District, Dr. K. N. Puri, then Superintendent of the Department of Archaeology at Agra (Northern Circle), and the two Sharma brothers. He carefully examined the record and took inked impressions and photographs of it. Soon afterwards he incorporated the results of his study of the epigraph in a paper which was read at the Ahmedabad Session of the Indian History Congress in the last week of December 1954. In the course of my annual tour in search of inscriptions in the winter of 1954-55, I visited Gujarrā for an examination of the record on the 5th of February 1955. Some time later Dr. Chhabra was kind enough to place at my disposal a copy of his unpublished paper as well as his tentative transcript of the epigraph[2] and in February 1956 he was so good as to permit me to edit the inscription in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

The area occupied by the writing on the face of the boulder measures about 9 feet 5 inches in length and 1 foot 7 inches in height. There are only five lines of writing. An *akshara* is about 3 inches in height. Lines 2-5 begin from a distance of about 6 inches towards the left of the commencement of line 1. The fifth line, with which the epigraph ends, is shorter than the other lines. The letters are carefully engraved. But the preservation of the writing is not satisfactory. Some

[1] Macron over *e* and *o* has not been used in the article.

[2] Dr. Chhabra's paper together with his transcript of the inscription has since appeared in *Proc. IHC*. Ahmedabad, pp. 65-71.

letters at the end of line 4 and the beginning of line 5 are very badly damaged. Indeed it appears from the stone that line 4 stops a few inches towards the left of the end of the preceding lines. Even in other parts of the record, there are many letters and signs which are indistinct.

The **characters**, which are early Brāhmī as expected, are slightly longish in shape as in some of Aśoka's Pillar Edicts such as those on the Delhi-Topra and Lauriya-Nandangarh pillars. The inscription is another version of Aśoka's Minor Rock Edict I. The **language** of this edict has been called the Māgadha dialect found in his Pillar Edicts as well as the Rock Edicts at Dhauli and Jaugada ; but it has been noticed that *r* has not been changed to *l* in all the cases in some of the versions such as those at Rūpnāth and Maski, while it has been retained in versions like those in Mysore.[1] There is no **orthographical** peculiarity which is not already known from other inscriptions of Aśoka. In several cases, medial *ā*, *ī* and *ū* have been used respectively for medial *a*, *i* and *u*. The consonant *r* has not been changed to *l* except in *chilathitike* in line 4. *Ch* has been used for *ś* in *chakiye* (Sanskrit *śakyaṁ*, *śakyaḥ*). A point of **grammatical** interest is offered by the verb *°smi* (Sanskrit *asmi*) in the place of *sumi* found in the same context in the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām and Maski versions of the edict. The word *saṁvachhara* has been used in the neuter gender. The case-ending *e* has been used for both Masculine Nominative Singular and Neuter Nominative and Accusative Singular. Both the suffixes for the Active and Middle forms of the Present Participle have been used ; but the suffix for the Middle form has taken the shape of *mīna* in the place of Sanskrit *māna*. It is interesting to note that the Participles *charaṁ* (Active) and *charamīna* (Middle) have been formed from the same root. The old form of the Infinitive Mood is noticed in *pāpotave* and *ārādhayitave*.

The inscription begins with the sentence : *Dev[ānaṁ]piya[sa] Piyadasino Asokarājasa* (Sanskrit : *Devānāmpriyasya Priyadarśinaḥ Aśokarājasya*), " Of Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin Aśokarāja". A word like *śrāvaṇam*, 'proclamation', is understood in the context. The same is the case with the Maski version of the edict. It is well known that, in his inscriptions, Aśoka generally calls himself ' king Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin ' or ' Devānāmpriya ' or ' king Priyadarśin ', and that, among the published inscriptions of the Maurya emperor, the version of Minor Rock Edict I at Maski alone mentions him by his personal name Aśoka. The Gujarrā version of the edict, which calls him Aśokarāja, is thus the second of his known epigraphic records mentioning him by his personal name.

The next sentence of the inscription reads : *a[ḍha]tiyāni sa[ṁ]vachharāni upāsak[e]=s[m]i* (Sanskrit : *ardhatṛitīyān saṁvatsarān [vyāpya aham] upāsakaḥ asmi*), " I have been an *upāsaka* (i.e. a lay follower of the Buddha) for two years and a half." The word *sādhikāni* or *sātirekāni* qualifies *aḍḍhatiyāni* in the corresponding sentence in the other versions suggesting that, when Minor Rock Edict I was issued, Aśoka had been an *upāsaka* for a little more than two and half years and not exactly for only two years and a half as stated in the present version. The omission seems to be due to oversight either of the scribe or of the engraver. Most other versions add to this a sentence saying that Aśoka was not energetic in the practice and propagation of Dharma during the whole of this period of a little over two and half years. The Mysore versions of the edict clearly state that this period of inactivity on the part of Aśoka lasted for one year. The following sentence of the edict says that he worked zealously in the cause of Dharma only for a little over one year forming the latter part of the said period of his *upāsakatva* till the date of the proclamation.

The third sentence runs as follows : *sādhike sa[ṁ]vachha[re] ya cha me Saṁghe y[ā]te tī [aha]ṁ bāḍha[ṁ] cha parakaṁte tī [ā]hā* (Sanskrit : *sādhikaṁ saṁvatsaraṁ [vyāpya] yat cha mayā Saṅghaḥ yātaḥ iti ahaṁ bāḍhaṁ parākrāntaḥ iti āha*), " Saith he, ' It is a little more than one year that I have been associated with the Saṅgha (i.e. the Buddhist Clergy) and have been excessively energetic (*in*

[1] *CII*, Vol. I, pp. cxxiii, cxxix.

the practice and propagation of Dharma)'." The wording of the sentence is different from that in the other versions. There is considerable difference of opinion among scholars as regards the meaning of the word *yāta* indicating Aśoka's relation with the Buddhist Church. In the place of *yāta*, some versions have *upayāta, upagata* or *upeta*. The sentence is in the passive in some versions (e.g. *mayā Saṅghaḥ yātaḥ*) and in the active in others (*e.g. ahaṁ Saṅghaṁ yātaḥ*). Some scholars think that the reference is to a visit that Aśoka paid to the Buddhist Church. But this is improbable as the Present Tense in the verb *sumi*, 'I am' or 'I have been', in the corresponding passage, e.g., in the Rūpnāth version (*sātileke chu chhavachhare ya sumi hakaṁ Sagha upeta*, Sanskrit: *sātirekaṁ cha tu saṁvatsaraṁ yat asmi ahaṁ Saṅgham upetaḥ*), would suggest that the action indicated by *yāta=upayāta=upagata=upeta* with reference to Aśoka's relation with the Saṅgha was a continuous event lasting for over a year immediately preceding the date of the edict. To obviate this difficulty, some scholars take *upeta* and its equivalents to mean 'entered' and think that Aśoka became a Buddhist monk or at least a *bhikshu-gatika* or *grihastha-muni*. That, however, Aśoka was an *upāsaka* and not a monk at the time of the promulgation of the edict is clear from the Present Tense used in *asmi* in the second sentence of the inscription already discussed above. On the date of the proclamation, Aśoka could not have been staying in the Church for more than a year as the edict is stated to have been issued on the 257th day of a tour which he had undertaken for the propagation of Dharma, the period covered by the tour being eight months and a half. We have elsewhere[1] suggested that *yāta=upayāta=upagata=upeta* has been used here in the sense of *saṁgata*, 'intimately associated', and that it speaks of Aśoka's close contact with the Buddhist Church, which began more than a year before the promulgation of the edict.

Some scholars think that the second and third sentences of the edict speak of two different stages of Aśoka's *upāsakatva*, the first covering more than 2½ years when he was not zealous in the practice and propagation of Dharma and the second covering more than a year when he was exerting himself in the cause of Dharma. This would suggest that, by the time when the edict was issued, Aśoka had been an *upāsaka* for nearly four years. But this is unlikely in view of the fact that Aśoka uses the Present Tense in connection with the period of more than 2½ years giving the duration of his *upāsakatva* till the date of the edict and also with the period of more than a year (immediately preceding the said date) when he was zealous in the practice and propagation of Dharma but that he uses the Past Tense (Aorist) in connection with the period of one year when he was not exerting himself in the cause of Dharma (cf. Brahmagiri version: *no tu kho bāḍhaṁ prakaṁte husaṁ ekaṁ savachharaṁ*= Sanskrit: *no tu khalu bāḍhaṁ prakrāntaḥ abhuvam ekaṁ saṁvatsaram*).

The fourth sentence reads: *etenā aṁtarenā Jaṁbudīpasi Devāna[ṁ]piya[sa a]misaṁ-devā saṁto munisa misaṁ-devā kaṭā* (Sanskrit: *etena antareṇa Jambudvīpe Devānāmpriyasya amiśra-devāḥ santaḥ manushyāḥ miśra-devāḥ kṛitāḥ*, "Devānāmpriya's men (i.e. subjects) in Jambudvīpa, who were unmingled with gods during this period, have been made (*by him*) mingled with gods." The wording of the sentence is not the same in all the versions. The use of *Devānāmpriyasya* in this context is a peculiarity of the Gujarrā text of the edict. In some versions, men who had been formerly unmingled with gods are represented as mingled with the latter, while, in others, gods are represented as having been formerly unmingled with men and later mingled with them. Jambudvīpa here apparently indicates the empire of Aśoka. The following sentence makes it clear that the result of the practice and propagation of Dharma on the part of Aśoka was claimed to be this mingling of his subjects with gods.

The commingling of gods and men has been understood differently by different scholars. H. P. Sastri's interpretation[2] of *devāḥ* as 'the Brāhmaṇas' is based on a misunderstanding of the corresponding sentence of the Rūpnāth version of the edict and has now been given up. Sylvam Lèvi

[1] *Maski Inscription of Aśoka*, Hyderabad Archaeological Series, No. 1 (revised edition), 1956, p. 24.

[2] *JPASB*, 1910, pp. 259 ff.

and Filliozat take *deva* to mean 'a king'.[1] But it is difficult to believe that Aśoka who claimed to have been 'beloved of the gods' would have thought it proper to refer to his own self (or, to kings including himself) as a god. He could hardly have been unconscious of the ambiguity that would result from the use of the word in a sense which is not its normal meaning. F. W. Thomas thinks that Aśoka brought the Brahmanical gods to the knowledge of wild tribes and other backward peoples who had formerly no knowledge of them.[2] But Aśoka's Dharma had really little to do with the Brahmanical gods, and the claim seems to refer to his subjects in general. According to E. Hultzsch, *devāḥ* here means *divyāni rūpāṇi* of Rock Edict IV, meaning 'gods *in effigie*' which Aśoka exhibited to his subjects. But Rock Edict IV really says that Aśoka's *dharm-ānuśasti* achieved better result in promoting Dharma among the people than the religious exhibitions conducted by earlier kings had attained. The correct interpretation of the passage in question has been offered by D. R. Bhandarkar who thinks that Aśoka led men in the path of Dharma so that they became fit to be commingled with gods not only in heaven but also in this life.[3] This interpretation seems to be supported by the passage *yogaṁ yuṁjaṁtū* occurring in the latter part of the present version of the edict.

The next sentence runs as follows: *parakamasa iyaṁ phale* (Sanskrit: *parākramasya idaṁ phalam*), "This is the result of (*his*) exertion (*in the practice and propagation of Dharma*)". The exertion relates to Aśoka's activities during the period of more than a year immediately before the date of the edict, which is referred to in the third sentence discussed above.

The sixth and seventh sentences of the inscription read: *no [cha i]yaṁ mahatenā ti va chakiye pāpotave* [|*] *khudākeṇa pī parakamamīneṇā dhaṁmaṁ charamīneṇā pānesū saṁyatenā vipule pī svage chakiye ārādhayitave* (Sanskrit: *no cha idaṁ mahatā iti eva śakyaṁ prāptum* | *kshudrakeṇa api parākramamāṇena dharmaṁ charatā prāṇeshu saṁyatena vipulaḥ api svargaḥ śakyaḥ ārādhayitum*), "It is not that the rich man alone is able to obtain this (*result*). Even a poor man, who exerts himself, practises (*the duties associated with*) Dharma and observes restraint in respect of living beings, is able to attain even the great heaven". Aśoka here says that the brilliant result obtained by him by dint of his exertion in the practice and propagation of Dharma can also be achieved by a poor man and that it is not a monopoly of a rich man like himself. The wording of these two sentences is not the same in the different versions. By 'great heaven', Aśoka possibly understood a station higher than the world of the gods.

The next sentence reads: *s[e] etāye aṭhā[ye] iyaṁ sāvaṇe* (Sanskrit: *tat etasmai arthāya idaṁ śrāvaṇam*), "Therefore this proclamation is (*being issued by me*) for this (*following*) purpose". The twofold purpose is indicated in the next two sentences.

The first of the two purposes is indicated in the sentence which reads: *khudāke chā uḍāre chā dhaṁmaṁ charaṁtū [yo]gaṁ yuṁjaṁtū* (Sanskrit: *kshudrakaḥ cha udāraḥ cha dharmaṁ charatām, yogaṁ yuñjatām*), "Let the poor and the rich (*both*) practise (*the duties associated with*) Dharma and effect (*their*) association (*with gods thereby*)". Aśoka's first purpose for issuing the proclamation was that his subjects, both poor and rich, should emulate him in the practice of Dharma (which, in his view, included the propagation of Dharma) and this, he believed, would make them fit for commingling with the gods. In the place of this sentence, other versions have, "Let (*both*) the poor and the rich exert themselves (*in the cause of Dharma*)". The passage *yogaṁ yuṁjaṁtū* added in the present version to what corresponds to the above sentence of the other versions is of considerable importance as it throws welcome light on the interpretation of the controversial reference to the commingling of gods and men in the earlier part of the edict.

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[1] See *Journ. As.*, Tome CCXXXVII, 1949, pp. 225 ff. See also comments on some of Filliozat's suggestions in *Maski Inscription of Aśoka*, op. cit., p. 26 and note 2; p. 27, note 1.

[2] *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 505.

[3] *ABORI*, Vol. X, pp. 246 ff.

GUJARRA INSCRIPTION OF ASOKA



Scale: One-eighth

The second purpose underlying the proclamation is indicated in the next sentence which reads: *aṁtā pi chā jānaṁtū kiṁ ti* .... *enaṁ [vā] dha[ṁ]maṁ chhara[ṁ] ati[yo]*, (Sanskrit: *antāḥ api cha jānantu—kim iti—* .. .. *[janaḥ] enam eva Dharmaṁ charan ativa)*, "Let the people outside the borders (*of my dominions*) also know that ... . if (*people*) practise the (*duties associated with*) this Dharma alone to a considerable degree." The message to the *antāḥ* or peoples living beyond the borders of Aśoka's empire is also found in most other versions. But the wording of the present text is different. Unfortunately many of the *aksharas* in this part are damaged and the meaning of the section is not absolutely certain. We have tried below to restore the lost words on the basis of the wording in the other versions. In matters like the promotion of Dharma, Aśoka made no distinction between his own subjects and foreigners. To him all men were like his children.

The last sentence of the inscription reads: *iyaṁ [cha] sāvana vivuthe[na 256]* (Sanskrit: *idaṁ cha śrāvaṇaṁ vyushṭena 256*), "And this proclamation is (*being issued by me when I have been*) on tour (*for*) 256 (*days*)". The word *vivutha* (i.e. *viyuṭha*) standing for Sanskrit *vyushṭa* has been used here for Sanskrit *vyushita*. There is difference of opinion among scholars on the interpretation of the sentence. But the corresponding sentence in the Sahasrām version makes its meaning absolutely clear. This reads: *duve sapaṁnā lāti-satā vivuthā ti 256* which stands for Sanskrit: *dve shaṭ-pañchāśad-rātri-śate vyushṭaḥ (=vyushitaḥ aham) iti 256* or *dve shaṭpañchāśad-rātri-śate vyushṭe (=vyatīte mayā) iti 256* This tour seems to be one of the early *Dharma-yātrās* (i.e. tours for the propagation of Dharma) instituted by Aśoka in the tenth year after his coronation (i.e. in the eleventh year of his reign, corresponding roughly to 260-259 B.C.) and particularly referred to in Rock Edict VIII. It is now generally believed that Minor Rock Edict I is the earliest of Aśoka's proclamations on matters relating to Dharma first issued 12 years after his coronation, i. e. about 258-257 B C.

TEXT[1]

1 (I) Dev[ānaṁ]piya[sa] Piyadasino **Asokarājasa** [|*] (II) a [ḍha]tiyāni sa[ṁ]vachharāni[2] upāsak[e]=s[m]i [|*] (III) sādhike sa[ṁ]vachha[re] ya cha me Saṁghe y[ā]te tī [aha]ṁ bā-

2 ḍha[ṁ] cha parakaṁte tī [ā]hā [|*] (IV) etenā aṁtarenā Jaṁbudīpasi Devāna[ṁ]piya[sa a]misaṁ-devā saṁto[3] munisa misaṁ-devā kaṭā [|*] (V) parakamasa iyaṁ phale [|*] (VI) no [cha i]yaṁ mahatenā ti va

3 chakiye pāpotave [|*] (VII) khudākeṇa pī parakamamīnenā dhaṁmaṁ charamīnenā pānesū saṁyatenā vipule pī svage chakiye ārādhayitave [|*] (VIII) s[e] etāye

4. aṭhā[ye] iyaṁ sāvaṇe [|*] (IX) khudāke chā uḍāre chā dhaṁmaṁ charaṁtū [yo]gaṁ yuṁjaṁtū [|*] (X) aṁtā pi chā jānaṁtū kiṁti cha[4] chilaṭh[iti]ke dhaṁmacha....[5]....

5 ....[si]ti[6] [cha] enaṁ [vā] dha[ṁ]maṁ chara[ṁ][7] ati[yo] [|*] (XI) iyaṁ [cha] sāvana vivutho[na 200] 50 6 [|*]

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[1] From impressions.

[2] In the place of *ni*, *no* seems to have been originally engraved.

[3] This *akshara* had been originally omitted and was later inserted in the small space between the preceding and following *aksharas*.

[4] This *akshara* should better be read after *chilathitike*.

[5] The intended reading of the sentence may be *chilathitike cha dhammacharaṇe hotu* (Sanskrit: *chirasthitikaṁ cha dharma-charaṇaṁ bhavatu*). Cf., e.g., *chilaṭhitike cha palākame hotu* (Sanskrit: *chirasthitikaḥ cha parākramaḥ bhavatu*) in the Sahasrām version.

[6] The intended reading may be *vadhisiti* (Sanskrit: *vardhishyate*). As suggested by other versions of the edict, the lost words before *vadhisiti* may be *iyaṁ aṭhe* (Sanskrit: *ayam arthaḥ*).

[7] This Participle in the Nominative Singular has to be taken with a word like *jane* (Sanskrit *janaḥ*) Cf. *hevaṁ ve kalaṁtaṁ* (Sanskrit: *evaṁ yūyaṁ kurvantaḥ*) in the Maski version.

TRANSLATION

(I) (*This is a proclamation*) of Devānāmpriya Priyadarśin Aśokarāja.

(II) I have been (*now*) an *upāsaka* (i.e. a lay follower of the Buddha) for two and half years.

(III) Saith he, " It is (*now*) more than a year that the Saṅgha (i.e. the Buddhist Church) has been intimately associated with me and that I have been exerting myself (*in the cause of Dharma*)".

(IV) Devānāmpriya's men (i.e. subjects) in Jambudvīpa, who had been unmingled with the gods during this period, were made (*by him*) mingled with the gods.

(V) This is the result of (*his*) exertion (*in the cause of Dharma*).

(VI) It is not that this (*result*) can be obtained by the rich man alone. (VII) Even the poor man, if he exerts himself (*in the cause of Dharma*), practises (*the duties associated with*) Dharma and observes restraint in respect of living beings, can attain even the great heaven.

(VIII) Therefore this proclamation is (*issued by me*) for this (*following*) purpose.

(IX) Let (*both*) the poor and the rich practise (*the duties associated with*) Dharma (*and*) effect (*thereby their*) association (*with the gods*).

(X) Let the peoples living beyond the borders (*of my empire*) also know that .... if (*one*) practises (*the duties associated with*) this Dharma alone to a considerable extent."

(XI) And this proclamation (*is issued by me when I have been*) on tour (*for*) 256 (*days*).

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[1] The conjectural restoration of the damaged portion of the inscription would suggest the translation : " Let the peoples living beyond the borders (*of my empire*) also know that the practice of (*the duties associated with*) Dharma should further increase. This matter will increase if (*people*) practise (*the duties associated with*) this Dharma alone to a considerable degree ".

No. 28—RAJULA-MANDAGIRI INSCRIPTION OF ASOKA

(*2 Plate*)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

In a letter dated the 14th September 1946, Mr. T. G. Aravamuthan, a keen student of ancient Indian history and an Advocate of the Madras High Court, sent for examination to the Government Epigraphist for India an eye-copy of the beginning of an old Brāhmī inscription, which he had reproduced from an old record about thirty years previously. Just then he could not remember the source from which the eye-copy had been taken down ; but he correctly noticed that some of the letters of the inscription looked like Brāhmī characters found in the edicts of Aśoka.[1] Unfortunately it was not possible to make out anything from the eye-copy and Mr. Aravamuthan was searching for his notes to trace its source. In another letter, dated the 14th March 1947, he informed the Government Epigraphist for India that he had reproduced the eye-copy of the inscription from the following volume of the Mackenzie Manuscripts preserved in the Madras Government's Oriental Manuscripts Library : 'Local Records, Vol. 29, Sheet 28, Title 55 : Inscriptions on Stone and Copper in the Aundavanny Mangala Dinne and Puncha Pallem Districts.—Transcribed in Local Records, Vol. 23.' He also wrote in this connection that the inscription is stated in the said source to be in a *dona* opposite the west Gopuram of Pedda Rāmaliṅga Devālayam in the southern part of a village called Rājula-Maṇḍagiri in the Pañchapāḷayam Taluk in the District of the same name. As the *List of Villages in the Madras Presidency* does not refer to places called Pañchapāḷayam and Rājula-Maṇḍagiri, the findspot of the inscription may be, he suggested, no other than Maṇḍigiri in the Adoni Taluk of the Bellary District.

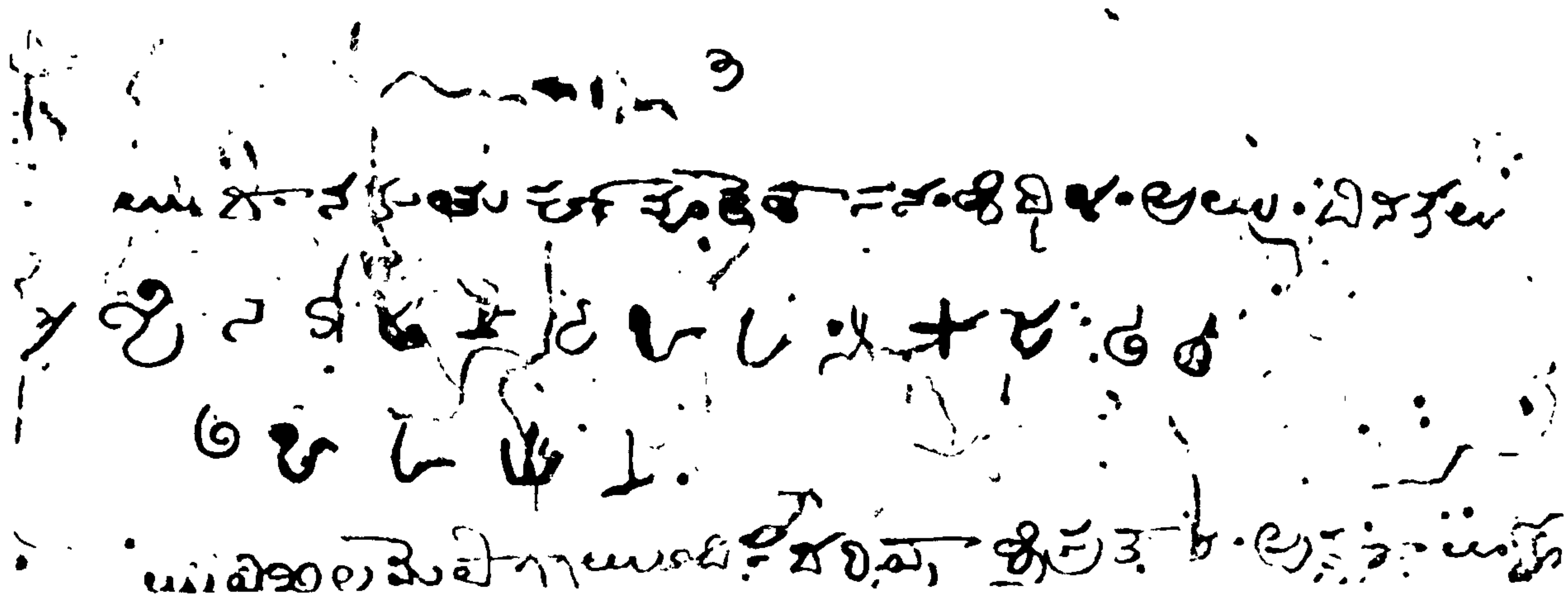
The discovery of the eye-copy in the Mackenzie Manuscripts points to the date when it was prepared. Colin Mackenzie, born in 1754, was appointed to the Sappers in Madras and arrived in India in 1783. He was appointed the first Surveyor-General of India in 1815 and died in 1821. Soon after his arrival in South India, Mackenzie contacted certain Brāhmaṇa Pandits and realised the importance of collecting manuscripts and studying their contents for an evaluation of Indian culture. In the thirtyeight years of his stay in India, he collected innumerable manuscripts in Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian as well as in the South Indian languages, of which the Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian manuscripts were sent to England. His collection also included transcripts of numerous inscriptions on stone and copper plates. After his death, Mackenzie's South Indian collection was purchased by the East India Company and their catalogue in two volumes, prepared by H. H. Wilson with the assistance of Mackenzie's Pandits, was published from Calcutta in 1828. The manuscripts were afterwards deposited first in the library of the Madras College, then in the library of the Presidency College, and ultimately in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras. It seems that the eye-copy of the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri inscription was prepared for Mackenzie sometime about the beginning of the ninteenth century.

In February 1948, Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao, then Superintendent for Epigraphy, visited the village of Maṇḍigiri in the Bellary District in search of the epigraph. But no such inscription could be traced there. In December 1952, in the course of his annual tour in search of inscriptions, Mr. M. Venkataramayya, then Epigraphical Assistant in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, visited Pattikoṇḍa which is the headquarters of a Taluk of that name in the Kurnool District and lies about 6 miles from the Tuggali Station on the Guntakal-Bezwada line of the Southern Railway. There he heard of a locality called **Rājula-Maṇḍagiri** lying at a distance of about

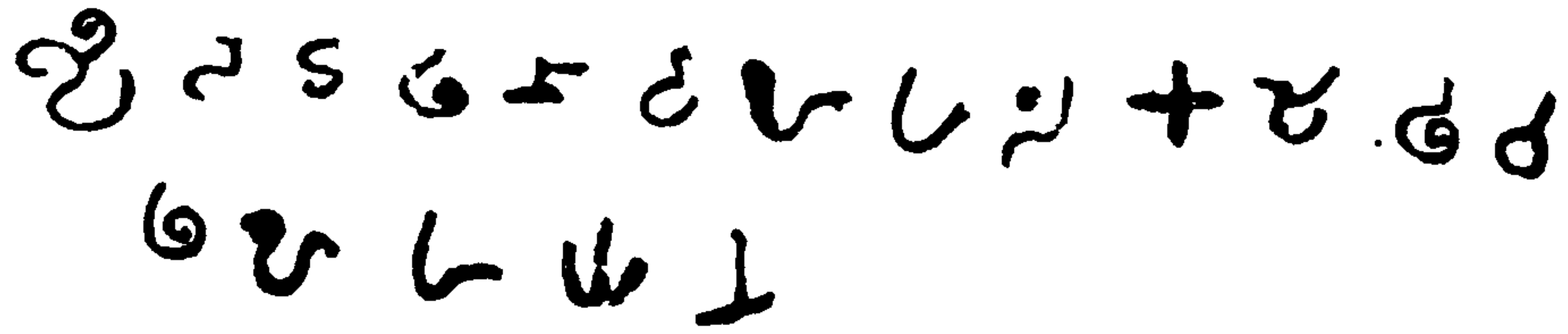
[1] Macron over *e* and *o* has not been used in the article.

EYE-COPY OF RAJULA-MANDAGIRI INSCRIPTION

A



B



(Photographs from Mackenzie Mss.)

3 miles to the north-west of Pattikoṇḍa and also of the existence of some inscriptions at the place. It is a hamlet attached to the village of Jūṭūru about 4 miles to the north-west of Pattikoṇḍa. There is no road from Pattikoṇḍa to Rājula-Maṇḍagiri; but the place can be reached by a bullock-cart. The hamlet lies at a distance of about 20 miles from Eṛṛaguḍi where the edicts of Aśoka were discovered in 1929.[1]

Mr. Venkataramayya could not visit Rājula-Maṇḍagiri just then. Next year he again went to the Pattikoṇḍa area in search of inscriptions and discovered the record at Rājula-Maṇḍagiri on the 26th December 1953. There is no doubt that this is the inscription, an eye-copy of which found a place in the Mackenzie Manuscripts. The temple of Rāmaliṅgēśvara stands on the rock on which the inscription is engraved. The epigraph is incised on the surface of the rock at a distance of about ten yards from the entrance of the temple. Four other early and medieval epigraphs were also discovered in the locality.[2]

The inscription representing a version of Aśoka's Minor Rock Edicts I and II commences with a trisceles which is sometimes found on the uninscribed cast coins of ancient India.[3] The same symbol is noticed in the eye-copy. The copyist tried to reproduce only some letters at the beginning of the inscription. But he only copied the letters and their parts which he could clearly see and omitted damaged letters without leaving any space for them. This made it impossible for anybody to decipher the record from the eye-copy.

The area covered by the **Rājula-Maṇḍagiri** inscription consisting of 15 lines of writing is about 70″ by 40″. Individual *aksharas* are about 2¼″ in height. The preservation of the writing is extremely unsatisfactory. There is no line in which a number of *aksharas* are not damaged, beyond recognition in most cases. The **characters**, which are slightly roundish in shape and are rather carelessly engraved in lines which are not always straight, closely resemble those of the Eṛṛaguḍi inscriptions of Aśoka. While, however, the Eṛṛaguḍi version of Minor Rock Edicts I and II has many passages to be read from right to left and several groups of letters engraved outside their proper places, the said peculiarities are absent in the writing of the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri version. The lines have to be read from left to right as usual in Brāhmī and letters do not appear to have been incised outside their proper places. The left and right strokes forming the lower part of *t* are curved, the two of them together generally forming a sort of semicircle. The letter *r* is not of the cork-screw type. It is a horizontal line, its upper end being generally a curve opening towards the right. The upper vertical of *v* is sometimes a curve opening towards the right and the letter resembles *m* without its right upper member (cf. *Devānaṁ*° and *hevāha* in line 1). The conjunct *pr* has been written as *rp*. As regards the Prakrit **language** of the record and its **orthography** and **grammar**, it may be pointed out that the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri version of Minor Rock Edicts I and II may be regarded as a close copy of the Eṛṛaguḍi text of the same records. Most of the characteristics of the epigraph in these respects are also known from some other inscriptions of Aśoka. The letter *r* has not been changed to *l* and *n* has been used in all cases for *ṇ*. The use of *hevāha* for Sanskrit *evam=āha* only in the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri and Eṛṛaguḍi versions is interesting. Both these versions appear to use *hota* for Sanskrit *bhavatu*.

Most of the sentences of the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri version of Minor Rock Edicts I and II are fragmentary; but the lost *aksharas* can be restored with the help of the almost identical copy found at Eṛṛaguḍi. Such restorations are generally supported by the possible number of *aksharas* lost in particular gaps. The Rājula-Maṇḍagiri text in its turn helps us in restoring certain groups of letters either altogether left out in the Eṛṛaguḍi copy through inadvertence or incised there out

[1] *An. Rep. Arch. Surv. India*, 1928-29, pp. 161-67.

[2] See *A. R. Ep.*, 1953-54, Nos. 64-67 of App. B.

[3] See Alla *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, pp. lxxvi, 98.

of their proper places. There are only a few cases where the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri text seems to differ from the Eṟṟaguḍi copy. But the variations are not of great importance.

For the purpose of interpreting the edicts, we propose to quote the text of the sentences of the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri version singly or in groups and, in the case of the fragmentary sentences, also the corresponding parts of the Eṟṟaguḍi version. The Minor Rock Edicts at Eṟṟaguḍi have been published by several students including the author of this paper.[1] But, in the following lines, I shall quote the Eṟṟaguḍi text from a fresh transcript recently prepared by me from a re-study of the record.

The first sentence of the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri version of **Minor Rock Edict I** reads: *Devānaṁpiye hevāha* (Sanskrit: *Devānampriyaḥ evam āha*), "Thus saith the Beloved of the Gods." There is a trisceles symbol at the beginning of the sentence. The symbol is also found in the Eṟṟaguḍi version of the edict at the beginning of the same sentence, although it was wrongly read there as *se* (Sanskrit *saḥ, tat*).

The second and third sentences, the first of which is partially preserved, read *adhikāni cha a* .... *ke* [|*] *no tu kho ekaṁ saṁvachara pakaṁte husaṁ*. The text of the same sentences as found in the Eṟṟaguḍi version runs: *adhikāni* [*aḍhatiyāni saṁvachharāni**] *ya hakaṁ upāsake* [|*] *no tu kho ekaṁ savachharaṁ pakaṁte*[2] *husaṁ* (Sanskrit: *adhkiān ardhatṛitīyān saṁvatsarān* [*vyāpya*] *yat aham upāsakaḥ* [*asmi*] | *no tu khalu* [*aham*] *ekaṁ saṁvatsaraṁ* [*vyāpya*] *prakrāntaḥ abhūvam*), "It is (*now*) more than two and half years that I have been an *upāsaka* (i.e. a lay follower of the Buddha). I was, however, not energetic (*in the practice and propagation of Dharma*) for one year (*at the beginning of the above period*)." The passage *aḍhatiyāni saṁvachharāni* in the second sentence of the edict appears to be either cut off from the impressions of the Eṟṟaguḍi version or inadvertently omitted from it. The Rājula-Maṇḍagiri version has space for these *aksharas*, although they are damaged. In the place of *adhikāni* other versions generally have *sādhikāni* or *sātirekāni*.

The next sentence, which is also partially preserved, reads: *sātireke* .... *payāte bāḍhaṁ cha me pakaṁte*. The complete sentence reads as follows in the Eṟṟaguḍi version: *sātireke chu kho savachhare yaṁ mayā Saṁghe upayīte bāḍhaṁ cha me pakaṁte*[3] (Sanskrit: *sātirekaṁ cha tu khalu saṁvatsaraṁ* [*vyāpya*] *yat mayā Saṅghaḥ upetaḥ bāḍhaṁ cha mayā prakrāntam*), "It is (*now*) more than a year that I have indeed been intimately associated with the Saṅgha (i.e. the Buddhist Clergy) and have been excessively energetic (*in the cause of Dharma*)." In the place of *upayīte* (Sanksrit *upetaḥ*) of the Eṟṟaguḍi version, the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri text seems to have *upayāte* (Sanskrit *upayātaḥ*).

The fifth damaged sentence reads: *iminā chu kālena ami* .... *bhūtā*. The complete text of the same sentence in the Eṟṟaguḍi version reads: *iminā chu kālena amisā* [*ye*] *munisā devehi te dāni misibhūtā*[3] (Sanskrit: *etena cha tu kālena* [*devaiḥ*] *amiśrāḥ ye manushyāḥ* [*abhūvan*] *devaiḥ te idānīm miśrībhūtāḥ* [*santi*]), "Those men, who were unmingled (*with the gods*) during this period (*down to the present*), have now been mingled with the gods."

The next sentence, which is not fully preserved, runs: *pakama* ...... *phale*. The same sentence in the Eṟṟaguḍi copy reads: *pakamasa hi iyaṁ* [*phale**] (Sanskrit: [*mama*] *prakramasya*

[1] *IHQ*, Vol. VII, pp. 817 ff.; Vol. IX, pp. 116 ff.; Vol. XIII, pp. 132; *ARASI*, 1928-29, pp. 166-67; *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 52 ff. See now below, Vol. XXXII, pp. 1 ff.

[2] The passage *ya hakaṁ upāsake no tu kho ekaṁ saṁvachharaṁ pakaṁte* forming line 2 of the Eṟṟaguḍi record has to be read there from right to left.

[3] The passage °*te bāḍhaṁ cha me pakaṁte* [|*] *iminā chu kālena a*° of the fourth and fifth sentences in the Eṟṟaguḍi copy forms line 4 of that record and has to be read from right to left. But °*misā ye munisā* which follows has been engraved about the left end of the line and has to be read from left to right. The *aksharas* °*dakena pi paka*° of a sentence in the latter part of the edict are engraved before *devehi*.

hi idaṁ phalam), "This is the result of (*my*) exertion (*in the cause of Dharma*)." The word *phale* is inadvertently omitted from the Eṛṛaguḍi text.

The seventh and eighth sentences, the second of which is damaged, run : *no hīyaṁ mahapteneva sakiye* [|*] *khudākē .... sakiye vipū ....tave.* The complete text of this section as found in the Eṛṛaguḍi copy runs : [*no hīyaṁ**] *mahapteneva sakiye* [|*] *khudakena pi pakamamīnena sakiye vipule svage ārādhetave*[1] (Sanskrit : *no hi idaṁ mahātmanā eva śakyam* | *kshudrakeṇa api prakramamāṇena śakyaḥ vipulaḥ svargaḥ ārādhayitum*), "Indeed it is not attainable only by the rich man. Even the poor man, if he is energetic (*in the cause of Dharma*), can attain even the great heaven." The passage *no hīyaṁ*, found in the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri copy, has been inadvertently omitted from the text of the Eṛṛaguḍi version.

The next damaged sentence reads : *etāye cha aṭhāya .. sāvane sāvite,* the Eṛṛaguḍi text giving the complete text of the sentence as : *etāya cha aṭhāya iyaṁ sāvane sāvite* (Sanskrit : *etasmai cha arthāya idaṁ śrāvaṇaṁ śrāvitam*), "It is for this purpose that the proclamation has been made (*by me*)."

The tenth sentence which is damaged reads : .... *lakā .... tā cha me jānevu chiraṭhitika cha iyaṁ pakame hota vi ....* The complete text of the sentence as found in the Eṛṛaguḍi copy runs : *athā khudaka-mahalakā imaṁ pi pakamevū aṁtā cha me jānevu chiraṭhitikā cha iyaṁ pakame hota vipulaṁ pi cha vaḍhasitā aparadhiyā diyaḍhiyaṁ*[2] (Sanskrit : *yathā kshudraka-mahallakāḥ idam api prakrameyuḥ antāḥ api cha jānīyuḥ chirasthitikaḥ cha ayaṁ prakramaḥ bhavatu vipulam api cha* [*idaṁ*] *vardhishyate avarādhikena dvyardham*), "So that the poor and the rich should also be energetic in this matter (*of the practice and propagation of Dharma*), and that the peoples living beyond the borders (*of my empire*) should also know (*that this matter*) will increase to a great extent, (*at least*) roughly to one and a half times." *Mahallaka* is a Pāli word meaning 'big', i.e. rich in the present context.

The eleventh sentence which is not fully preserved reads : ... *cha sāvane sāvāpite vyūthena 200 50 6.* As seen from the text of the Eṛṛaguḍi version, the word lost at the beginning of the sentence is *iyaṁ*,[3] the complete sentence standing for Sanskrit : *idaṁ cha śrāvaṇaṁ śrāvitam vyushitena 256,* "This proclamation is being issued (*by me when I have been*) on tour (*for*) 256 (*days*)."

The above portion is followed in line 7 by the text of **Minor Rock Edict II.** The first sentence of this edict is fully preserved and is also found in the Eṛṛaguḍi copy. It reads : *hevaṁ Devānaṁpiye āha* (Sanskrit : *evaṁ Devānāmpriyaḥ āha*), "Thus saith the Beloved of the Gods."

The second sentence, which is damaged, runs : *yathā Devānaṁpi .... ye,* the complete text of which as found in the Eṛṛaguḍi copy is : *yathā Devānaṁpiye āha tathā kaṭaviye,*[4] (Sanskrit : *yathā Devānāmpriyaḥ āha tathā kartavyam* [*yushmābhiḥ mahāmātraiḥ*]), "You should do as (*you have been*) told (*to do*) by the Beloved of the Gods." The king here addresses his executive officers entitled *Mahāmātra,* who were employed in various administrative units of the empire.

The third and fourth sentences run : *Rajūke ānapetaviye* [| *] *se dāni jānapadāni ānapayisati Raṭhikāni cha*[5] (Sanskrit : *Rajjukaḥ* [*yushmābhiḥ*] *ājñāpayitavyaḥ* | *saḥ idānīṁ jānapadān ājñāpayishyati Rāshṭrikān cha*), "The (*officer entitled*) *Rajjuka* should be ordered (*by you in respect of*

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[1] In the Eṛṛaguḍi copy, the passage *iyam* [*phale* | *no hīyam**] *mahaptenera sakiye khu°* in this sentence and the preceding one forms a half line to be read from right to left. The following passage *°dakena pi paka°* is engraved before *devehi te dāni*,etc., in line 5. The *aksharas °dhetave* [|*] *e°* of this sentence and the following one are written above the line at the left of the half line *mahaptenera sakiye khu°* to be read from right to left.

[2] In the Eṛṛaguḍi text, the passage *°tā cha me jānevu chiraṭhitikā cha* forms a half line to be read from right to left and *vaḍhasitā aparadhiyā diyaḍhiyaṁ* is engraved slightly below the level of the preceding *cha.*

[3] The passage *iyam cha sāvane sā°* in the Eṛṛaguḍi copy forms a half line and has to be read from right to left.

[4] The passage *°vānaṁpiye āha tathā kaṭaviye* in the Eṛṛaguḍi text forms a half line to be read from right to left.

[5] In the Eṛṛaguḍi copy, *°se dāni jānapadam āna°* forms a half line engraved below *rajūke ānapetaviye* (another half line to be read from left to right) and has to be read from right to left.

this matter). He (*in his turn*) will order the people of the countryside as well as the (*officer entitled*) *Rāshṭrika*." Both these sentences are found in the Eṛṛaguḍi copy. The *Mahāmātras*, indirectly referred to in the second sentence of this edict, seem to have been in charge of the provinces or groups of districts in Aśoka's empire while the *Rajjukas* and *Rāshṭrikas* mentioned in these sentences were probably rulers of the districts and their sub-divisions respectively. The designation *Prādeśika* seems to have been applied to the said class of the *Mahāmātras* in Rock Edict III, the *Yuktas* mentioned there being probably officers of a class similar to that of the *Rāshṭrika* or of a still lower grade. The word *yukta* may also mean there merely 'an official'.

The next five sentences, which are mostly damaged, read: *mātā* .... [|*] *gurusu* .... [|*] *rpānesū dayitaviye* [|*] *sacha vataviya* [| *] .... *taviya*. The complete text of this part, as found in the Eṛṛaguḍi version, runs: *mātāpitūsū sususitaviye* [|*] *hemeva garusu susustitaviye* [|*] *rpānesu dayitaviye* [|*] *sache vataviye* [|*] *ima dhaṁmagunā pavatitaviye*[1](*yā*) (Sanskrit: *mātā-pitṛishu śuśrūshitavyam | evam eva gurushu śuśrūshitavyam | prāṇeshu dayitavyam | satyaṁ vaktavyam | ime dharma-guṇāḥ pravartitavyāḥ*), "One should be obedient to one's parents. One should likewise be obedient to one's elders. One should be kind to the living beings. One should speak the truth. One should propound these attributes of Dharma." There appears to be no space for *hemeva* in the second of these sentences in the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri copy.

The tenth sentence reads as in the Eṛṛaguḍi copy: *hevaṁ tuphe ānapayātha Devānaṁpiyavachanena* (Sanskrit: *evaṁ yūyaṁ ājñāpayata Devānāmpriya-vachanena*), "Thus you should pass orders in the words of the Beloved of the Gods."

The eleventh sentence, which is damaged, reads: .... *tha ha* ...... *karanakāni yūgyāchariyāni baṁbhanāki(ni) cha tuphe*. The complete text of the sentence as found in the Eṛṛaguḍi version runs: *hevaṁ ānapa*[2]*yatha hathiyārohāni kāru(ra)nakāni yūgyāchariyāni baṁbhanāni cha tuphe* (Sanskrit: *evam ājñāpayata hastyārohān karaṇakān yugyacharyān brāhmaṇān cha yūyam*)," In this way you should pass orders on the elephant-riders, the scribes, the charioteers and (*the teachers of*) the Brāhmaṇa (*community*)." The elephant-riders, scribes and charioteers are mentioned side by side with the Brāhmaṇa teachers apparently because they had also their pupils to whom they used to teach their profession. The idea was that all teachers should guide their pupils in the path of Dharma as understood by Aśoka. The following sentences are meant to be the address of the officers to the teachers.

The twelfth sentence, which is partially preserved, reads: .... *aṁte* .... *pakiti*. The complete text of the sentence, found in the Eṛṛaguḍi version, runs: *hevaṁ nivesayātha aṁtevāsīni yārisā porānā pakiti* (Sanskrit: *evaṁ niveśayata antevāsinaḥ yādṛiśī paurāṇī prakṛitiḥ*), "You must thus instruct your pupils in accordance with what is the ancient usage."

The damaged thirteenth sentence reads: ....*viye*. The complete text of the sentence in the Erraguḍi copy runs: *iyaṁ susustitaviye* (Sanskrit: *idaṁ śuśrūshitavyam*), "This (*order*) should be obeyed".

The fourteenth sentence, which is damaged, reads: *apachāya* ....*se achariya*... The complete sentence reads in the Eṛṛaguḍi copy as follows: *apachāyanā ya vā āchariyasa se hemeva*[3] (Sanskrit: *apachāyanā yā eva ācharyasya sā evam eva*), "Whatever honour is enjoyed by the teacher lies really in this." But there is no space for so many *aksharas* in the damaged part of the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri copy, the intended reading in which may have been *apachāyanā hemeva se achariyasa* (Sanskrit: *apachāyanā evam eva sā āchāryasya*).

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[1] The *aksharas susu* to go before °*sitaviye hemeva* at the beginning of the line in the Eṛṛaguḍi version have been engraved at the beginning of the following line before °*ma dhaṁma-gunā*.

[2] The *aksharas hevaṁ ānapa*° in the Eṛṛaguḍi copy are engraved below the right end of the line and have to be read from right to left.

[3] In the Eṛṛaguḍi copy, the *aksharas yasa* of *āchariyasa* have been engraved at the beginning of the following line, and *hemeva*, incised below the concluding part of the line, have to be read from right to left.

The fifteenth sentence, which is partially preserved, reads :..........*vā pana*........... *nātikāni yathāraha nātikasu pavatitaviye.* The complete sentence as found in the Eṛṛaguḍi copy reads : *yathā vā puna āchariyasa nātikāni yathāraharh nātikāsu rpavatitaviye* (Sanskrit *yathā vā punaḥ āchāryasya jñātikāḥ [santi] yathārhaṁ [taiḥ tasya] jñātikāsu [idaṁ] pravartitavyam*), "Then again, this (*principle underlying the order*) should be established in the proper manner among (*the teacher's*) female relations by the male relations he may have." In the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri copy, the reading may be *nātikesu* (Sanskrit *jñātikeshu*).

The sixteenth sentence, also fragmentary, runs : .... *ate*................ *viya yārisā porānā pakati.* The complete sentence reads as follows in the Eṛṛaguḍi copy : *hesāpi*[1] *aṁtevāsīsu yathārahaṁ pavatitaviye yārisā porānā pakiti* (Sanskrit : *etat api antevāsishu yathārhaṁ pravartitavyaṁ yādṛiśī paurāṇī prakṛitiḥ*), "This should also be established (*by them*) in the proper way among (*their own*) pupils in accordance with what is the ancient usage".

The seventeenth sentence. which is damaged, reads : *yathārahaṁ yathā iyaṁ* .... *siya* .... *tha ānapayātha cha aṁtevāsi*..... In the Eṛṛaguḍi copy, the complete sentence reads : *yathārahaṁ yathā iyaṁ sātiro(re)ke*[2] *siyā hevaṁ tuphe ānapayātha nivesayātha cha aṁtevāsini* (Sanskrit : *yathārhaṁ yathā idaṁ sātirekaṁ syāt evaṁ yūyaṁ ājñāpayata niveśayata cha antevāsinaḥ*), "You should thus guide and instruct your pupils in the proper way, so that this (*principle underlying the order*) grows (*among them abundantly*)". The Rājula-Maṇḍagiri copy seems to have *nivesayātha ānapayātha cha* in the place of *ānapayātha nivesayātha cha* of the Eṛṛaguḍi version.

Only two *aksharas* of the last sentence of the Rājula-Maṇḍagiri copy are traceable on the impressions. But the sentence seems to read as in the Eṛṛaguḍi copy : *hevaṁ Devānaṁpiya ānapayati* (Sanskrit : *evaṁ Devānāmpriyaḥ ājñāpayati*), "Thus orders the Beloved of the Gods".

TEXT[3]

A. *Minor Rock Edict I*

1 [4](I) **Devānaṁpiye** hevā[ha][5] [|*] (II) adhik[ā]ni[6] [cha[7] a]..............................[8]
k[e] [|*] (III) no tu [kho]

2 e[kaṁ] saṁva[chhara pa]kaṁte husaṁ [|*] (IV) [sā]tire[ke]............................[9]
[payā]te bā-

3 ḍhaṁ cha me paka[ṁ]te [|*] (V) [i]minā [chu] kā[le]na ami..........................[10]
[bhū]tā [|*] (VI) [pa]ka[ma]-

---

[1] This *akshara* is damaged and is preceded by a damaged *sā* at the beginning of the line. This *sā* is, however, actually meant for the beginning of the following line.

[2] Of this word, *s[ā]* stands at the beginning of the third line from bottom and *tiro(re)ke* at the beginning of the penultimate line.

[3] From impressions.

[4] There is a trisceles symbol at the beginning of the line.

[5] This word stands for Sanskrit *evam āha.*

[6] Other versions would suggest *sādhikāni.* But the Eṛṛaguḍi copy has *adhikāni.*

[7] This damaged *akshara* looks more like *ma.*

[8] About 15 *aksharas* are damaged here. They may be restored as °*ḍhatiyāni saṁvachharāni yaṁ hakaṁ upāsa*°.

[9] About 12 *aksharas* which are damaged here may be restored as *tu kho saṁvachchhare yaṁ mayā saṁghe u*°.

[10] The number of *aksharas* damaged here is about 12 and they may be restored as °*sā munisā devehi te dāni misi*°.

4 ....[1] phale [|*] (VII) no hīyaṁ mahapten[e]va sakiye [|*] (VIII) [khu]dāk[e] ....[2] [sa]kiye vi[pū] ....[3]

5 ......[4] [ta]ve [|*] (IX) etāy[e] cha aṭhāya ....[5] [sāvane] sāv[ite] [|*] (X) ....[6] [la]kā ....[7]

6 ......[8] [t]ā cha me jāne[yu chi]raṭhiti[ka cha i]yaṁ pakame hota v[i] ....[9]

7 ...... (XI) ....[10] [cha s]āvane sā[vāpi]te [vy]ūthena **[200] 50 [6]** [|*]

B. *Minor Rock Edict II*

(I) [hevaṁ **De]vānaṁp[iye** ā]ha [|*] (II) [yathā Devānaṁpi]-

8 ....[11] ye [|*] (III) rajū[ke ā]na[pe]ta[viye] [|*] (IV) se dā[ni jāna]padā-[ni] [ā]napayi[sati ra]ṭhikā[ni]cha [|*] (V) [mā]tā

9 ....[12] [|*] (VI) gu[rusu] ....[13] [|*] (VII) rpān[esū] [da]yitavi[ye] [|*] (VIII) sa[cha vatavi]ya [|*] (IX) ....[14]

10 ....[15] tavi[ya] [|*] (X) he[vaṁ tu]phe āna[pa*]yātha **Devānaṁ[piya]**-vachane-[na] [|*] (XI) ....[16]

11 tha [ha] ....[17] [ka]ranakāni [yūg]yāchariyāni [ba]ṁ[bhanā]ki(ni) [cha] tu[phe] [|*] (XII)..................[18]

12 [aṁ]te.....................[19] pakiti [|*] (XIII) ....[20][vi]ye [|*] (XIV) [apa]-chāya............[21] sè [acha]-

---

[1] About 3 *aksharas* are damaged here. They may be restored as °*sa hīyaṁ*.

[2] About 8 *aksharas* which are damaged here may be restored as °*na pi pakamamīnena*.

[3] The damaged *aksharas* can be restored as °*le svage*.

[4] The number of *aksharas* damaged here is about 3 and they may be restored as *ārādhe*°.

[5] About 2 *aksharas* are damaged here. They may be restored as *iyaṁ*.

[6] There are about 7 *aksharas* damaged here. They may be restored as *athā khudaka-maha*°.

[7] The damaged *aksharas* may be restored as *imaṁ paka*°.

[8] About 3 *aksharas* are damaged here. They may be restored as °*meyu aṁ*°.

[9] The number of *aksharas* damaged here is about 11. The reading appears to be °*pule vaḍhisiti aparadhiyā*.

[10] About 6 *aksharas* are damaged here. They may be restored as *diyaḍhiyaṁ* [|*] *iyaṁ*.

[11] There are about 8 *aksharas* damaged here. They may be restored as °*ye āha tathā kaṭavi*°.

[12] About 8 *aksharas* which are damaged here may be restored as °*pitusu sususitaviye*.

[13] The word can be restored as *sususitaviye*.

[14] These damaged *aksharas* can be restored as *ima dhaṁ*°.

[15] There are about 6 *aksharas* damaged here, which may be restored as °*ma-gunā pavati*°

[16] The *aksharas* lost here can be restored as *hevaṁ ānapaya*°.

[17] About 6 *aksharas* are damaged here. The word may be *hathiyārohāni*.

[18] The damaged *aksharas* can be restored as *hevaṁ nivesayātha*.

[19] About 9 *aksharas* are damaged here. They may be restored as °*vāsini yarisā porānā*.

[20] The damaged *aksharas* can be restored as *iyaṁ sususita*°.

[21] There is space here for about 4 *aksharas* which may be restored as °*nā hemeva*. The Erraguḍi copy has *apachāyanā ya vā āchariyasa se hemeva*, in the place of which the present copy seems to have *apachāyanā hemeva se achariyasa*.

RAJULA-MANDAGIRI INSCRIPTION OF ASOKA



Scale: One-seventh

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13 [ri]ya. .[1][|*] (XV) . .[2] v[ā pa]na. . . . .[3] nā[ti]kāni yathāra[ha nā]ti[kasu][4] [pa]vatita-[viye] [|*] (XVI). . . . . .[5] [ate]

14 . . . . [6] [vi]ya yārisā porā[nā pa]ka[ti] [|*] (XVII) [yathāra]haṁ yathā [iyaṁ]. . . . .[7]siya

15 . . . .[8] tha [ānapa]yātha cha [a]ṁt[e]v[āsi]. .[9] [|*] (XVIII). . . . . napa. . . . .[10] [|*]

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[1] The lost *akshara* may be restored as *sa*.

[2] About 2 *aksharas* which are damaged here may be restored as *yathā*.

[3] There are about 5 *aksharas* damaged here and they may be restored as *achariyasa*.

[4] The word looks more like *nātikesu* than *nātikāsu* here.

[5] About 3 *aksharas* are lost. They may be restored as *hesā pi*.

[6] The damaged *aksharas* (about 11 in number) may be restored as °*vāsisu yathāraham pavatitu*".

[7] The damaged *aksharas* may be restored as *sātirekam*.

[8] About 8 *aksharas* are lost here. They may be restored as *hevaṁ tuphe nivesayā*".

[9] The damaged *akshara* may be restored as *ni*.

[10] The sentence may be restored as *hevaṁ Devānaṁpiye ānapayati*.

No. 29.—ADHABHARA PLATES OF MAHA-NANNARAJA

(*1 Plate*)

BAL CHANDRA JAIN, RAIPUR

Aḍhabhāra (Aḍbhār or Arbhār), about 40 miles from Bilaspur, is a village in the Sakti Tahsil of the Bilaspur District of Madhya Pradesh.[1] On the 5th of August 1954, when a cultivator named Bodhram Bhatku Teli was digging earth in his Khasra No. 747 of that village, he found the present plates buried in the field. They were deposited in the sub-treasury at Sakti where they remained for several months. They were later acquired by the Deputy Commissioner of Bilaspur and presented to the Central Museum, Nagpur.

The set consists of **three** plates, the first and third of which are inscribed on one side and the second on both the sides. Each plate measures 8" in length, 4·95" in breadth and about ·1" in thickness. The second plate is somewhat thicker than the others. About 1" from the middle of the proper right edge of each plate, there is a round hole (·6" in diameter) for the seal-ring to pass through. This seal-ring is now lost. The weight of the three plates together is 115¼ *tolas*.

There are 27 lines in the inscription: IB—8, IIA—8, IIB—7, IIIA—4. The lower portion of the last plate is blank and the record incomplete. The letters, which are neatly and deeply engraved, are each about ¼" in size. The **characters** are of the box-headed variety and very closely resemble those of records like the Rajim and Baloda plates of Tīvaradēva.[2] The length of medial ī is denoted by a dot in the circle which denotes its short form. Medial *au* is tripartite and the subscript *r* resembles in many places the sign of the vowel *ṛi* (see *śri* in lines 1, 7 and 9). The final form of *m* occurs in line 24. Punctuation is denoted by a vertical line with its top bent towards the left and followed by another vertical line.

The **language** is Sanskrit and, with the exception of the benedictory and imprecatory verses at the end, the whole record is in prose. Its language differs from the formal portions of the grants of Tīvaradēva and Mahā-Śivagupta Bālārjuna. The inscription is somewhat carelessly written. The writer has used in many places medial *i* for medial *ī*. *Anusvāra* and *visarga* have often been unnecessarily used while *anusvāra*, *visarga* and the final consonants are omitted in many cases. As regards **orthography**, a consonant preceding and following *r* is doubled in some cases. The letter *b* is sometimes used for *v* (see °*abhibṛiddhi* in line 15 and *prativastabya* in line 20). *Anusvāra* is wrongly changed to *ṅ* before a sibilant in *vaṅśa* (line 5) and to *n* before *s* in *nṛiśansā* in line 22 while *n* is used for *ṇ* in *punya* in line 15. The letter *d* is omitted in *udiśya* in line 21 and *ētadvaya* in line 23.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant of a village named **Kōntiṇika**, situated in the *vishaya* or district of Ashṭadvāra, to a *Bhāgavata* Brāhmaṇa named Nārāyaṇ-ōpādhyāya who belonged to the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra* and the Mādhyandina-*śākhā*, by the illustrious Mahā-Nannarāja, son of Mahāśiva-Tīvararāja. The king, who was born in the lunar dynasty and was an ardent worshipper of Vishṇu, made the grant for the merit of himself and his parents. The plates were issued from Śrīpura and the gift was made on the 12th day of the dark half of the month of Bhādrapada, on the occasion of the *saṅkrānti*.

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[1] For the antiquities of this place, see *Bilaspur District Gazetteer*, p. 255; Hiralal, *Inscriptions in the C. P. and Berar*, 1932, No. 230.

[2] *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 295 ff.; above, Vol. VII, pp. 106 ff.

The inscription is very important as it reveals the existence of Nannarāja, an as yet unknown king of the lunar dynasty of South Kōsala or Chhattisgarh. He calls himself the son (*ātmaja*) of Tīvaradēva. Thus the genealogical table of the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī or Sōmavaṁśī kings of South Kōsala would now be as follows :—

1. Udayana
2. Indrabala
   - 3. Nanna I
     - 4. Tīvara
       - 5. Nanna II
     - 6. Chandragupta
       - 7. Harshagupta
         - 8. Śivagupta-Bālārjuna
   - Īśānadēva
   - Bhavadēva

Mahāśiva-Tīvararāja issued the Rajim[1] and Baloda[2] plates respectively in the 7th and 9th years of his reign. He was the son of Nannadēva and grandson of Indrabala. While his own grants mention him as *sakala-Kōsal-ādhipati*, the present inscription claims that he was not only in possession of Kōsala (South Kōsala, modern Chhattisgarh), but that his supremacy extended to the territories of Utkala (modern Orissa) and many other *maṇḍalas* and that it was the valour of his own arms that brought these *maṇḍalas* under his command. Scholars have different opinions as regards the date of Tīvaradēva. But I agree with the view that he came to the throne about 560 A.D.[3]

Like his father Tīvara, Nanna II was an ardent worshipper of Vishṇu and held sway over the whole of the Kōsala country. Nanna II probably had no sons and was succeeded by his uncle Chandragupta, grandfather of Mahā-Śivagupta-Bālārjuna.

Among the geographical names mentioned in the record, Śrīpura, whence this grant was issued, has been identified with Sirpur in the Raipur District of Madhya Pradesh. Ashṭadvāra is the same as Aḍhabhāra, the findspot of the plates. It is also mentioned in one of the Sītāmāḍhī cave inscriptions.[4] The gift village Kōntiṇikā may possibly be either of the modern villages of Kāthākōṇī and Kōtmī, both about 12 miles from Aḍhabhāra.

TEXT[5]

First Plate

1 ओं[6] स्वस्ति [।*] श्रि(श्री)पुरादनेकजन्मान्तराराधितभगवन्नाराय-

2 णभट्टारकपादप्रसादासादितनयविनयसत्यत्याग-

3 शौर्य्यं[ा]दिगुणसम्पत्सं(त्स)म्पादितप्रथमपृथ्वीपतिप्र[भ]ावप-

4 रिभाविसम्भावनस्य भावनाभ्यासप्रकाशीभूतनिर्म्म-

5 लज्ञेयशशिनः शशिवङ्श(वंश)संभूतेः स्वभुजपराक्रमो-

[1] *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 291 ff.

[2] Above, Vol. VII, pp. 106 ff.

[3] Ibid., Vol. XXVI, p. 229.

[4] Hiralal, op. cit., No. 222.

[5] From the original plates.

[6] Expressed by symbol.

6 पार्जितसकलकोसलोत्कलादिमण्डलाधिपत्यप्राप्तमाहा-

7 त्म्यस्य श्रि(श्री)महाशि[व]तीवरराजस्य प्रद्युम्न इव कैटभारेरात्म-

8 जा[स्त]ञ्चरितानुकरणपरायणः प्राप्तसकल[को]सलाम-

Second Plate, First Side

9 ण्डलाधिपत्यः परमवैष्णवो मातापितृपादानुध्यातः श्रि(श्री)म-

10 हानन्नराजा[:*] कुशलि(ली) ॥ अष्टद्वारविषये कोन्तिणीकग्रामे ब्रा-

11 ह्मणां(णान्) सम्पूज्य प्रतिवासिनः समाज्ञापयति विदितमस्तु

12 वो यथास्माभिरयं ग्राम[ो*] यावद्रविशशिताराकिरणप्र-

13 तिहतघोरान्धकारं जगदवतिष्ठते तावदु[प]भोग्यः स-

14 निधि[:*] सोपनिधिरः(र)चाटभटः(ट)प्रावेश्य[:*] सर्व्वकरादानसमेत[:*]

15 सर्व्वपि(पी)डावर्जितो मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुन्या(ण्या)भिवृ(वृ)द्धयेः(ये) कौ-

16 ण्डिन्यसगोत्राय वाजसनेयमाध्य(ध्यं)दिनभागवतब्राह्मण-

Second Plate, Second Side

17 नारायणोपाध्यायाय मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृ(वृ)द्धये[1]

18 भाद्रपदकृष्णद्वादश्या(श्यां) संक्रान्तौ उदकपूर्व्व(र्व्वं) शासनेन प्र-

19 तिपादित इत्यवगम्य विधेयैर्भूत्वा समुचितं भोगभाग-

20 मुपनयद्भि[:*] सुखं प्रतिवस्तव्य(व्य)मिति ॥ भाविनश्च भूमि-

21 पालानुदि(द्दि)श्येदमभिधि(धी)यते [।*] भूमिप्रदा दिवि ललं(ल)-

22 न्ति पतं(त)न्ति हन्त हृत्वा महिं(हीं) नृपतयो नरके नृशन्सा(शंसाः) ॥(।)

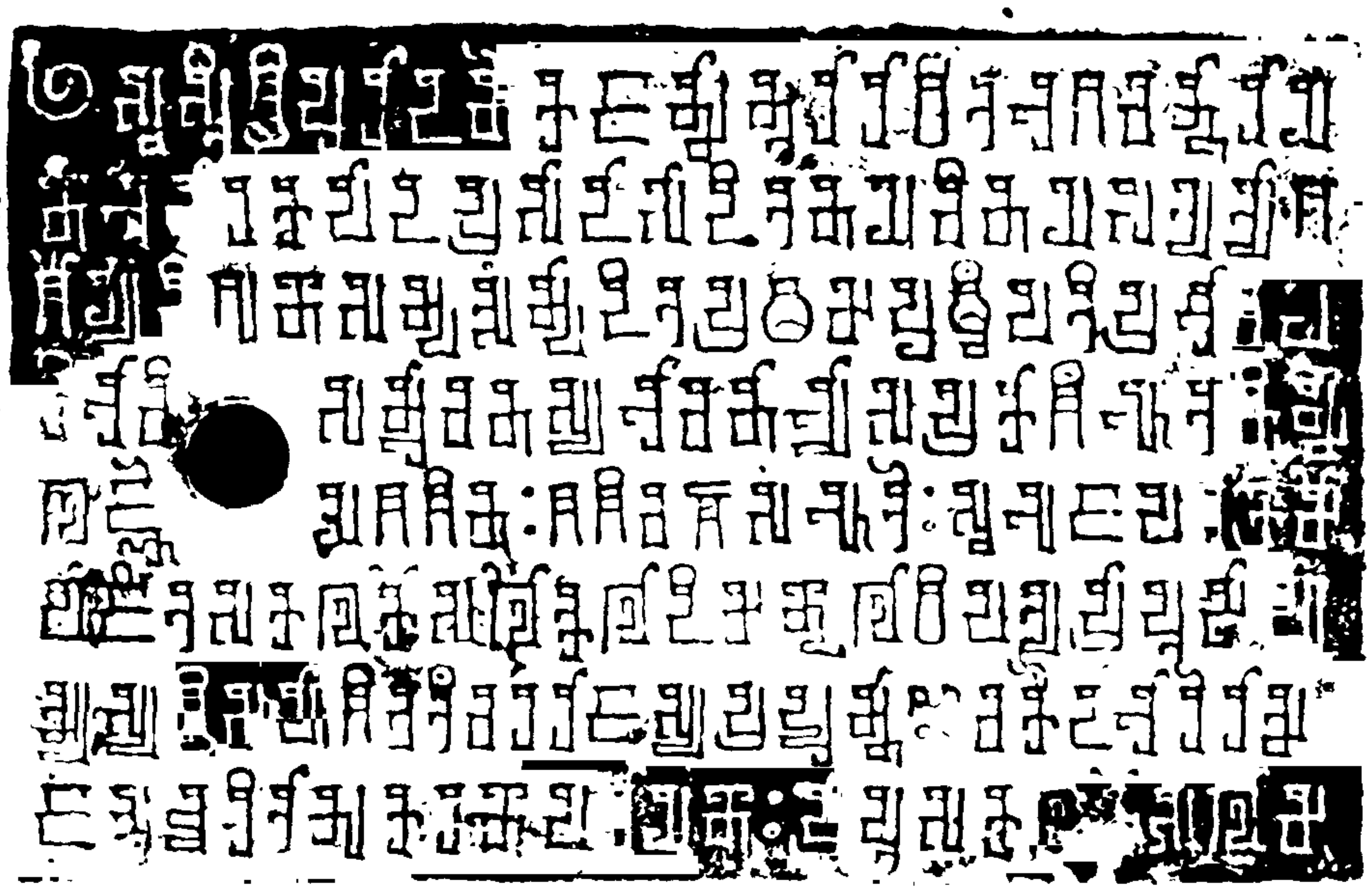
23 एतद्व(द्द्)य(यं) परिकलय्य चलाञ्च लक्ष्मीमायू(यु)स्तथा कुरुथ

Third Plate

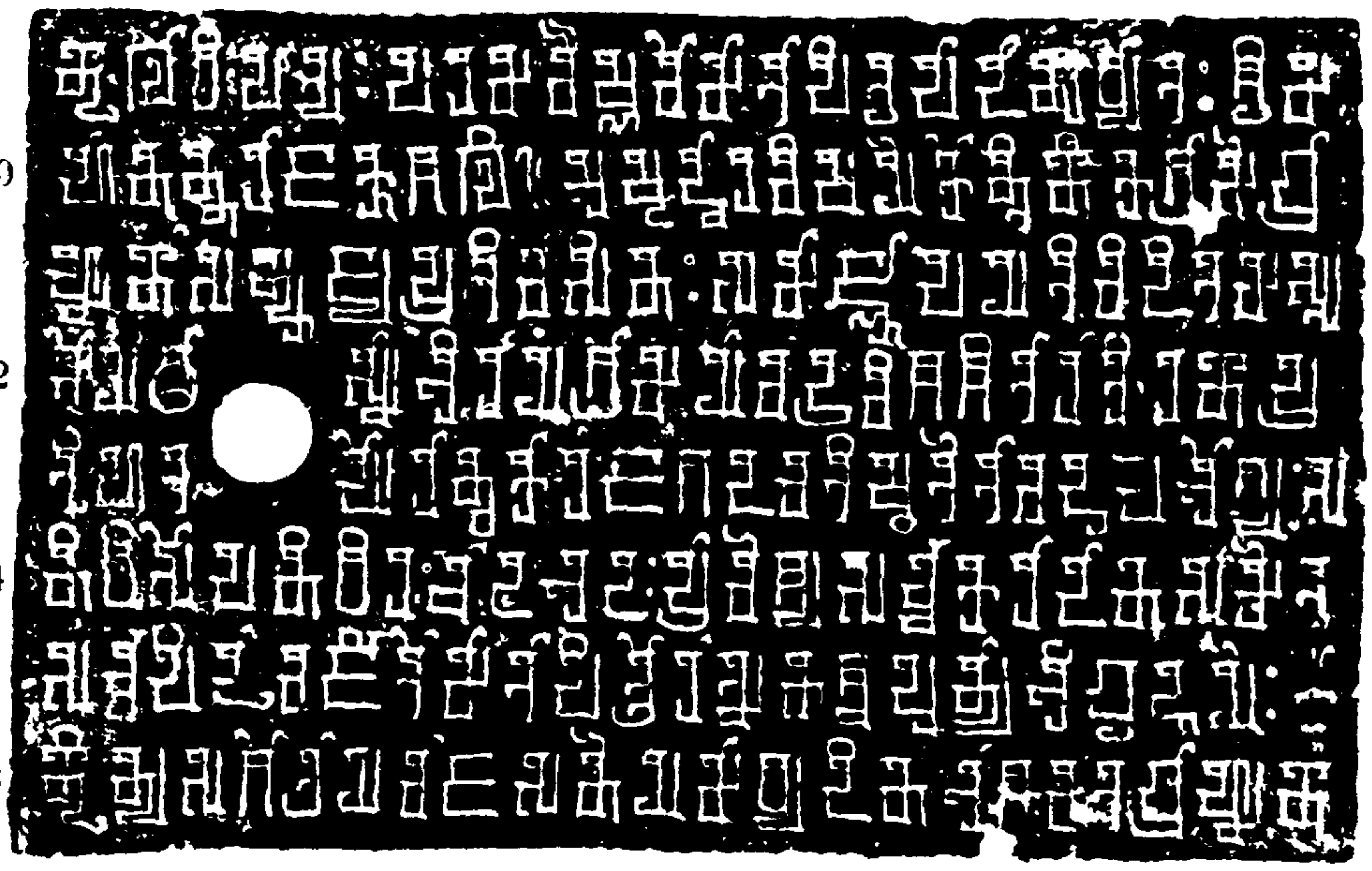
24 यद्भवतामभि(भी)ष्टं(ष्ट)म् ।[। १*] अपि च [।*] दानात्पा[2]लनयोस्तावत्फल(लं)

[1] The passage *mātā*............*ddhayē* is redundant.

[2] Read *dāna-pā°*.

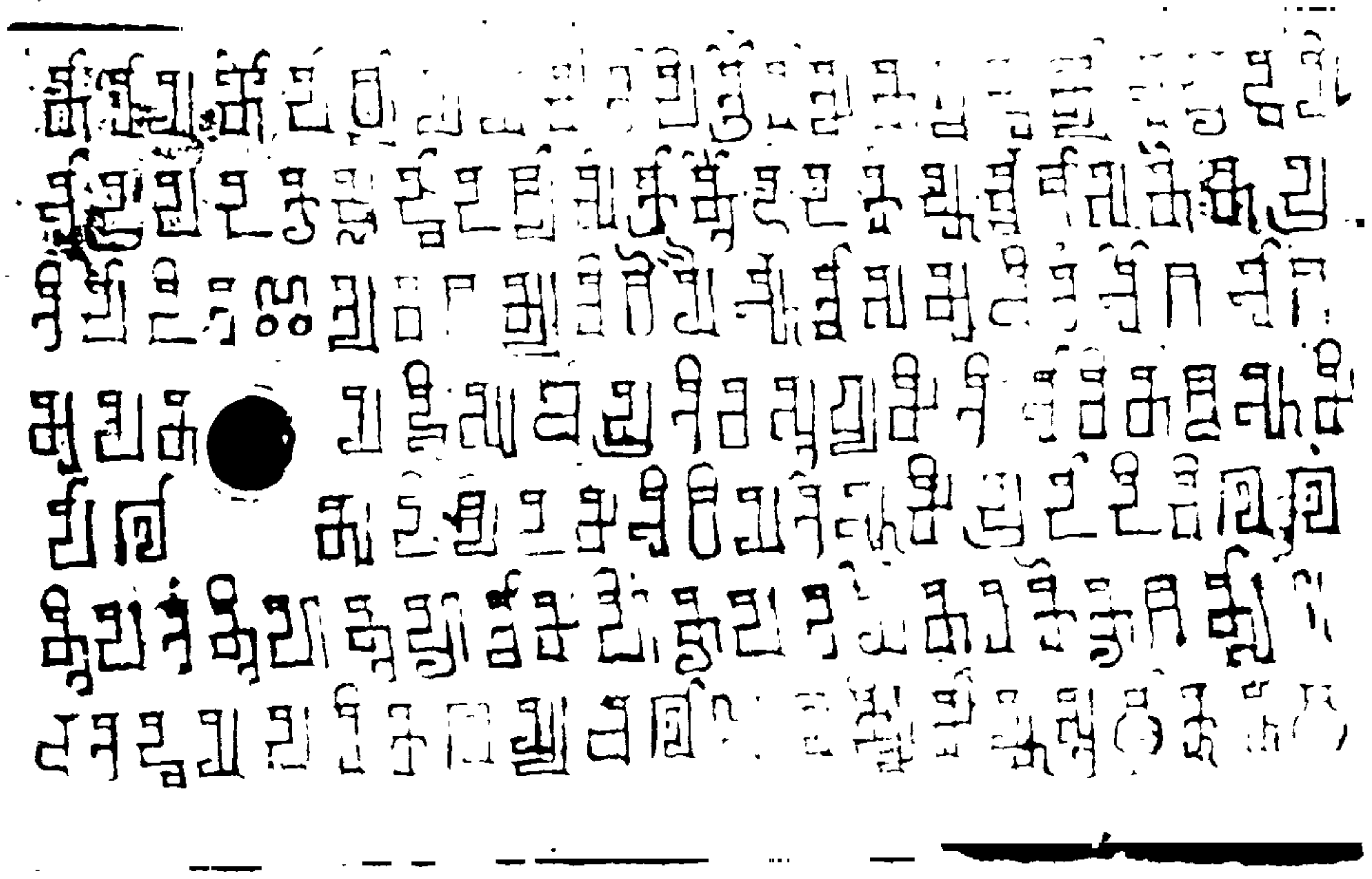


ii,a

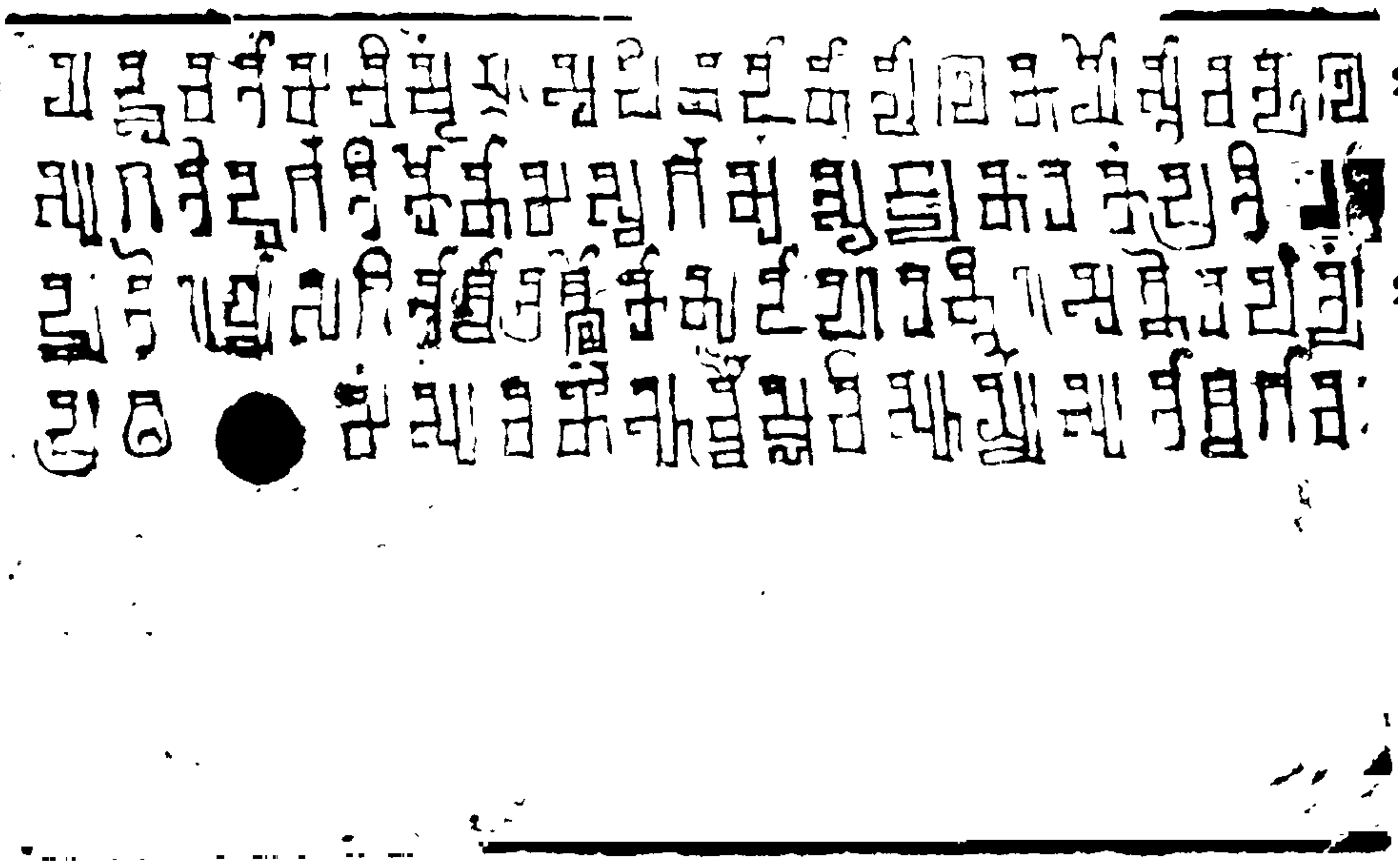


Scale. Five-sevenths

ii,b



iii



25 सुग[ा]तदुर्गती [।*] को नाम स्वर्गमुत्सृज्य नरकं प्रतिप-

26 द्यते ॥[२*] ब्या(व्या)सगि(गी)ता(तां)श्चात्र श्लोकानुदाहरन्ति ॥ अग्नेरपत्यं

27 प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूर्व्वैष्णवी सूर्य्यसुताश्च गावः [।*][1]

[1] The verse is incomplete.

No. 30—NOTE ON PALLAVARAYANPETTAI INSCRIPTION OF RAJADHIRAJA II[1]

K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and T. N. Subramaniam, Madras

While editing the Pallavarāyaṉpēṭṭai inscription of Rājādhirāja II,[2] Mr. V. Venkatasubba Ayyar has translated lines 10 to 13 of the record as follows : "Even in earlier years, when the senior king was alive, it having been seen that there were no sons fit for anointment, the (*exact*) state of affairs, as it (*then*) stood, (*was intimated to the king*) .... and (*having brought*) the princes, residing at Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōḷapuram, and at the time of Periyadēvar's demise, he (Pallavarāyar) had Edirilipperumāḷ, the son of Neṟiyuḍaipperumāḷ and grandson of Uḍaiyār Vikramaśōḷadēva, who had already been invested with a crown and was therefore bound to be installed on the throne, anointed (*king*) under the title of Rājādhirājadēva in the fourth year (*of his installation*) and made the *uḍaṉkūṭṭam* (assembly) and the *nāḍu* (chamber) follow him without any dissensions."[3] This indicates :

(1) that the prince selected by Rājarāja II for being crowned under the name of Rājādhirāja was Edirilipperumāḷ, the son of Neṟiyuḍaipperumāḷ and grandson of Uḍaiyār Vikramaśōḷadēvar,

(2) that the selection was followed by the investiture of the crown during the life-time of Rājarāja II, and

(3) that in the fourth year of his installation, after the demise of Rājarāja II, he was again crowned under the title of Rājādhirāja (II).

Thus are postulated (a) two coronations of Rājādhirāja II, one on his selection and the other in the fourth year of his reign on the demise of his predecessor, and (b) the death of Rājarāja II before the fourth year of the installation of the *Yuvarāja*.

But the text of the inscription published does not warrant any of the above hypotheses. The text runs as follows :

10 Periyadēvar eḻundaru[ḷi] .....n[ā]ḷilē tiru-abhi[shēgattuk]ku uriya piḷḷaigaḷ iṉṟiye ....[rukki]-

11 ṟapaḍiyai pārttu [mu]ṉ-ṉāḷilē kāriyam irundapaḍi vi.......ś[e]ydu Gaṅgaiko[ṇ*]ḍaśōḷapura ....daruḷi iru[k*]kiṟa piḷḷaigaḷai....yāṉam paṇṇu....ḍaiyār Vikk[i]ramaśōḷadēvar pēraṉār

12 Neṟiyuḍaipperumā[ḷ*]-tirumagaṉār Edirilipperumāḷai=pperi ....[ji]-aruḷiṉa nāḷilē maṇḍai kavi[p]pittu ....dār-āṉavāṟē ivarai=ttiru-abhi [shēgam paṇṇu]vikka=kkaḍavarā-[ga] .... tu nālān=tiru-nakshatrattilē Rājādhirājadēvar e-

[1] The note is the outcome of a discussion initiated in 1947 by Mr. T. N. Subramaniam and continued intermittently for many months, in which Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, Mr. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai and Mr. A. V. Venkatarama Ayyar also participated.

[2] Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 184-193.

[3] Ibid., p. 192.

13 ṉṟu tiru-ā(a)bhishēgam paṇṇuvittu uḍaṉ-kūṭṭamum
nāḍu[m]-oṉṟupaṭṭu=chchellumpaḍi paṇṇi[vitt-aruḷi]-
ṉār [|*]

The passage *maṇḍai kavippittu-[ppōn]dār-āṉavāṟē ivarai=ttiru-abhishēgam paṇṇuvikkak=kaḍavarāga [nichchayit]tu* in line 12 has been translated as ' who had already been invested with a crown and was, therefore, bound to be installed on the throne', taking the word *āṉavāṟē* to mean ' having already been '. But the word *āṉavāṟē* also gives the meaning ' in the same way as ' and a reference to the context would show that it is in this sense that the expression has been used in the inscription. Adopting this meaning, the translation of the whole passage would be as follows :

" Even in earlier years, when (*the senior king*) Periyadēvar was alive, it having been seen that there were no sons fit for anointment, the (*exact*) state of affairs, as it was obtaining in the previous days, was intimated to the king .... and (*having brought*) the princes residing at Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōḷapuram, and deciding that this (*prince*) should be crowned in the same way as Edirilipperumāḷ, the son of Neṟiyuḍaipperumāḷ and grandson of Uḍaiyār Vikramaśōḷadēvar, was invested with the crown at the time of Periyadēvar's (*demise*), he (Pallavarāyar) anointed the prince under the title Rājādhirājadēva on the fourth (*annual*) asterism (*of his installation*)."[1]

Accordingly, the prince crowned under the title Rājādhirāja becomes different from Edirilipperumāḷ whose name is mentioned in the inscription only by way of citing a precedent, of which we have no knowledge.

So far as we know there was no apparent occasion in the history of the Imperial Chōḷas of Tañjāvūr, from the time of Vijayālaya to that of Rājarāja II, when there was a failure in the regular succession to the Chōḷa throne for want of a direct heir in the male line.[2] But the mention of the precedent in the inscription, preceded by the words *muṉṉāḷilē kāriyam irundapaḍi vi ...... śeydu* clearly points out that there had arisen such an occasion previously. Since the person then chosen to succeed on the Chōḷa throne was the grandson of Vikramachōḷa,[3] it should have occurred after the time of that ruler. Between Vikramachōḷa and Rājarāja II who was confronted with the problem of selecting an heir to the throne, there was only the reign of Kulōttuṅga II intervening. Edirilipperumāḷ could therefore be none other than Kulōttuṅga II who succeeded Vikramachōḷa on

[1] [The authors have taken both the passages [*mu*]*ṉṉāḷilē kāriyaṁ irundapaḍi vi ..... śeydu* in line 11 (translated as 'as it was obtaining in the previous days, was intimated to the king') and *Uḍaiyār Vikramaśōḷadēvar .... maṇḍai kavippittu-[ppōn]dār āṉavāṟe* in lines 11-12 (translated as 'in the same way as Ediriliperumāḷ ..... Periyadēvar's (*demise*)'), as referring to the same precedent. The construction of the sentence does not permit this interpretation. This will make the passage between these two sections a parenthetical one thereby making the interpretation of the whole section further complicated. Moreover, in line 12, after the expression *kavippittu-[ppōn]dār-āṉavāṟe* occurs the word *ivarai*. The authors have not made clear as to whom this word refers. There is no other word to which it can be referred except Edirilipperumāḷ, the name occurring immediately before it.—Ed.]

[2] The accession of Kulōttuṅga I, born of the Eastern Chāḷukya line, to the Chōḷa throne has sometimes been taken as such an occasion before the time of Rājarāja II. It was not so. Kulōttuṅga was clearly a usurper to the Chōḷa throne.

[3] A recent writer has taken this Edirilipperumāḷ as the great-grandson of Vikramachōḷa, i.e. as the son of Neriyuḍaipperumāḷ who was the grandson of Vikramachōḷa. See V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, *Mūṉṟām Kulōttuṅgaṉ* (Tamil), 1st ed., 1941, p. 21. It is true that such a construction can be put on the passage *Vikkiramaśōḷadēvar pēraṉār Neṟiyudaipperumāḷ tirumagaṉār Edirilipperumāḷ* of the inscription, taking the word *pēraṉār* as *pēraṉārāṉa* and as the adjective of Neriyuḍaipperumāḷ instead of taking it as qualifying Edirilipperumāḷ. But this construction is somewhat strained as the author himself admits (op. cit., p. 159), although he considers such a construction necessary on the presumption that Edirilipperumāḷ was Rājādhirāja, since Rājarāja II who was in search of an heir to succeed him on the throne was himself taken to be a grandson of Vikramachōḷa and any heir selected by him should be at least one generation further removed.

the throne. In fact, both in literature and epigraphy, he is known by that name. The *Kulōttuṅga-śōḻaṉ-piḷḷai-ttamiḻ* on Kulōttuṅga II, composed by his tutor and court poet Oṭṭakkūttaṉ, refers to him by that name in several contexts.[1] An inscription[2] of the 3rd year in the reign of Kulōttuṅga II from Peṇṇāgaḍam in the South Arcot District containing the *meykkīrtti* beginning with the words *pūmaṉṉu padumam,* makes a gift of *brahmadēya* land newly called Ediriliśōḻanallūr as a tax-free *dēvadāna* to the god Tiru-ttūṅgāṉaimāḍam-uḍaiya Mahādēva. We also find an officer named Edirilāpperumāḷ *alias* Kulōttuṅgaśōḻa-Kaḍambarāyaṉ who figures as a donor of the village Neḍuṅgīraikkuḍi in an inscription[3] of the 2nd year of the reign of Rājādhirāja II at Nāṅguppaṭṭi in Pudukkōṭṭai. It will thus be evident that Ediriliрperumāḷ referred to in the Pallavarāyaṉpēṭṭai inscription could very well be Kulōttuṅga II. But he is generally taken to have been a son of Vikramachōḻa. The Chellūr plates,[4] dated in the 11th year of his reign and Śaka 1056 which is a mistake for 1065, registering the gift of a *brahmadēya* village by Kolani Kāṭama-nāyaka with the king's permission, clearly refer to king Kulōttuṅga II as the son of Vikramachōḻa (*tat-putraḥ*). The *Kulōttuṅgaśōḻaṉ-ulā*, another variety of *prabandha* composed on him by the same Oṭṭakkūttaṉ, also refers to him likewise as the son of Vikramachōḻa in *kaṇṇi* (couplet) 28. But the three succeeding *kaṇṇis* contain some interesting information about the parentage of this king. The relevant portion of the *ulā* is quoted below :

— vēṟṟōr

28 virumb - araṇil veṅgaḷa-ttī-vēṭṭu-kKaliṅgap-
perum - paraṇi-koṇḍa perumāṉ tarum pudalvaṉ

29 koṟṟa-Kkulōttuṅgaśōḻaṉ kuvalayaṅgaḷ
muṟṟa=ppurakku mugil-vaṇṇaṉ poṟ-ṟuvarai

30 Indu-marabil irukkun taṉi-kkulattil
vandu Manu-kulattai vāḻvittapain-taḷir-kkai

31 mādar-ppiḍi peṟṟa vāraṇam=a-vvāraṇattiṉ
kādaṟ-peyaraṉ kaḷa-kaḷabhaṉ-

" King Kulōttuṅgaśōḻaṉ. the son given by the Perumāṉ (king) who obtained (*the eulogy of his praises sung in*) the great *paraṇi* of Kaliṅga having carried thé fire of the ferocious battle-field into the fortress considered to be invulnerable by the enemies. He who fully protects all the worlds is of the cloud complexion (black). He is Kaḷakaḷabha (black young elephant), the dear grandson of the tusker (*vāraṇam*) who was the son of the lady, the she-elephant whose hands are (*soft*) like the tender shoots, who in turn was born of the matchless family belonging to the lunar race of the golden Tuvarai (i.e. Tuvarāpati) and made the solar race prosper."

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[1] *Kulōttuṅgaśōḻaṉ-piḷḷai-tt-amiḻ*, verses 2, 23, 26, 89 and 94. The printed edition gives the name as Edirilāpperumāḷ.

[2] *A. R. Ep.*, No. 255 of 1928-29.

[3] Ibid., No. 337 of 1914 ; *Inscriptions of the Pudukkoṭṭai State*, No. 138.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 55-66.

It is thus seen that the grandfather of Kulōttuṅga II was the son of a princess of the lunar race from Tuvarāpati or Dvārasamudram, i.e. a Hoysaḷa princess.[1] If Kulōttuṅga II is taken as the son of Vikramachōḷa as has been presumed so far, then Kulōttuṅga I becomes his grandfather who, we know, was the son of a Chōḷa princess (i.e. Ammaṅgādēvī, the daughter of Rājēndrachōḷa I) and not of a Hoysaḷa princess as described in the *ulā*. So we have to assume that Kulōttuṅga II was the grandson of Vikramachōḷa who in turn was the son of Kulōttuṅga I, not by Madhurāntaki, the Chōḷa princess, but by a Hoysaḷa princess hitherto unknown. That this presumption is correct will be evident from the title *Ayyana-gandhavāraṇam* (the proud elephant of his grandfather) applied to Kulōttuṅga II. The village Tiṉṉakkōṇam (Tiruneṟ-kuṉṟam) in the Musiri Taluk of the Tiruchirappalli District is referred to as Ayyanagandhavāraṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in an inscription[2] of Vikramachōḷa, the date of which is lost, and in another record[3] of the 10th regnal year of a king whose name is lost. This is evidently based on the title Ayyana-gandhavāraṇa.[4] Since this name of the village came into being in the reign of Vikramachōḷa, it is very likely that the village was named

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[1] There is an old commentary on this *ulā* which has been included in the Mahāmahōpādhyāya Svāminātha Aiyar Library edition of the *Mūvar-ulā* published by the Kalākshētra, Adyar. The relevant portion of it is *Mādar-ppiḍi : peṇ chakkaravartti. Vāraṇam : peṇ chakkaravartti-yiṉ pitā(-vāṇa Pāṇḍiyaṉ mudaliyārai-k-kumbiḍa), avar yōgīśvarāṉa kālaiyiṟ pēr Vāraṇavāśi-t-tēvar.* The expression *mādar-ppiḍi peṟṟa vāraṇam* of the *ulā* is taken by the commentator to mean *mādarppiḍiyai-ppeṟṟa-vāraṇam* (*vāraṇam* or the person who gave birth to the queen) i.e. the father of the Chōḷa queen. It is also mentioned there that he was a Pāṇḍya and that he was known as Vāraṇavāśi-ttēvar when he became a *yōgīśvara* making obeisance to Mudaliyār (probably the religious head). It is true that Vikramachōḷa had a Pāṇḍya princess for his queen and that the Pāṇḍyas also claimed descent from the lunar race. But the mention of the golden Tuvarai in the *ulā* as the place wherefrom the princess came renders such an interpretation untenable. Even if we take the word Tuvarai to mean the ancient Dvārakā, the seat of Krishṇa, it is to be noted that the Pāṇḍyas never claimed descent from that city or from Krishṇa. The word *peṟṟa* only means 'obtained'. As such it is also possible to interpret the expression as *mādar-p-piḍi kaṇavaṉ-āga-ppeṟṟa vāraṇam*, i.e. 'the tusker whom the excellent woman obtained as her husband.' Thus the same expression may be interpreted as indicating the father or the husband of the princess ; but these are all forced interpretations. The natural one would be to take it to refer to the son of the princess and it is this meaning that has been followed here. Further, we may also mention that, contrary to expectations, the old commentary is not reliable for the historical information it gives and the following may be cited as examples :

Kaṇṇi or couplet No.	Exploits of the king of the Chōḷa lineage mentioned therein.	Name of the king to whom such victories are attributed in other sources.	Identification by this Commentator.
18	Construction of the embankment of the river Kāvēri.	Karikāla (the *ulā* mentions him by name).	Not identified.
20	Composition of the poem *Kaḷavaḷi*.	Ko-ch-Cheṅgaṇār.	Vijayālaya.
21	Adorned with the scars of 96 wounds on the chest.	Vijayālaya.	Rājarājadēva.
22	Split the chest of a *brahmarākshasa* and saw Tillai.	Āditya.	Tirumuḍichōḷa (or Mummuḍichōḷa).
23	Captured Madurai and Īḷam.	Parāntaka.	Karikāla (Karikāṟ Peru Vaḷattāṉ).

[2] *A. R. Ep.*, No. 256 of 1932-33.

[3] Ibid., No. 254.

[4] Ibid., 1932-33, para. 23, p. 65 takes the title to be that of Kulōttuṅga I. But the fact that two inscriptions dated in the [3]9th and the 48th years of Kulōttuṅga I (Nos. 253 and 252 of 1932-33) in the same temple do not give the name Ayyanagandhavāraṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam to the village renders this surmise improbable. [From a scrutiny of Nos. 254, 253 and 252 of 1932-33 from Tiṉṉakkōṇam, dated respectively in the 10th, 39th and 48th years of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I, it may be surmised that the village came to be known as Ayyanagandhavāraṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam during his reign. It is very likely that the village was so named after his son Vikramachōḷa whose mother was probably a Hoysaḷa princess. The expression *mādarppiḍiyaip-yeṟṟa-vāraṇam* of the *ulā* seems to be an echo of this fact.—Ed.]

after the dear grandson of the king, which only echoes what is mentioned in the *ulā*.[1] That Kulōttuṅga II took pride in calling himself an elephant will be evident from his title *Kaḷa-kaḷabha*[2] not borne by any other Chōḷa king. But successive Hoysaḷa kings appear to have used this title. There is an incomplete copy of the *Gadyakarṇāmṛita*, a prose work in Sanskrit commemorating the marriage of the Hoysaḷa king Sōmēśvara with a Pāṇḍya princess. The poet who wrote the book was the protégé of the Hoysaḷa King Vīra-Narasiṁha, a contemporary of Chōḷa Rājarāja III and Kāḍava Kōpperuñjiṅga.[3] The poet bears the titles *Kālakaḷabha* and *Sakalavidyāchakravartin* which were probably conferred on him by the king. The title *Sakalavidyāchakravartin* borne by the poet was perhaps in virtue of his being the court poet of the king, a title that was borne by two other poets of the Hoysaḷa court, one the author of the *kāvya* entitled *Rukmiṇī-kalyāṇa* in the court of Vīra-Ballāla III, and the other in the court of the Hoysaḷa Vīra-Rāmanāthadēva referred to below. The other title *Kālakaḷabha* was probably based on a title borne by the king himself. In the Raṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam, there is an inscription[4] of the Hoysaḷa king Vīra-Rāmanāthadēva dated in the 15th year of his reign registering a gift by Śokka Villi-bhaṭṭa of Pāḍagam, who was also known as Mudaliyār Kariyamaṟi Sakalavidyāchakravartin, of certain gold articles presented to him by king Vīrapāṇḍya. The epithet *Kariyamaṟi* applied to the poet means ' the black young of an elephant ' and as such is only a synonym of the other title *Kālakaḷabha*.

The Pallavarāyaṉpēṭṭai inscription states that Edirilipperumāḷ, i.e. Kulōttuṅga II, was the soṉ of Neṟiyuḍaipperumāḷ and the grandson of Vikramachōḷa. It is not known whether Neṟiyuḍaipperumāḷ was the son or daughter of Vikramachōḷa. An inscription[5] from Kāmarasavalli in the Tiruchirāppalli District, dated in the 14th regnal year of Vikramachōḷa, registering a gift of land mentions that Veṇkāḍaṉ Paṇḍaraṅgam-uḍāiyāṉ *alias* Neṟiyuḍaichchōḷa Pallavarāyar, a native of Marudāḍu-nāḍu, was also present in the assembly. The name of this officer, who probably hailed from Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, suggests that he got the official title after Neṟiyuḍaichchōḷa.[6] It is quite possible to presume that Neṟiyuḍaipperumāḷ stands for Neṟiyuḍaichchōḷa and in that case he is probably to be taken as a son of Vikramachōḷa. But the statement in the Chẹllūr plates[7] that Kulōttuṅga II was the son of Vikramachōḷa, which goes against the presumption made above, requires an explanation. If Kulōttuṅga II had been the son's son of Vikramachōḷa, it could not be said that there was no regular heir to the throne. The only course then to explain this apparent

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[1] Sāntaladēvi, the queen of the Hoysaḷa king Vishṇuvardhana, is known to have had the title *Udvṛitta-savati-gandhavāraṇa*, 'the rutting-elephant to the ill-mannered co-wives' (*Mysore Gazetteer*, new ed., Vol. II, part ii, p. 1343). A *basti* known as *Savati-gandhavāraṇa* was constructed in 1123 A.D. in her memory after her death. Again Arikēsarin, the Chālukya chief of Lēmulavāḍa, whose court was adorned by the famous Kannaḍa poet Pampa, had the title *Ammana-gandhavāraṇa* which was also borne by his grandson Arikēsarin II. It is true that there are, in literature, many instances of poets comparing both men and women with elephants and that even Rājēndrachōḷa has been referred to as a 'tusker' in some of his inscriptions found in the Mysore State. But this is probably the first time when we find the term borne by a Chōḷa as a title. This was perhaps adopted by the Chōḷas from the Hoysaḷas of the Mysore country where elephants are abundant.

[2] A variant reading of this term is *Kaṇa-kaḷabha* which in Tamil will mean 'the black young of the elephant' and this meaning will also fit in the context since Kulōttuṅga is referred to in the previous line of the *ulā* as of cloud-complexion. See also *Rājarājachōḻan-ulā*, Kaṇṇi No. 73.

[3] *Tirumalai Sri-Venkatesvara*, Vol. I., pp. 677-86.

[4] *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 499.

[5] *A. R. Ep.*, No. 80 of 1914.

[6] A royal officer, *Tirumandira-ōlai* Neṟiyuḍaichchōḷa Mūvēndavēḷāṉ, also figures in the inscriptions of later kings, viz. Rājarāja II (*A. R. Ep.*, 1929, Part II, para. 36), Kulōttuṅga III (Nos. 201 of 1912 and 530 of 1918) and Tribhuvanachakravartin Rājarājadēva (Nos. 280 of 1913 and 393 of 1918).

[7] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 55 ff.

inconsistency would be to take Neṟiyuḍaipperumāḷ as a daughter of Vikramachōḷa and Kulōttuṅga II as her son (*putrikā-putra*) adopted and hence called son. The princess had apparently married a Pāṇḍya or Hoysaḷa prince and thus belonged to a lunar family. There is a significant passage in the *Kulōttuṅgaśōḻaṉ-ulā* (verse 112) describing him as follows : *Mudukula maṉṉar muḍi-vaṇaṅga vanda Vidukula-nāyaki=śēy-eṉbār* .... "He is (*said to be*) the son of a noble queen belonging to the lunar race, to whom (*all*) the kings of the ancient families made obeisance." It is worthy of note that no other king of the Chōḷa line or, for that matter, of any royal family in South India, is referred to as the son of his mother. This is probably due to the fact that his mother had some pretensions to the Chōḷa throne.

One other point of similarity in the nomination and coronation of both Kulōttuṅga II and Rājādhirāja II has to be noted. Kulōttuṅga II counts his regnal years from some time in May-July, 1133 A.D.[1] But his predecessor Vikramachōḷa seems to have lived for a period of about two years thereafter as his inscriptions (which began about the 29th June 1118 A.D.)[2] go up to his 17th regnal year, i.e. 1135 A.D.[3] It will thus be seen that Kulōttuṅga II was selected as successor to the throne and entrusted with the administration of the kingdom by Vikramachōḷa himself in his life-time. The selection of Rājādhirāja II by Rājarāja II was also made in the same way. Inscriptions of Rājarāja II which count some date after the 6th April 1146 A.D.[4] as the starting point of his reign are found up to the 28th year of his reign. It is true that his records in the Tamil country go only up to his 19th year,[5] i.e. up to 1165 A.D., and no inscription of his bearing a date after that year has so far been traced in the Tamil area. But we have many inscriptions of his up to the 28th regnal year[6] in the Telugu country and almost all of them, registering gifts by the local rulers acknowledging the suzerainty of the Chōḷa overlord Rājarāja, are coupled with the corresponding Śaka dates, clearly showing that his reign continued up to 1173 A.D. But Rājādhirāja II was already selected and crowned by him. We know that two sets of dates are found for Rājādhirāja II in his inscriptions, one set containing some date between the 28th February and the 30th March 1163 A.D. as the initial date,[7] and the other set having some date in the first half of 1166 A.D. as its starting point.[8] This well fits with the statement in the Pallavarāyaṉpēṭṭai record that Rājādhirāja was crowned on the fourth annual asterism, i.e. on the completion of three years after his selection. Thus it will be seen that both Kulōttuṅga II and Rājādhirāja II were selected as heirs-apparent to the throne and crowned by their predecessors in their own life time and that these predecessors did live some time after such selection.

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[1] Above, Vol. X, p. 138 ; Vol. XI, p. 287.

[2] Ibid., Vol. VII, pp. 4-5.

[3] *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 123 ; also *A. R. Ep.*, No. 165 of 1906.

[4] Above, Vol. IX, p. 210.

[5] *A. R. Ep.*, No. 83 of 1928.

[6] *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 626 (No. 181 of 1899) ; also Rangacharya's List, No. Gt. 835.

[7] Above, Vol. IX, p. 211.

[8] Above Vol. X, pp. 126-7 ; L. D. Swamikannu Pillai, *The Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 70 ; also K. A. N. Sastri. *The Cōḷas*, Vol. II, p. 93.

No. 31—BRAHMI INSCRIPTION FROM KAILVAN

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

Sometime in the year 1954, Mr. C. S. Upasak of the Pali Institute at Nalanda, near Biharsharif in the Patna District of Bihar, sent me a photograph and an impression of a Brāhmī inscription for examination. The epigraph was stated to have been engraved on the brim of a **stone vessel** preserved in the house of one Mohan Lal Singh, an old cultivator of Hasanpur, P. O. Kailvan, District Patna. The vessel was discovered by him in the course of ploughing a field in front of a mosque and a Dargah in the village of **Kailvan** about half a mile away. As the material received from Mr. Upasak was not quite satisfactory for the decipherment of the whole record, I visited Hasanpur for an examination of the inscribed vessel on the 6th of January 1956.

The adjacent villages of Hasanpur and Kailvan lie within the jurisdiction of the Bakhtiarpur Police Station in the Baṛh Subdivision of the Patna District. They are about 3 miles from Belchi which is about 6 miles from the Harnaut station on the Bihar-Bakhtiarpur Light Railway. A mosque and a Dargah near the findspot of the inscription at Kailvan appeared to me to have been built on the ruins of certain older structures. Ancient bricks measuring about 14″×9½″×2¼″ were found lying here and there in the neighbourhood.

The vessel, made of Chunar sandstone, weighs 4560 *tolas* (1 maund and 17 seers). The circumference of the outer edge of its brim, which is 2½″ wide, is 5′ 3″. The height of the vessel is 9¼″ and the diameter of its open face is 1′ 3½″. Although the brim bearing the inscription is rather rubbed out and rough, the outer side of the vessel still bears traces of the original Mauryan polish which once beautified it. We know of an inscribed Mauryan stone bowl from Sanchi.[1]

The inscription runs along the whole face of the brim of the vessel, although there are four **symbols** between the beginning and end of the circular line of writing. The first of these symbols looks like a water-pot with a long neck resembling a modern *sorāhī*, which, however, does not resemble the auspicious *pūrṇa-kumbha* as represented generally in Indian art.[2] The second symbol is difficult to identify[3] while the third is a double *svastika*. The fourth symbol looks like a *ḍamaru* with the two strings fastened to its middle and the *guṭikās* tied to their ends longer than usual. Since the *ḍamaru* is generally associated with Śiva, this object may refer to the Śaiva association of the inscription under study.

The characters are Brāhmī of about the first or second century A.D. The letters *v* and *m* have an angular shape with a horizontal base. *D* and *ch* resemble the forms of these letters in the inscriptions of the Kushāṇas. The top of some of the letters is thick and looks like a clear serif. **The language** is a mixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit as in most of the inscriptions of the Kushāṇas. A peculiarity of the **orthography** is the use of *ś* for *s* in *śavachhare* (Sanskrit *saṁvatsare*).[4]

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[1] See Marshall and Foucher, *The Monuments of Sāñchī*, Vol. I, pp. 55, 381 ; cf. p. 82.

[2] Cf. *Mem. ASI*, No. 71, Plate XI B ; *JRASB*, Letters, Vol. XI, 1945, Plate facing p. 9 ; Allan, *Cat.* (*Anc. Ind.*), pp. cl, 167-68, 272-73, 309, etc.

[3] It may be a *yūpa* with a wooden *yūpa-kaṭaka* of the shape of a *damaru* at the top. Cf. *Śabdakalpadruma*, s.v. *yūpa-kaṭaka*. If this identification is accepted, it may refer to the Brahmanical association of the record. Dr. V. S. Agrawala drew my attention to a similar symbol on ancient Indian coins (cf. Allan, op. cit., pp. xxxiii, lxiii, 52-53, 300). For the representation of a *damaru* side by side with a *pūrṇa-kumbha*, see *A. R. Ep.*, 1953-54, Plate facing p. 20. Or does our figure represent a *yajña-vedi* along with a *yūpa* ?

[4] Macron over *e* and *o* has not been used in this article.

The inscription bears a **date**. Its reading and interpretation are, however, not entirely beyond doubt. The passage in question, with which the record begins, reads : *rājño Arya-Viśaghamitrasya śavachhare* which is followed by three *aksharas* and two symbols. These three *aksharas* read *satāṭhe* ; but the following two numerical symbols have a rather peculiar appearance. The first of these resembles the symbol for 7 with a short horizontal line on its head. The right end of this top stroke joins a curve with its opening downwards. The symbol may possibly be taken to stand for 100.[1] The second sign looks like an early symbol for 8 turned from left to right. The expression *satāṭhe* seems to contain the words *śata* and *ashṭa* and to indicate the number 108. Thus the whole passage appears to stand for Sanskrit : *rājñaḥ Ārya-Viśākhamitrasya saṁvatsare śat-āshṭe (=ashṭ-ottara-śate) 108.* The record therefore seems to have been engraved in the year **108 of an unspecified era** during the reign of a king named **Ārya-Viśākhamitra.**

Further details of the date are given in the following passage which reads : *gimha-pakhe samā 8 divasa pachame 5.* The symbol read here as 8 resembles the second of the two symbols discussed above. But the passage preceding the symbol does not offer any satisfactory sense unless it is amended as *gimha-pakhe sa(a)[ṭha*]mā(me)*=Sanskrit *grīshma-pakshe ashṭame.* The exact date of the record under study thus may be the fifth day of the eighth fortnight of the summer season in the year 108 of an unspecified era. Considering the palaeography of the inscription and Bihar's association with the Kushāṇas of Kanishka's house, the era seems to be no other than the Kanishka or Śaka era of 78 A.D. The year quoted in the inscription therefore appears to correspond to **186 A.D.** The eighth fortnight of *grīshma* corresponds to the second half of *pūrṇimānta* Āshāḍha. Thus the day referred to in the record may be **Śaka 108, Āshāḍha-sudi 5.** As the Mauryan polish, noticed on the vessel bearing the epigraph, went out of fashion long before this age, the inscription seems to have been engraved on an old vessel.

The **object** of the inscription is recorded in the following two sentences. The first of these reads : *bhagavato achariyasya kuḍe upanite*=Sanskrit *bhagavate āchāryāya kuṇḍam upanītam,* or *bhagavataḥ āchāryasya kuṇḍam upanītam.* The word *upanīta* means ' presented '. The sentence therefore refers either to the *kuṇḍa* or vessel having been presented to the venerable *āchārya* or teacher probably by his pupils, or to the vessel belonging to the teacher having been offered as a present to some deity. There is little doubt that the vessel referred to is the one bearing the inscription under study. That, however, the stone vessel was not a present of the pupils to their teacher seems to be suggested by the following sentence with which the inscription ends. This sentence reads : *Mahanadake Phagunadike kiti-bhūtika-miśa hi kuḍe upanita bhagavato*=Sanskrit : *Mahānadakaṁ Phalgunadikāṁ [cha uddiśya] kīrti-bhūtika-miśraṁ hi kuṇḍam upanītaṁ bhagavataḥ.* It seems that the vessel, used by the teacher during his life time, was offered by his pupils to the river deities, **Mahānada** and **Phalgunadī,** probably after the teacher's death. The epithet *kīrti-bhūtika-miśra* applied to the vessel seems to indicate that it was believed to be associated with the fame and power of the deceased teacher. The vessel was probably dedicated at the waters of the junction of the Mahānada and the Phalgunadī. The Mahānada is no doubt the present Mahanā which runs about 2 miles away from the findspot of the inscription. It meets the river Dhovā, which runs about 4 miles from the place, at a distance of about 6 miles. This Dhovā is now a branch of the holy river Phalgu and seems to have been known by the name Phalgu in the age of the inscription.[2] It is not impossible to think that the junction of the two rivers then lay near the findspot of the inscription at Kailvan. The casting of a vessel into waters in

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[1] See Ojha, *Palaeography of India*, Plate LXXIV (*a*). Cf. the sixth symbol for 100 quoted from the coins of the Western Kshatrapas and the third and sixth symbols for 200 quoted respectively from the inscriptions of Aśoka and the grants of the kings of Valabhī.

[2] A branch is sometimes regarded as the main river even now.

BRAHMI INSCRIPTION FROM KAILVAN



(from Photographs)

connection with the *Śrāddha* ceremony of a deceased person is not unknown in Hindu rituals[1] and the junction of two rivers is regarded by the Hindus as of particular sanctity in religious matters.

The inscription under study seems to be the only record so far discovered in Bihar, which bears a date in the Kanishka era. There are Chinese and Tibetan traditions referring to Kanishka's successful expedition against Pāṭaliputra and this may suggest the spread of Kushāṇa influence over Bihar.[2] But the real nature of such influence cannot be determined without further evidence. The tradition regarding the rule of the Muruṇḍas of Śaka nationality in the Bihar region[3] about the second century A.D. and the spread of the Kanishka era in Bihar as suggested by the inscription under study, when read together with the Chinese and Tibetan traditions referred to above, may suggest the inclusion of Bihar within the Kushāṇa empire but do not prove the point conclusively. The discovery of Kushāṇa coins in Bengal and Orissa and the possible adoption of the Kanishka era by the Lichchhavis of Nepal[4] can hardly be regarded as definite proof of Kushāṇa rule in those areas.

Whether Bihar formed a part of the Kushāṇa empire or not, the present inscription seems to show that king **Ārya-Viśākhamitra** was ruling over the Patna-Gaya region (ancient Magadha). as an independent monarch in the last quarter of the second century. The coins and inscriptions of certain rulers with names ending in the word *mitra* have been found in the said region, although their relations with the Mitra kings of Pañchāla and Kauśāmbī, known from their coins, cannot be determined.[5] A Magadhan monarch named Bṛihaspatimitra or Bṛihatsvātīmitra is known to have been a contemporary of king Khāravela of Kaliṅga who flourished about the close of the first century B.C.[6] Ārya-Viśākhamitra of the inscription under notice appears to have belonged to the Mitra dynasty of Magadha. Whether his epithet *Ārya* hints at the contemporary or past rule of the non-Āryas or Mlechchha foreigners in any part of Bihar cannot be determined without further evidence. It is also uncertain whether *Ārya* in this case is a dynastic name like *Aira* (Sanskrit *Ārya*) found in the records of the Chedi-Mahāmeghavāhanas of Kaliṅga.[7]

TEXT[8]

Rājño Arya-Viśaghamitrasya śavachhare sat-āṭhe 100 8 gimha-pakhe sa(a)[ṭha*]-**mā(me) 8** divasa pachame 5 bhagavato achariyasya kuḍe upanite [|*] **Mahanadake Phagunadike** kiti-bhūtika-miśa hi kuḍe upanita bhagavat[o] [||*][9]

TRANSLATION

On the fifth—5—day of the eighth—8—fortnight of summer **in the year one hundred and eight—108—of king Ārya-Viśākhamitra**, the vessel of the most worshipful teacher is offered as a present. The vessel of the most worshipful one, which is verily associated with his fame and power, is offered as a present (*in the name of*) the **Mahānadaka** and the **Phalgunadikā**.

[1] See Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I, p. 185. The performance of the ceremony on the Phalgu at Gayā is known to have been regarded as specially meritorious.
[2] *Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 142.
[3] Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 1938, p. 460.
[4] *Age of Imperial Unity*, loc. cit.; *Select Inscriptions*, p. 366.
[5] Raychaudhuri, op. cit., p. 327.
[6] *Select Inscriptions*, p. 209.
[7] Ibid., pp. 206, 214.
[8] From the original and impressions.
[9] There are some symbols here. See above, p. 229.

No. 32—TWO GRANTS OF BHOJA KINGS

(2 *Plates*)

A. M. ANNIGERI, Dharwar

A Bhōja family of kings ruling in the west coast of Southern India has come to be known recently. Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao in his article entitled ' A Note on Siroda Plates of [Bhōja] Dēvarāja'[1] has pointed out that the name of the family of king Dēvarāja is **Bhōja** and not Gōmin as formerly read by the late Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamacharlu.[2] According to the Siroda plates the capital of the Bhōjas ruling round-about Goa was Chandraūra. This place is identified with Chandorgoa in the Goa territory.

In the course of my official tours on behalf of the Kannada Research Institute, I succeeded in discovering two more copper-plate charters of the rulers of the **Bhōja family.** I am editing them below with the kind permission of Prof. S. S. Malwad, Director of Kannada Research, Dharwar.

1. *Argā Plates of Kāpālivarman*

Through the help of Mr. Mogṭa Naik, Forest Contractor of Karwar, I discovered this set of copper plates in 1946-47. The plates were under worship in a temple at **Argā**, situated 4 miles to the south of Karwar. On inquiry the priest of the temple informed me that the set was incomplete and that two more plates which formed part of the set were thrown into the tanks at Yellāpūr in the Karwar District. On examination of the record, however, the set of plates as handed over to me was found to be complete.[3]

The set consists of two thin rectangular plates each bearing a ring-hole in the margin on the left side. The copper ring on which the plates were strung is open, the seal attached to it having been lost. Each of the plates is engraved on its inner side only, the outer side being blank. The first plate is broken and mutilated on the left side near the ring ; but the broken parts were somehow joined together by a wire later on. Each plate measures 8″×2·4″ and the diameter of the ring is about 2·5″. The plates together with the ring weigh 19 *tolas*. Though the rims are not raised, the writing is well-preserved. Some of the letters are so deeply engraved as to leave their traces on the reverse side of the plates.

The characters belong to the Southern Alphabet and may be styled archaic Kannaḍa. The letters are box-headed and resemble, to some extent, those of the Kuḍgere plates of Kadamba Māndhātṛivarman.[4] Initial *a* appears in lines 9 and 10 and *ā* and *u* in line 4. Medial *ā* is denoted by a slanting line to the right (cf., e. g., *pā* in *kāpāli*° in line 1). In the case of *jā* (line 1), the *ā* sign, added to the middle of the letter on the right, takes a curve to the left at the top. Medial *i* is indicated by a circle at the top (cf. *si* and *vi* in line 1), and *ī* by adding a spiral within the circle. The letter *mi* is engraved in two ways. One of these shows the vowel sign at the top of the left arm of the letter (cf. line 5) while in the other the sign touches its right and left arms at the top in an arc of a circle (cf. line 6). Medial *u* sign is added below the right arm of the letter in the form of a hook turned to the left as in *pu* in line 2. In the case of *nu* in line 9 and *su* in line 10,

[1] Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 337 ff.

[2] Ibid., Vol. XXIV, pp. 143 ff.

[3] The plates have been noticed by Mr. R. S. Panchamukhi in the *Report on the Progress of Kannada Research in Bombay State*, 1947-52, pp. 4, 16.

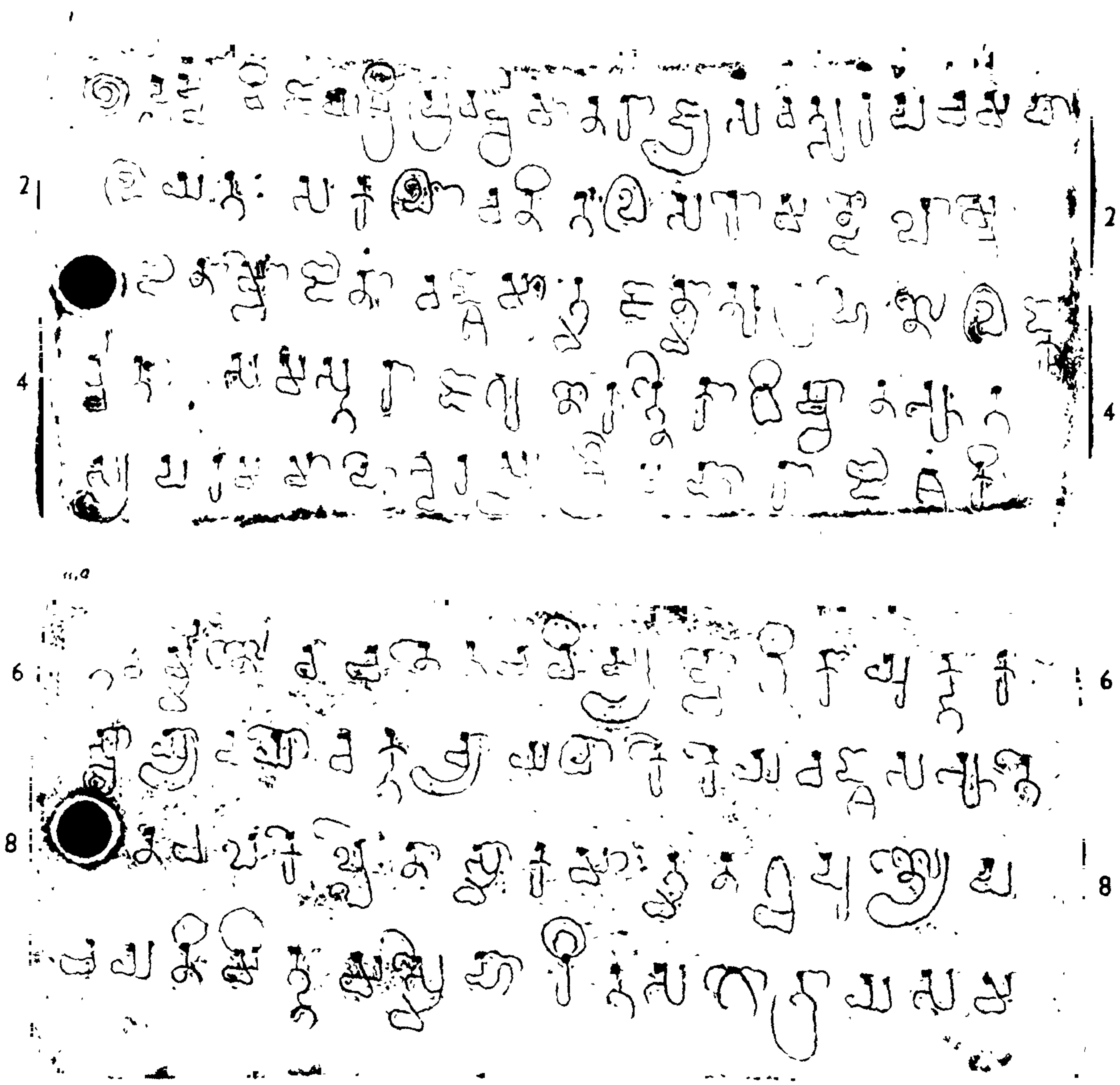
[4] Above, Vol. VI, Plate facing p. 14.

I.— ARGA PLATES OF KAPALIVARMMAN



Scale . Actual size

2.—KAPOLI PLATES OF ASANKITAVARMMAN, YEAR 5



Scale : Nine-tenths

the sign is shown turning to the right. The rounded and cursive form of *kh* in line 4 is noteworthy. *V* has retained its triangular form. The sign for *upadhmānīya* looks like a superscript *r* (line 5). The final *t* occurs at the end of line 7.

As regards **orthography,** the consonant following *r* in a conjunct is doubled. Ignorance of the rule of *sandhi* may be noted in the expression *punar=sva°* (line 6) which should be *punaḥ sva°* or *punas=sva°*. There are other mistakes in the record, linguistic and scribal, which have been duly corrected. The **language** is Sanskrit and the composition is all prose. The charter is not dated. It may, however, be ascribed approximately to the **sixth century** on palaeographic considerations.

The purport of the record may be briefly stated thus. At the request of Svāmikarāja, *Dharmamahārāja* **Kāpālivarman,** while he was residing at Pāmasākhēṭaka, registered a gift of land in the village of Śivapuraka to the former who in turn donated it to a Brāhmaṇa named Bhavārya of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra*, so that merit might accrue to him.

The **Bhōja king Kāpālivarman** is made known to the students of history for the first time by the present inscription. He bears the epithet *Dharmamahārāja* like the Kadamba kings. It may not be unreasonable to surmise that Svāmikarāja of the plates is the same as the Chālukya chief Svāmirāja who was victorious in eighteen battles and was killed by the Early Chālukya king Maṅgalēśa as disclosed by the Nerūr plates of the latter.[1]

Śivapuraka-grāma may be either Shivapur in the Supa Pēṭhā or another locality of that name in the Halyal Taluk of the Karwar District.[2] Śivapura-vishaya was a division round about Śivapuraka. I have not been able to identify Pāmasākhēṭaka. The expression Pukōlli-khajjāna cannot be explained.

TEXT[3]

First Plate

1 Siddha[m|] [Vijaya-Pā]masā[4]-khēṭakād = **Bhōjānā[ṁ*]** Dharmmamahāra(rā)jasya **śrī-Kāpāli-**

2 **va[rmmaṇō** va][5]chanēna **Śivapura-vishayē** varttamāna-bhavishya-

3 [d-bhō][6]jak-āyuktaka-sthāyāy-ā[6]dayō vaktavyā yathā Śivapuraka-

4 grāma-[s]ī[mni] upari-sadakē Ādityaśrēshṭhi-Pukōlli[7]khajjāna[ṁ]

5 **Svāmikarājēna** dharmm-ārtthaṁ vijñāpa(pi)tair=asmābhiḥ=paritōshēṇa

Second Plate

6 Sva(Svā)mikarājāya datta[ṁ] Svāmikarājēna punarsva(naḥ sva)puṇy-ōpachaya-nimittaṁ

7 Kauṇḍinya-sagōtrāya Bhavāryyāy=ōdakēna dattā(ttam) [|*] jñātv=aiva na kēnachit

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 161. [As Svāmirāja probably belonged to the Chālukya house of Bādāmi, the identification seems to be unwarranted.—Ed.]

[2] [Śivapuraka may have been situated near about Karwar or in the Goa region. An early copper-plate grant from Goa mentions a *mahāvihāra* at Śivapura which has been located in the vicinity of Goa. See *N. Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, p. 183.—P.B.D.]

[3] From the original plates and impressions.

[4] The letters *vija* are completely damaged and restored conjecturally. The following letters *yapā* are only partly preserved. [The letter *pā* in this name can be read as *sā* also.—Ed.]

[5] These damaged letters could be restored with the help of other records.

[6] Read *sthāyy-ā°* as in the other grant edited below.

[7] The *akshara kō* has an unnecessary *u-mātrā*. [The intended reading may by *pukkōlli*; cf. above, Vol. XVI, p. 267, n. 9.—Ed.]

8 vya[ṁ]sitavyaṁ(vyam) [|*] yō=smat-kula(l-ā)bhyantarō v=ānyō vā vyāsā[n][1] karōti
9 sa sarvvai[ḥ*] pātakais=sa[ṁ]yu[2]ktō bhavishyati [|*] anupālayitā vā samya[k*]
10 su[khē]na sa[ṁ*]yuktō bhavishyati [|*] atra cha(ch=ā)jñāptir=Nnandaka-talavara[ḥ |*]
11 likhita[ṁ*] [Kri](Kṛi)shna(shṇa)-bhōyakēn=ēti ||[3]

TRANSLATION

Let there be success. Let the present and the future *Bhōjakas*, *Āyuktakas*, *Sthāyins* and others in Śivapura-vishaya be ordered thus in the words of the illustrious *Dharmmamahārāja* **Kāpālivarmman of the Bhōja family** from his victorious residence at Pāmasā-khēṭaka. The land named Pukolli-khajjāna,[4] belonging to Āditya-śrēsṭhi, in the upper region[5] within the boundary of the village of Śivapuraka was granted by us with pleasure for religious purpose to Svāmikarāja at his request. **Svāmikarāja**, in his turn, made over the same to Bhavāryya of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra* with libation of water so that merit might accrue to him. Knowing this, nobody should deprive him of it (i.e. the gift). Whosoever, either of our family or an outsider, interferes with this, will incur all the sins. The protector (*of the grant*) will enjoy complete happiness. The executor of the charter is Nandaka-talavara.[6] This is written by Kṛishṇa-bhōyaka.[7]

2. *Kāpōli Plates of Aśaṅkitavarman, Year* 5

This set of plates was found in the possession of Mr. S. V. Aḍḍaṇagi, an advocate at Belgaum, whom I met in May 1954 with my friend Mr. G. V. Chulki. According to Mr. Aḍḍaṇagi the plates were found buried in an iron box at **Kāpōli** in the Khanapur Taluk of the Belgaum District.[8] An agriculturist of the place discovered them and brought them to Mr. Aḍḍaṇagi for decipherment about 5 years back. Mr. Aḍḍaṇagi was kind enough to place the plates at my disposal and also to supply their estampages subsequently.

The set consists of **three** plates strung on a ring bearing a seal. The **seal** bears the figure of an elephant.[9] The writing which is well preserved is on the inner side of the first and third plates and on both the sides of the second. The expression *divākara* is incised in the centre of the outer side of the third plate. The plates measure 7·5″×3·5″ each. Each plate has a small round hole in the left margin for the ring to pass through. The set weighs 80½ *tolas*.

The **characters** belong to the Southern Alphabet of about the 6th or 7th century. They can be compared with those of the Bannahaḷḷi plates of Kadamba Kṛishnavarman.[10] Initial *i* and *ē*

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[1] This letter is faintly engraved and its form is not normal.

[2] There is an *anusvāra* mark above this *akshara* which has to be properly associated with the previous letter.

[3] The punctuation is denoted by a *visarga*-like sign followed by three small strokes.

[4] [The term *khajjāna*, which is found with slight variations in the inscriptions particularly of the western region, seems to denote a specific area of cultivable land or locality. Cf. *Hoḍḍa-khajjanaka* in the grant of Kadamba Tribhuvanamalla (above, Vol. XXX, p. 77) and *khajjana* in the Panjim plates of Jayakēśin I (*Kadamba Kula*, p. 397).—P.B.D.]

[5] [This is the interpretation of the expression *upari-sadaka*.—P.B.D.]

[6] [Nandaka-talavara must have been an officer of some distinction. The designation *talavara* was formerly associated with an important official of the state as known from the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions of the 3rd century A.D. (above, Vol. XX, pp. 4 ff.), although it has lost its original meaning in its modern Kannaḍa and Telugu survivals (*taḷavāra* and *talāri*). That this office retained its dignity in the Kannaḍa areas during later centuries is attested by an allusion to an officer of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, named Horeyamma, who is styled *Sāmantā-graṇi* and *Taḷāra* of Mānyakhēta in a 12th century Western Chālukya inscription (B. K. No. 115 of 1929-30).—P.B.D.]

[7] [*Bhōyaka* stands for Sanskrit *bhōjaka* referred to in many inscriptions. Cf. *Suc. Sāt.*, pp. 94, 193, 261, 263, 265, 270. It may also be the same as *bhōgika* of the following record.—Ed.].

[8] [See below, p. 235, note 8.—Ed.]

[9] [The seal is not of the usual type. It is oval and has a flat surface. In the centre is a sunken circular space bearing the figure of an animal carved in relief. This may be taken to be an elephant, but not without doubt.—P.B.D.].

[10] Above, Vol. VI, Plate facing p. 18.

appear in lines 13 and 8 respectively. Some of the palaeographical and orthographical peculiarities are the same as those noticed in respect of the record edited above. The **language** of the epigraph is Sanskrit and its composition is prose except for a verse in lines 16-17. The writing is fairly free from mistakes.

The charter purports to record the gift of the village of Vaṁśavāṭaka situated in the tract of Sōllundūraka-seventy in Palāśikā-vishaya to Nāgaśarman of the Hārīta *gōtra*, who was endowed with all the qualities of a Brāhmaṇa. The gift was made with the approval of *Mahārāja* **Aśaṅkitavarman** of the **Bhōja** family[1] by the chief **Ēlakēlla** of the **Kaikēya** lineage for the merit of both. The executor of the grant was the *Mahārāja* himself.

The record is **dated in the 5th regnal year of the Bhōja king Aśaṅkitavarman** and the gift is stated to have been registered on the **full-moon day of Jyēshṭha**. This date does not admit of verification. On consideration of palaeography, the Bhōja ruler and Ēlakēlla who must have been a feudatory may be placed approximately in the **sixth or seventh century.**

King Aśaṅkitavarman is described as a great devotee of Śiva. If this king is identical with his namesake of the Hirēgutti inscription,[2] he has to be regarded as tolerant towards Buddhism. **Ēlakēlla,** the donor who belonged to the **Kaikēya** lineage, is known for the first time from the present record. The Kaikēya family, however, is known from several epigraphs. The Halmiḍi inscription of Kadamba Kākusthavarman refers to a fight of the Kadambas with the Kēkayas and Pallavas.[3] Kadamba Kṛishṇavarman I married a Kaikēya princess.[4] Prabhāvatī, queen of Kadamba Mṛigēśavarman and mother of Ravivarman, belonged to the Kaikēya lineage.[5] The Kaikēya family also figures in later inscriptions such as the Haldipur plates[6] of Gōpāladēva and the Kekkār inscription[7] of Aṇṇeyarasa of the eighth century.

In regard to the **geographical** names in the record, the village of Vaṁśavāṭaka may be identified with Kāpōli from where the plates were unearthed.[8] Sōllundūraka-seventy remains to be located. It seems to have comprised an area of the Khanapur and Halyal Taluks. Palāśikā-vishaya is the same as the well-known Palasige-12000 of the later epigraphs, Halsi being its chief town.

TEXT[9]

First Plate

1 [10]Dṛishṭaṁ [| *] Vijaya-śrī-pravarddhamāna-**rājya-saṁvatsaraṁ paṁchamaṁ** pā-
2 layataḥ sakal-āvani-tala-sarō-maṇḍal-āmbhō-

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[1] Aśaṅkitavarman of the Hirēgutti plates and his namesake of the present charter apparently belonged to one and the same family. The seals of both these plates bear identical figures of an elephant (see above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 70 ff.).

[2] [A close examination of the palaeography of the two charters would suggest that the two kings might be different, Aśaṅkitavarman of the Hirēgutti record being a predecessor of his namesake of the Kāpōli grant. Their seals are of different types. Further, the characters of the Kāpōli record are box-headed, while those of the Hirēgutti epigraph are not so.—P.B.D.].

[3] *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1936, pp. 72 ff.

[4] Above, Vol. VI, p. 18. [For a Kaikēya family of Nandipalli, cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 75.—Ed.]

[5] *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1910-11, p. 35.

[6] Above, Vol. XXI, p. 173.

[7] *Progress of Kannada Research in Bombay Province*, 1941-46, p. 5.

[8] [This identification is questionable. If my information is correct, the original findspot of the plates is Halsi and not Kāpōli. In January 1950, while I was camping at Halsi in the course of a tour, I learnt that a set of copper plates had been unearthed some years ago in a field by a local farmer. It was subsequently taken by Mr. B. K. Desai to his village Kāpōli for decipherment. Mr. Desai whom I contacted next year told me that he had handed them over to his friends at Belgaum. Apparently the same plates were later found by Mr. Annigeri in the possession of Mr. Aḍḍaṇagi at Belgaum.—P.B.D.].

[9] From a set of impressions.

[10] [At the beginning of the line is a spiral which may be taken to be as a *siddham* symbol.—P.B.D.].

3 jānām=**Bhōjānāṁ** vaṅśa(vaṁśa)m=ātma-janm-ānugrahēṇ=ālaṅku-
4 rvvataḥ samasta-rāja-guṇa-ratn-aik-ādhishṭhāna-bhūta-
5 sya parama-māhēśvarasya śrī-mahārāj-**Āśaṁki-**

Second Plate, First Side

6 **tavarmmaṇō** vachanēna [1]bhavishyad-bhōgik-āyuktaka-
7 sthāyy-ādayō vaktavyā yathā **Kaikēya**-vaṅśa(vaṁśa)-sa[ṁ]bhūtē-
8 na **Ēlakēllēn**=āsmākam=ātmanagcha(ś=cha) puṇy-ōpa-
9 chaya-nimittam=asmai Hārīta-sagōtrāya sama-

Second Plate, Second Side

10 sta-Brāhmaṇa-guṇa-sa[ṁ]pannāya Nāgaśarmmaṇē Palā-
11 śikā-vishayē Sōllundūraka-saptatau Vaṅśa(Vaṁśa)vāṭakō **Jyēshṭha-pau-**
12 **rṇṇamāsyām**=udaka-pūrvvakaṁ sarvva-paṅga-parihṛitō dattō=smā-
13 bhir=apy=anumōdita ity=ēvam=avētya na kēnachid=asmad-gōtrābhya-
14 ntarēṇ=ānyēna v=āpaharttavyō yaś=ch=aitasy=āpahāraṁ kuru-

Third Plate

15 **tē sa** pañcha-mahāpātaka-saṁyuktas=syāt=tathā ch=ōktaṁ bhagava-
16 tā **Manunā** [|*] Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ [|*]
17 yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalami(m || i)-
18 ty=atr=ājñāptis=svayam=ēva mahārājaḥ [|*] rājñaś=śāsanakā-
19 rēṇa Gōvinda-bhōgika-sūnunā Mādhavadēvēn=ā likhi[taṁ |*] svasti[2] [||*]

TRANSLATION

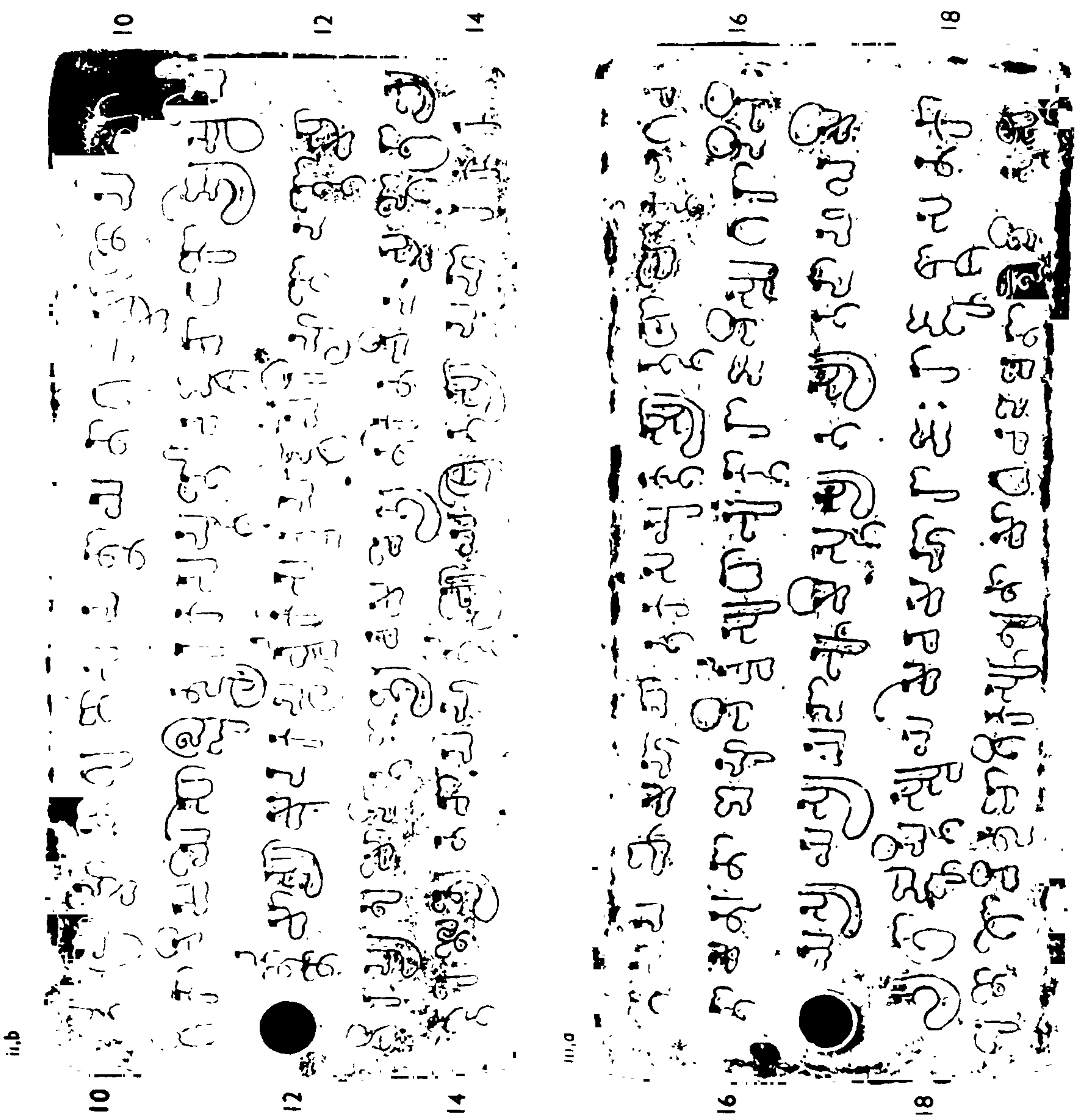
Seen. At the command of *Mahārāja* **Aśaṅkitavarman**, who by his birth has graced and adorned the family of the **Bhōjas** who are the lotuses in the circle of the lake in the form of the whole earth ; who is the sole abode of the gems of all kingly qualities and who is a great devotee of Śiva, in **the fifth year of his reign** increasing with the glory of victory, the (*present and*) future *Bhōgikas, Āyuktakas, Sthāyins* and others should be instructed thus : On the **full-moon day of Jyēshṭha,** (*the village of*) Vaṁśavāṭaka included in Sōllundūraka-seventy in Palāśikā-vishaya, is made over with libation of water, free from all imposts,[3] by **Ēlakēlla** of the **Kaikēya** family to this Nāgaśarman of the Hārīta *gōtra*, who possesses all the qualities of a Brāhmaṇa, for the religious merit of himself as well as of ours. We have also approved of it. Knowing this, neither a member of our family, nor any other ruler should snatch away (*the gift*). Whosoever snatches it away will incur the five great sins. So it has been said by Manu : ' The land has been enjoyed by many kings like Sagara and others. To whomsoever it belongs, to him goes the fruit.' The executor (*of the grant*) is the *Mahārāja* himself. (*The charter*) is written by Mādhava, the son of Gōvinda-bhōgika and the writer of royal charters. Hail !

[1] Before this the word *vartamāna* appears to have been left out. Cf. line 2 of the Argā plates edited above.

[2] The record proper ends here. It is, however, interesting to note that the name *Divākara* is engraved on the back side of this plate in characters of about the same period as of the main record. It is difficult to determine the significance of this writing. [He might have been the engraver.—Ed.]

[3] [The original word is *paṅga* (line 12). Its modification as *pōṅga* is met with in the Kadamba records of the later period. It may be derived from the Kannaḍa base *paṅgu* meaning ' obligation '. See above, Vol. XXXI, p. 75.—P.B.D.]. [Cf. above, Vol. VI, p. 13, note 3. *Paṅga* occurs in many Telugu inscriptions (cf. *SII*, Vol. X, Nos. 257, 405, 422, etc.). Brown's *Telugu-English Dictionary* explains it as ⅙ of the produce collected in ancient times by the government as tax from lands of gods and Brhamaṇas.—Ed.]

2.—KAPOLI PLATES OF ASANKITAVARMMAN, YEAR 5



Scale : Nine-tenths

III.b

20  20

SEAL



(from a Photograph)

No. 33—KADMAL PLATES OF GUHILA VIJAYASIMHA, V. S. 1140

(*1 Plate*)

Akshaya Keerty Vyas, Udaipur

These plates were first noticed by Pandit G. H. Ojha in his *Rājputānēkā Itihās*, Fasc. II, pp. 445-46. He traced the plates which were lying hidden with a Brāhmaṇa family of the village of **Kadmāl**, some 25 miles to the north-west of Udaipur. The plates thereafter again went underground and the owner would never show them to anybody for fear of dispossession. It was in the year 1940 that Pandit Ratilal Antani, the then Education Minister in the Mewār State Secretariat, who was himself a numismatist and was also keenly interested in other branches of Archaeology, somehow procured these plates for perusal through his Head Clerk, Mr. Bhavani Shankar who was closely related to their owner residing at Kadmāl. After he had dealt with them in his own way, he was kind enough to pass them on to me, only for a couple of hours, through his Head Clerk. I utilised the opportunity by immediately getting them photographed and sent the originals back to the Ministry within the scheduled time through the same bearer. They could neither be weighed nor their actual measurement could be taken during those hurried hours, and it now seems impossible to get them back for the purpose. It is from the photographs that I propose to edit the plates in the following pages.

This is a set of two copper plates which are said to constitute the earliest metal record of the ruling dynasty of Udaipur. The plates were found by me fastened together with a thick copper ring passing through proportionate holes cut midway towards the upper border in both. No seal, however, was found fixed to the ring-joint. The plates appear to have been given the required shape and size by hammering heavy lumps of copper, not less than two seers in weight. The inner sides only in both have been used for writing, the outer ones being left blank.

Though an important record, it has received the most unsatisfactory treatment at the hands of the ignorant engraver who appears to have tried to follow the written out mass of lines without either knowing the signs that were made or the sense they were intended to convey. He does not appear to be knowing where a particular letter ends and the other begins or which medial vowel pertains to which particular letter. He has thus fared very badly in his task, sometimes transforming altogether the expected shapes and sometimes distorting them by superfluous additions and lamentable omissions. This blind engravement of the record has rendered it perfectly illegible, and there are hardly a few letters that have escaped the arbitrary touch of his chisel. In order to judge the amount of arbitrary alteration brought about in the actual text written by the scribe, it is sufficient to examine the very first two or three letters with which the inscription opens. *Ōṁ Svasti* appears to be the intended reading ; but the engraver has reduced the whole phrase into an incomprehensible group which it is difficult to restore to its proper form. The simple symbol, with which the initial *Ōṁ* is expressed, is itself arbitrary in formation and the next two syllables constituting the word *svasti* are so rendered as to read *mālī*. The engraver's fanciful addition, omission and transposition of different strokes constituting these two syllables will be clear from the fact that the *ā* stroke in *mā* (i.e. *sva*) is really the hinder part of the *i* stroke of the following *akshara* (*lī*, i.e. *sti*), which has been joined to the previous letter imcompletely, and that the *ī* stroke in *lī* (i.e. *sti*) is the fancifully changed aspect of the medial *i* pertaining to the next syllable *na* (*ni*) with which the invocatory verse begins. This is only an indication, the whole

record being treated in this way. It is therefore no wonder that the plates have not yet been satisfactorily deciphered.[1]

Proper reading of this record is not so much a matter of regular decipherment of an epigraph written in the script of a given age ; but it is a troublesome process of restoration and adjustment of various signs in relation to a correct comprehension of the intended sense. The text, at places, is difficult to transcribe as it actually stands, for it would be impossible to transcribe a syllable on which two different medial vowel strokes have simultaneously been imposed, as in *Khō* of *Khōmā(mmā)ṇa* towards the end of line 6, where both the medial *i* and *ā* strokes have been applied to a common syllable. So also is the case of letters that do not resemble any letters of the alphabet. In transcribing the text therefore I have, at places, necessarily to give only the intended reading.

Owing to reasons given above, there is no room for any **palaeographical** or **orthographical** observation on the record. The most that can be said is that it is written in the Nāgarī script of the twelfth century. The initial vowel *i* is throughout made up of two dots with a comma-like sign below, which is characteristic of the early medieval script of Northern India.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit and, even if it was written correctly by the scribe, the engraver's chisel has brought about mistakes almost at every step. Though looking as if engraved by one and the same person, both the plates differ in neatness of execution. The second plate is tidier than the first as regards the general trend of incision. There are in all 40 lines of writing covering the inner sides of the two plates.

The document opens with *Oṁ Svasti* which is followed by an invocatory verse in the *Anushṭubh* metre in praise of Śrī-Ēkaliṅga, the guardian deity of the ruling dynasty of Udaipur. Then obeisance is again paid to Śiva in the passage *Oṁ namaḥ Śivāya.*

Then follows the genealogical portion which covers verses 2-9. Though it is a bare enumeration of names in chronological order without any historical information, the section contains some valuable information. The first few stanzas (verses 2-5) of the present genealogy are nothing but a mere reproduction of the corresponding verses of the well-known Āṭpur inscription of Śaktikumāra of V. S. 1034 (977 A.D.), a manuscript transcript of which, found by Ojha at Māṇḍal in Mewār, was discussed by the late Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar.[2] The opening genealogical verse reads : *Ānaṁda[p]ura-vinirgata-vipra-kul-ānaṁdanō mahī-dēvaḥ | jayati Śrī-Guhadattaḥ prabhavaḥ Śrī-Guhila-vaṁśasya* || Bhandarkar suggested that the rulers of Udaipur had a Brāhmaṇic origin and that they were Nāgar Brāhmaṇas.[3] In his opinion, the verse means : "Triumphant is Śrī-Guhadatta, the founder of the Guhila family, a Brāhmaṇa and the delighter of the Brāhmaṇa family emigrated from Ānandapura."[4] He takes both *vipra* and *mahī-dēva* in the present verse to mean ' a Brāhmaṇa '.

Now, strictly speaking, there is no reason why two different words should have been used in a small couplet to connote one and the same sense. If both the families mentioned in the verse had a Brāhmaṇic origin as supposed by Bhandarkar, either of the two words would have sufficed. Unnecessary repetition of variants for a common expression constitutes a palpable flaw in literary compositions and goes against the canons of rhetorics. The simultaneous use of the variants with reference to two different entities seems to imply difference of meaning. In our opinion, the

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[1] Cf. Ojha, op. cit., p. 446, note 1.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 186-191.

[3] Ibid., p. 190.

[4] Pandit Mohanlal Vishnulal Pandya tried to refute this Ānandapura or Nāgar Brāhmaṇa theory regarding the origin of the Guhila dynasty in his article in *JPASB*, Vol. VIII, 1912, pp. 63-99.

family, under whose guardianship Guhadatta lived, was Brāhmaṇical as suggested by the term *vipra* in its connection ; but he himself was not a *vipra* but a *mahī-dēva*, i.e. a ruling prince of the Kshatriya stock.[1]

It is worthy of note in this connection that as many as four later epigraphs, viz. the Chitōrgarh inscription of V. S. 1331 (1274 A. D.)[2], the Achalgarh (Mt. Ābū) inscription of V. S. 1342 (1285 A. D.)[3], the Rāṇpur inscription of V. S. 1496 (1439 A. D.)[4] and the Kumbhalgarh inscription of V. S. 1517 (1460 A. D.),[5] which aim at giving a genealogical list of the dynasty, regard Bāpā Rāval as the progenitor and make Guhila or Guhadatta of our record his son. But the latter's mention as the founder of the family in older records like the Āṭpur inscription of V. S. 1034 (977 A. D.) and the present epigraph establish beyond doubt that the prince described in the foregoing verse was really the progenitor. This also shows that, even as early as the thirteenth century, people had already lost remembrance of their predecessors' knowledge about the genealogy of the family. Nothing more is known about Guhila from this verse. The inscription of V. S. 1517 mentioned above, however, adds that he had a son called Lāṭīvinōda, which name he acquired for his passion for ladies of the Lāṭa country. In 1869 A. D., General Cunningham found some 2,000 silver coins at Agra[6] bearing the legend *śrī-Guhila*, which he attributed to Guhadatta.

Next come in chronological order the princes Bhōja, Mahēndra (I), Nāga, Śīla, Aparājita, Mahēndra (II), Kālabhōja, Khōmmāṇa (I), Mattaṭa and Bhartṛipaṭṭa (I) (verse 3). Except a bare enumeration of the names of the princes, no other information is found in the verse. We, however, know the dates of some of them from their own inscriptions so far discovered. An inscription dated in V. S. 703 (646 A. D.)[7] pertaining to the reign of Śīla or Śīlāditya was found at Sāmōlī in the Bhōmaṭ District of the old Udaipur State. The stone is now lying in the Rājputānā Museum at Ajmer. Another inscription of the reign of Aparājita dated V. S. 718 (661 A. D.)[8] has been found at Nāgdā, the ancient capital, which is now preserved in the Victoria Hall Museum, Udaipur.

Thereafter comes Siṁha (the son of the last prince mentioned in the foregoing verse). His son was Khōmmāṇa (II), after whom came Mahōyaka. His son was Khōmmāṇa (III) from whom sprang Bhartṛipaṭṭa (II) (verse 4). In contrast to the previous verse, the present one gives some additional information by way of mentioning the relation of each succeeding prince with his immediate predecessor. Siṁha has been referred to in an inscription of V. S. 1335 (1258 A. D.)[9] found at Chitōrgarh and now preserved in the Victoria Hall at Udaipur. No inscription of the other princes has so far been brought to light.

Mahālakshmī, born in the Rāshṭrakūṭa family, was the beloved consort of Bhartṛipaṭṭa II and gave birth to his son Allaṭa (verse 5). An inscription[10] of the reign of Allaṭa has been found

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[1] [If Guhadatta was himself a Brāhmaṇa and at the same time the delighter of a particular Brāhmaṇa family, it is only natural for a poet worth the name to use two different words meaning 'a Brāhmaṇa' in the stanza conveying the two ideas. If again he was not a Brāhmaṇa, the poet could have used an expression like *mahīpāla* (meaning 'a king', and also 'a Kshatriya' according to medieval lexicons) instead of *mahīdēva* which is generally recognised in the sense of 'a Brāhmaṇa' and not 'a Kshatriya'.—Ed.]

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, p. 80.

[3] *Bhavnagar Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, pp. 84-87 ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI pp. 347 ff.

[4] *Bhav. Inscrs.*, p. 114.

[5] Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 304-28.

[6] *ASR*, Vol. IV, p. 95.

[7] *PRASIWC*, 1908-09, p. 48.

[8] Above, Vol. IV, p. 31.

[9] *JASB*, Vol. IV, part i, p. 48

[10] *Bhav. Inscrs.*, pp. 67-69. . .

engraved on the inner face of the lintel over the porch of the Sāraṇēśvara temple near the Udaipur city, in which also Mahālakshmī has been mentioned as his mother. It records the construction of a Vishṇu temple which was begun in V. S. 1008 (951 A. D.) and completed in V. S. 1010 (953 A. D.) during the reign of Allaṭa. This inscribed lintel does not appear to be original to the Śiva temple to which it now belongs, but seems to have been brought here from amidst the neighbouring ruins of Āhār, i.e. Āṭapura or Āghāṭapura of inscriptions, which was one of the capital cities of the rulers of Mewār during this and the following centuries.

From Allaṭa sprang his son Mahīpāla (verse 6). Thereafter the ninth prince was Vairaṭa who had obtained rulership elsewhere. His son was Haṁsapāla (verse 7). It is to be noticed that verse 6 of our grant introduces a new name in the genealogical list of the dynasty, namely, Mahīpāla who has not yet been found mentioned in any of the inscriptions so far discovered. The present record is the first document which mentions this prince as the son and successor of Allaṭa. According to all other inscriptions so far known, Allaṭa was succeeded by his son Naravāhana, an inscription[1] of whose reign dated in V.S. 1028 (971 A.D.) lies in one of the big niches flanking the entrance of the Nātha's temple near the temple of Śrī-Ēkaliṅga, some 15 miles north of Udaipur. After the mention of Mahīpāla, our inscription cuts short the regular course of succession and abruptly brings in Vairaṭa who is said to be the ninth prince in chronological order. The name of Vairaṭa appears in almost all important records in the regular genealogy.

From the *Rāja-varṇana*[2] section of the third slab of the Kumbhalgarh inscription of V. S. 1517 (1460 A. D.), which contains an exhaustive list of the princes of the dynasty ascertained by a study of a number of ancient epigraphs,[3] we learn that after Allaṭa there came on the throne in chronological order the eight princes Naravāhana, Śālivāhana, Śaktikumāra, Ambāprasāda, Naravarman, Anantavarman, Yaśōvarman and Yōgarāja, after whom it passed on to Vairaṭa who was the ninth. We thus find that the chronological position of Vairaṭa, as found in the inscriptions of as late as the sixteenth century of the Vikrama era, is fully supported by earlier records like the one under review, which speaks of him as the ninth prince after Allaṭa, evidently including Mahīpāla.

Our document calls Mahīpāla the son of Allaṭa, and it appears that Naravāhana (mentioned in other records as the son and successor of Allaṭa) and Mahīpāla were both sons of the same father. The former, obviously being the elder of the two obtained the throne in regular succession after Allaṭa, and that is why all important known records clearly mention him ; and the latter being his younger brother, possibly governing some small estate given him for maintenance, was naturally omitted from the genealogical part of the records. But his introduction in the main line and the omission of Naravāhana from it in our record do not appear to be meaningless.

It has been stated in verse 7 of the present plates that Haṁsapāla succeeded Vairaṭa and that the latter had obtained rulership elsewhere outside his paternal place (*anyatra labdha-rājyasya*, line 10). This fact is also corroborated by verses 143-144[4] of the third slab of the Kumbhalgarh inscription, which state that the progeny of Yōgarāja, the predecessor of Vairaṭa, did not attain regal status, though he himself fully enjoyed it, and that the lot finally fell on Vairaṭa who was a descendant of a branch of Allaṭa's lineage.[5] The reason as to why the line of Yōgarāja was deprived of succession and Vairaṭa had to be brought in evidently from a junior branch of the family is unknown. It may have been a case of some internal family feud as pointed out by me in my

[1] *Bhav. Inscrs.*, pp. 69-67 ; *JBRAS*, Vol. XXII, 1905-06, pp. 166-67.

[2] Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 324-325.

[3] The opening verse of this *Rāja-varṇana* section reads : *Ataḥ śrī-rāja-vaṁśō=tra pra[vyakta]ḥ [prō][chyatē*][=dhunā] | *Chiraṁtana-pra[śastī]nām=a[nē]kā[nā]m=a[taḥ](rē)]kshaṇā[t* ||]

[4] Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 324-325.

[5] *Tataś=cha Yōga[rā]jō=bhū[n=Mē]dapāṭē mahī-patiḥ* | *api rājyē sthitē tasmin tach-chhēsha(shā) n=ō[chhṛi-(chchhra)yaṁ] gatā* || 143 *Paśchād=Allaṭa-saṁtānē Vairaṭō=bhū[n=na]rēśvaraḥ......*

article on that record.[1] We are, however, now in a position to conclude that Vairaṭa was a descendant of the branch of Allaṭa's family, of which Mahīpāla, the younger brother of Naravāhana, was the head, and that he was required for some unknown reason to succeed Yōgarāja of the main line, whose progeny had been deprived of accession to the throne.

The following is the succession of rulers from Allaṭa to Vairaṭa, as known from all important records so far found including the one under consideration.

Allaṭa (V.S. 1010 = 953 A. D.)

(*Senior Branch*)	(*Junior Branch*)
1. Naravāhana (V. S. 1028 = 971 A. D.)	1. Mahīpāla
2. Śālivāhana	
3. Śaktikumāra (V. S. 1034 = 977 A. D.)	
4. Ambāprasāda	
5. Śuchivarman	
6. Naravarman[2]	
7. Anantavarman	
8. Yaśōvarman[3]	
9. Yōgarāja	

10. Vairaṭa (V. S. 1083 = 1026 A. D.)

The above pedigree shows that Vairaṭa is the tenth prince after Allaṭa including Naravāhana on the main line, although our document speaks of him as the ninth[4] including Mahīpāla, the younger brother of Naravāhana. This discrepancy is, to some extent, clarified by the Kumbhalgarh inscription of V. S. 1517 (1460 A. D.), which does not include Śuchivarman in its corresponding dynastic list[5] and makes Vairaṭa the ninth prince from Naravāhana. Though Vairaṭa's description as the ninth prince found in our grant correctly suits his number in the corresponding list of the Kumbhalgarh inscription due to the omission of Śuchivarman, we cannot discard the omitted prince altogether from the chronology, as he is clearly mentioned as a successor of Śaktikumāra in the fragmentary Hastimātā temple inscription[6] found at Āhār near the Udaipur railway station. The slight variation in the chronological position of Vairaṭa may, however, be overlooked in view of the general tendency of the authors of such epigraphs, who, at one place include a particular prince and omit the same at another. Thus Ambāprasāda, the fourth prince from Naravāhana in the foregoing table, is clearly mentioned

[1] Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 310.
[2] Naravarman is also called Nṛivarman in certain inscriptions.
[3] Yaśōvarman is also named Kīrtivarman in certain records.
[4] [See below, p. 246, note 1.—Ed.]
[5] Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 324-325.
[6] *Bhāv. Inscrs.*, pp. 72-74 ; Ojha, op.cit., p. 442, note 1.

in the Kumbhalgarh inscription[1] as the son and succcessor of Śaktikumāra ; but he finds no mention in records like the Achalgarh (Mt. Ābū)[2] and Rāṇpur[3] inscriptions which insert Śuchivarman instead. This is how variations in old chronological lists have been brought about.

It is interesting to note that the position of Vairaṭa as the ninth with Mahīpāla, as mentioned in our grant,[4] appears to reckon him implicitly in combination with Naravāhana and his successors of the senior branch, while the corresponding number of princes of the junior branch headed by Mahīpāla is conspicuous by its very absence. We do not know how many princes, if any, appeared on that branch between Mahīpāla and Vairaṭa ; but we see from the dates V. S. 1010 and 1034 put respectively against Allaṭa and Śaktikumāra that the average rule of each of the four princes covered about 6 years. Applying the same average to the remaining eight princes upto Vairaṭa with the inclusion of Śaktikumāra for the computation of dates, we get a period of 48 years which, when added to V. S. 1034, the latest given date in the chart, yields V. S. 1082.

Now V. S. 1083 (1026 A. D.) is actually the date of the fragment of an old epigraph now preserved in the Victoria Hall Museum at Udaipur, of which the major portion containing the name of the ruling prince and other details is lost. This inscription has probably to be assigned to the reign of Vairaṭa, the last prince on our table. In view of the shortness of the average individual rule from Allaṭa to Yōgarāja, it is not altogether impossible if this prince was the son of Mahīpāla himself, living long enough not only to witness a series of successions on the royal throne but also to get an opportunity for himself to occupy it through transfer during his advanced age.[4]

After Vairaṭa came his son Haṁsapāla. Nothing else of his reign is known from this or any other record. From Haṁsapāla sprang the prince Vairisiṁha (verse 8). His son was the illustrious Vijayasiṁha (half verse 9). Vairisiṁha is here stated to have snatched away his enemy's elephant with the help of those who received assistance from him in the past ; but it is difficult at the present moment to ascertain this enemy due to absence of information on the point in any of the known records. This much only can be said that hostility prevailed, during this period of history, between the Guhilas of Mēdapāṭa (i.e. Mewār) and the Paramāras of Mālwā, to which the incident briefly narrated here may have some reference. The only other information regarding Vairisiṁha that we so far have is from verses 145-46 of the third slab of the Kumbhalgarh inscription[5] which state that he erected a fresh rampart having four gates, facing all the four cardinal directions, round Āghāṭa-pattana (modern Āhār), and that he had twentytwo meritorious sons of whom one, a *narēndra*, was the most virtuous. This anonymous *narēndra* of that inscription is certainly Vijayasiṁha who issued the charter under review. He finds mention as the son of Vairisiṁha and grandson of Haṁsapāla in records like the Bhērāghāṭ inscription [6] of the Chēdi year 907 (V.S. 1212=1155 A. D.) and the Mt. Ābū inscription[7] of V. S. 1342 (1285 A.D.) ; but ours is the only known record that directly pertains to the reign of this prince. Ojha attributes the

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[1] Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 304-28.

[2] *Bhāv. Inscrs.*, pp. 84-87.

[3] Ibid., p. 114.

[4] [The introduction of Mahīpāla, unknown from any other source, in the place of Naravāhana mentioned in records, only on the basis of the extremely faulty text of the present epigraph seems to be risky. In the photograph, the name reads *Mahāpāmana* which has been corrected to *Mahīpāla*. Considering the nature of engraving in the record, it appears that the intended name may well have been *Naravāhana*. The intended reading of the second foot of the stanza was possibly *Naravāhanō='ti-budhaḥ*. Of course the author's correction of *mahī-vālana* in the fourth foot of the stanza to *mahī-pālana* finds an *anvartha* name in Mahīpāla as required by the context. *Mahī-vālana* may, however, as well be corrected to *mahī-vāhana* (i.e. bearing the burden of the earth) which not only makes *Naravāhana* (i.e. bearer of the burden of the people of the earth) an *anvartha* name but the two together with *uvāha* offer a very good case of alliteration. See also below, p. 246, note 1.—Ed.]

[5] Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 311 and p. 325.

[6] Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 10-13.

[7] *Bhāv. Inscrs.*, pp. 84-87.

Pālḍī inscription[1] of V.S. 1173 (1116 A.D.) to his reign ; but, as has already been pointed out,[2] this is wrong. From the Bhērāghāṭ inscription mentioned above, we also glean that Vijayasiṁha married Śyāmaladēvī who was the daughter of Udayāditya of Mālwā (1060-87 A.D.) and the mother of Alhaṇadēvī, queen of Kalachuri Gayākarṇa (1151 A.D.) of Ḍāhala. This matrimonial relation between Vijayasiṁha and Udayāditya, which established a close alliance between the hostile Paramāra and Guhila dynasties, certainly suggests a combined resistance by both against the waxing imperialism of the Chālukyas of Gujarāt, who, under Bhīma I (1022-64 A.D.), had become by far the strongest power in Western India after the fall of Bhōja I in 1055 A. D.[3]

From the latter half of line 12 begins the prose portion of the document, interspersed with a few renunciatory and imprecatory verses. This ends with line 40, the last line on the second plate. Lines 19-21 mention the **date** of the record both in words and figures, which forms the most illegible part of the whole inscription. Ojha gives V. S. 1164 (1107 A. D.) as its date, though he admits to have not been able to read it completely.[4] Bhandarkar at first put it as V.S. 1140 (1083 A. D.),[5] but later on supported Ojha.[6] This change in Bhandarkar's view does not appear to be based on a re-study of the epigraphic text, but was probably adopted to reconcile it with the date V. S. 1173 (1116 A. D.) of another epigraph, viz. the Pālḍī inscription which Ojha attributes to Vijayasiṁha. But this inscription certainly belongs to the reign of Vijayasiṁha's son Arisiṁha.

As regards the date of the record under review, it is sure that the donation was made on the occasion of a solar eclipse which invariably falls on the *amāvāsyā* day. After the syllables *vadi* in the beginning of line 21 denoting the dark half of the month, we have the numerical enumeration of the *tithi* in two figures which have been endowed with head-lines and other alphabetical characteristics. The first of them, though it looks like *ra*, is apparently the numeral 1, while the second, which reads as *ka*, seems to be the numeral 4 endowed with a top *mātrā* and placed in an unusually oblique position. Thus these figures together make 14 which must be the *tithi* on which the solar eclipse of our grant fell. This means that the *amāvāsyā* merged with the *chaturdaśī* on the day when this eclipse actually occurred.

Now turning to the numerical mention of the year towards the end of the line 20, we find that, after the syllables *Saṁvat*, the first two figures clearly make 11. The following figure resembles the second of the figures in the enumeration of the *tithi*, which is 4 as explained above. Originally, a cypher seems to have been engraved in the place of this figure making the whole appear as 110 ; but soon it appears to have been corrected to 4, now making the whole appear as 114. Hence, either by restoring the cypher back to its fourth place which seems to have been originally intended, or by taking, by way of adjustment, the rounded part of the body of *va* further in *varshē* to serve also as the cypher, we get V. S. 114[0]. This is supported by the verbal enumeration of the year in lines 19-20. Bhandarkar's original view regarding the date was therefore correct.

What now remains for our scrutiny is the description of the month wherein the solar eclipse of the grant took place. The letters may be taken to suggest *Āshāḍha* in line 20, once at the beginning and again towards the end. But the month of Āshāḍha does not suit the rest of the details of the date. There never occurred any solar eclipse on the fourteenth *tithi* of that month in the said year, either by the *amānta* or by the *pūrṇimānta* reckoning. Even if we take the year to be V. S 1164, the solar eclipse does not tally. On the other hand, the month of Āśvina of V. S. 1140 turns out true to all other details of the date by the *amānta* reckoning. The *amāvāsyā* of the month of

[1] *Annual Report of the Rājputānā Museum, Ajmer*, 1915-16, p. 3 ; Bhandarkar's List, No. 191.

[2] Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 8 ff.

[3] Ray, *Dyn. Hist. N. Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 1178-79.

[4] Ojha, op. cit., p. 446, note 1.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 191, note 12, line 2.

[6] Bhandarkar's List, No. 176.

Āśvina in the Vikrama year 1140 merged with the *chaturdaśī* which ended at only ·09 of the day after mean sunrise ; and the solar eclipse consequently appeared on that day as registered in our grant, which would be equivalent to Friday, the **13th October 1083 A.D.** [1]

The prose portion of the record from line 12 to line 38 is devoted to the description of its **object** which is to record the donation of the fifth part of the produce of the village of Pallī, embracing all its receipts, to Ūṇalāchārya, son of the most respectable *āchārya* Sāhīya who was a resident of Nāgahrada but whose son had since migrated elsewhere, probably to Pallī, then comprised within the domain of Mewār. He belonged to the Mādhyandina school and the Vatsa *gōtra* and had five *pravaras*. The donee was given full right over the fifth part of every item of produce of the donated village to the extent of its boundaries, with the exception of the income of taxes and drainage, in which he received only half (i.e. one-tenth part), the other half going to the donor himself (lines 26-32).

The donor was *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Maṇḍalīka* (line 13) **Vijayasiṁha**, the last prince on our genealogical list. He made the grant with due regards to scriptural injunctions on the 14th day of the dark half of the month of Āśvina in **Vikrama Saṁvat 1140** on the occasion of a **solar eclipse** (lines 19-21) for the enhancement of the spiritual welfare of himself and his parents (lines 25-26). The gift was made at and the grant issued from **Nāgahrada** i.e. Nāgdā, his capital city, the ruins of which lie at a distance of about 15 miles to the north of Udaipur just near the present town of Eklingjī. The religious rites connected with this donation appear to have been performed somewhere near the temple of the god Ēkaliṅga, as the donor is here stated to have accomplished it after he had worshipped his tutelary deity in continuation of a bath in the Bhōja-taḍāga situated near about towards the east of the temple. The present description (lines 21-22) certainly goes to suggest that the north-eastern boundary of the city of Nāgahrada extended upto the eastern limits of the present town of Eklingjī, both the temple and the tank near it being here mentioned to have been an integral part thereof, as indicated by the locative case-ending in the expression *Nāgahrada-rājadhānyāṁ* (line 21). Later on, the western half of the capital city seems to have been completely deserted, while part of the eastern half comprising the celebrated temple of Śrī-Ēkaliṅga continued flourshing to this day as a holy place of pilgrimage.

Lines 36-37 embody a couple of imprecatory verses, the contents of which apply to anybody attempting to deprive the donee of his rights specified in the charter. The scribe who wrote the grant on the copper sheets was Nāgapāla, the son of *Paṇḍita* Uhila, belonging to the Pañchakulika (modern Pañchōlī) caste which forms a sub-division of the Kāyastha community. The messenger, through whom the royal order for the execution of the charter had been conveyed to the concerned authority, was Raṇadhavala, son of Sagaṁḍā, who was a Chāhamāna *Rājaputra*.

The latter half of the last line, i.e. line 40, is reserved for the sign-manual of prince Vijayasiṁha, the donor. It is represented by a small spear-head to left, at the extreme end of the line, which is stated to have been marked in his own hand. This tiny spear-head mark, having been developed in course of time, assumed the shape of a complete spear later on, as found on the copper-plate grants of the seventeenth and the following centuries, issued by the Mahārāṇās of Udaipur. The other change had been in the position of the sign which now appeared on the upper part of the plates above the actual contents, instead of being marked at the end as seen here.

Regarding the location of the places, **Nāgahrada** and **Pallī**, there is no difficulty. The former has already been stated to be identical with Nāgdā near Eklingjī, which was the first capital of the dynasty, while the latter is evidently the same as the modern town of Pālī in the Jodhpur unit of Rājasthān.

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[1] Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. III, p. 169.

TEXT[1]

[Metres : verses 1, 5-9, 11-12 *Anushṭubh* ; verse 2 *Āryā* ; verses 3-4 *Vasantatilakā* ; verse 10 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.]

First Plate

1 Ōm[2] māli[3] [|*] Nalimē[4] jagapta(d=ya)[sm]in jātaṁ pa|(ya)[smā]ch=cha yēna vai | [pā]lisē[5] sradē[6]kal[i]ṁ[gaṁ]

2 hi Śivaṁ na(bha)ktyā ma(na)māmy=ahaṁ(ham) || [1*] [Ōṁ] namaḥ Śivāya | Ānaṁda[pu]ra-vinirgata-vi-

3 pla(pra)kul-ānaṁdanō[7] mahādēvrana[8] [|*] jayati śrī-Guhadattaḥ prabhavaḥ śrī-Guhila-vaṁśabhyā(sya) na(||) [2*]

4 [Ē]kattra yōjama(ya)ti . Bhī(Bhō)ja-Mahē[ndra]-Nāga-Śīl-Āparājita-Mahēndra-sa(bha)ṭṭai-(ṭai)r=nṛi-vīrēḥ(raiḥ) ||(|

5 bhāvēyaprakishanaśōptatha[9] Kālabhōja-Khōmā(mmā)ṇa-Na(Ma)ttaṭa-[nṛi]paiḥ saha Bhartri-(rtṛi)padrēḥ(ṭṭaḥ) |[| 3*] Si||(Siṁ)-

6 hō=bhava[t=ta]d-aku(nu) va(ta)sya sutō=thā(tha) yajē[10] Vōmāṇa[11] ibhya(ty=a)tha sutō='tha Mahā-yakō='bhūt |[| Khō]mā(mmā)ṇa-

7 gālajamathōcha[12] sa ch-ātha tasmōnūlōkatrayaikātalakō'jōna[13] Bha[r]tṛi[ē](pa)ddhaḥ(ṭṭaḥ) |[|4*] Sashṭrakrava-[14]

8 kul-ōddhatha[15] Mahōlēsrīranē[16] pri[y]ā | āsīyamprāmamnatrētma[17] tanayaḥ śrīmad-Aṭakaḥ[18] |[| 5*] Tasmādva(d=ba)[bhū]va

9 vanalō Mahāpāmana[19] iti budhaḥ | yā[20] uchāva[21] saṁjāṁ(jñāṁ) sānva(sō='nva)rthāṁ mahī-vā(pā)lana-kuṁmāṇa[22] |[| 6*] Vavōdō=[23]

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[1] From photographs.
[2] Indicated by symbol.
[3] The intended reading is *svasti*.
[4] Read *nilīyatē*.
[5] Read *pālyatē*.
[6] Read *śry-Ē*°.
[7] Medial *i* has been used to indicate the left member of medial *ō* in *nō* in the place of the usual medial *ē* mark.
[8] Read *mahī-dēvaḥ*.
[9] Read *jāta:r=yathā-krama-suśōbhy=atha*.
[10] Read *jajñē*. This word had been first omitted by mistake, but was engraved later on between lines 3 and 4 over the names *Mahēndra* and *Nāga*.
[11] Read *Khōmmāṇa*.
[12] Read °*m=ātmajam=avāpa*.
[13] Read *tasmāl=lōka-tray-aika-tilakō='juni*.
[14] Read *Rāshṭrakūṭa*.
[15] Read °*ōdbhūtā*.
[16] Read *Mahālakshmīr=iti*.
[17] Read *āsīd=yasyām=abhūt=tasya*.
[18] Read °*Allaṭaḥ*.
[19] Read *tanayō Mahīpāla*°. [See above, p. 242. note 4.—Ed.]
[20] This *akshara* is redundant.
[21] Read *nvāha*.
[22] Read *karmaṇi*.
[23] Read *Vairaṭō*°.

10 jami(ni) naṁvamō[1] Haṁsavā(pā)lō='vē(ti)-vī[r*]yavān | anā(nya)tra-lavdhagasyabhyā-mōḥ[2]-Śrībhyā[ṁ*] sēvitaḥ samaṁ(mam) |[|7*]

11 [Navō]pyāsamahāvōchōkausahō[3] mahā(hī)patiḥ || sahāyıta-savā(hā)yēna vairi-kuṁ[ja]-ramū[m=u]dvasta(han) |[| 8*]

12 Aha(tha)'va(ta)sya sutaḥ śrīnān[4] Si[ṁ*]hō visu(ja)ya [pri]dva(shṭha)kaḥ |[| 9*] [5] P[ū]vaprasi-ḍhabhamasragajavilāvigaja[mya]-

13 na[6]-[para*]mabhaṁ(bha)ṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-varauithara-maḍalātaḥ[7] śra(śrī)-Nāga-[hra]d-āvasthitaḥ savvīmē-

14 vāsā[tya]matripra[ch]ihitīdīn[8] nija-maṁḍala-nivāsi-[lō]kān [| Vō](Brā)[hma]ṇ-ō[tta]rāṁś=cha vō(bō)dhaya[ty=a]-

15 su(stu) vama saṁvichivaṁ[9] yathā |[10] athīḥ(rthāḥ) pāda-raj-ōpamā girinagīvastipēmē[11] y[au]-vanam=āvu(yu)shya(shyaṁ) jalaṁkị-

16 [ndu]tālēchapala[12] kē(phē)n-ōpamaṁ jīvitāṁ(tam |) dhanī(rmmaṁ) yā(yō) na karōmē(ti) niddhā(rmma)la-mabhiḥ(tiḥ) svaggāggalō-

17 dyānaṁ[13] pa[śchā]t-tāsha(pa)-hatō jarā-pariṇataḥ śōk-āmi(gni)nā dag[dha](hya)tē |[| 10*] ity-ādi-sa[ṁ*]sār-ātha-

18 sājyāṁ[14] shivinpra[15] valimīhala[16]-gata-jala-lava-taralatacha(rān) grāṇitavānāka[la]lya[17] Kṛitā||(nta)-

19 mōlōnya[18] vasāsaṁ[va]ha[19] śrī-Vikrama-nṛipa-kāl-ātīta-ma(saṁ)va[tsa]ra-śatashrōkāda[śa]-bhu[20] cha[tva]||(tvā)-

Second Plate

20 ridadi[bhrē]śrasāshāvamāsabhāvāśyāṁ[21] sūyakō asikatōvi[22] Saṁvatū 11 ka[23] varshē |[24] Āvāḍhava[25]

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[1] Read *navamō.* [The intended reading may be *naṁdanō.*—Ed.]

[2] Read *labdha-rājyasy=Ōmā°.*

[3] Read *tatō=py=āsīn=mahā-vīrō Vairisiṁhō.*

[4] Read *śrīmān.* Originally *nṛi* had been incised, but subsequently the lower part of the vowel-mark was deleted suggesting that the upper part is intended to represent the *virāma.*

[5] This is only a half verse.

[6] Read *pūrva-prasiddha-samasta-rāj-āvalī-virājamāna°.*

[7] Read *paramēśvara-maṁḍalīkaḥ.*

[8] Read *sarvvān=ēv=āmātya-mantri-purōhit-ādīn.*

[9] Read *vaḥ saṁviditaṁ.*

[10] The punctuation mark is unnecessary.

[11] Read *giri-nadī-vēg-ōpamaṁ.*

[12] Read *jala-bindu-lōla-chapalaṁ.*

[13] Read *svargg-ārggal-ōdghā[ṭa*]naṁ.*

[14] Read *°āsāratāṁ.*

[15] Read *vichintya.*

[16] Read *nalinī-dala.*

[17] Read *prāṇān=arthān=ākalayya.*

[18] Read *maulinā.*

[19] Read *jñāta-śāstrēṇa.*

[20] Read *°śatēshv=ēkādaśasu.*

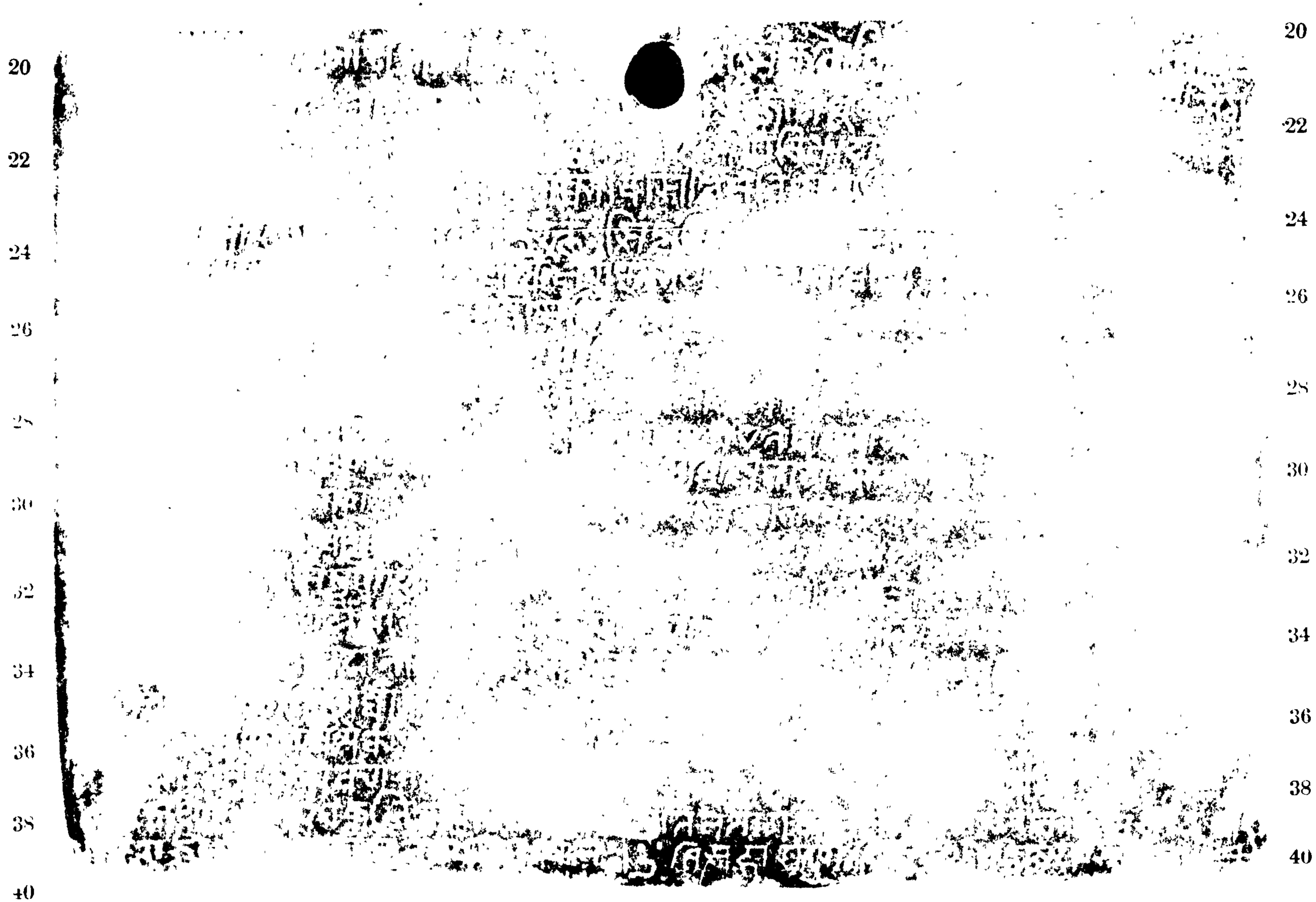
[21] Read *°riṁśad-adhikēshv=Āśvina-mās-āmāvāsyāyāṁ.*

[22] Read *sūryyasya grāsē='ṅkatō='pi*

[23] Read *Saṁvat* 1140.

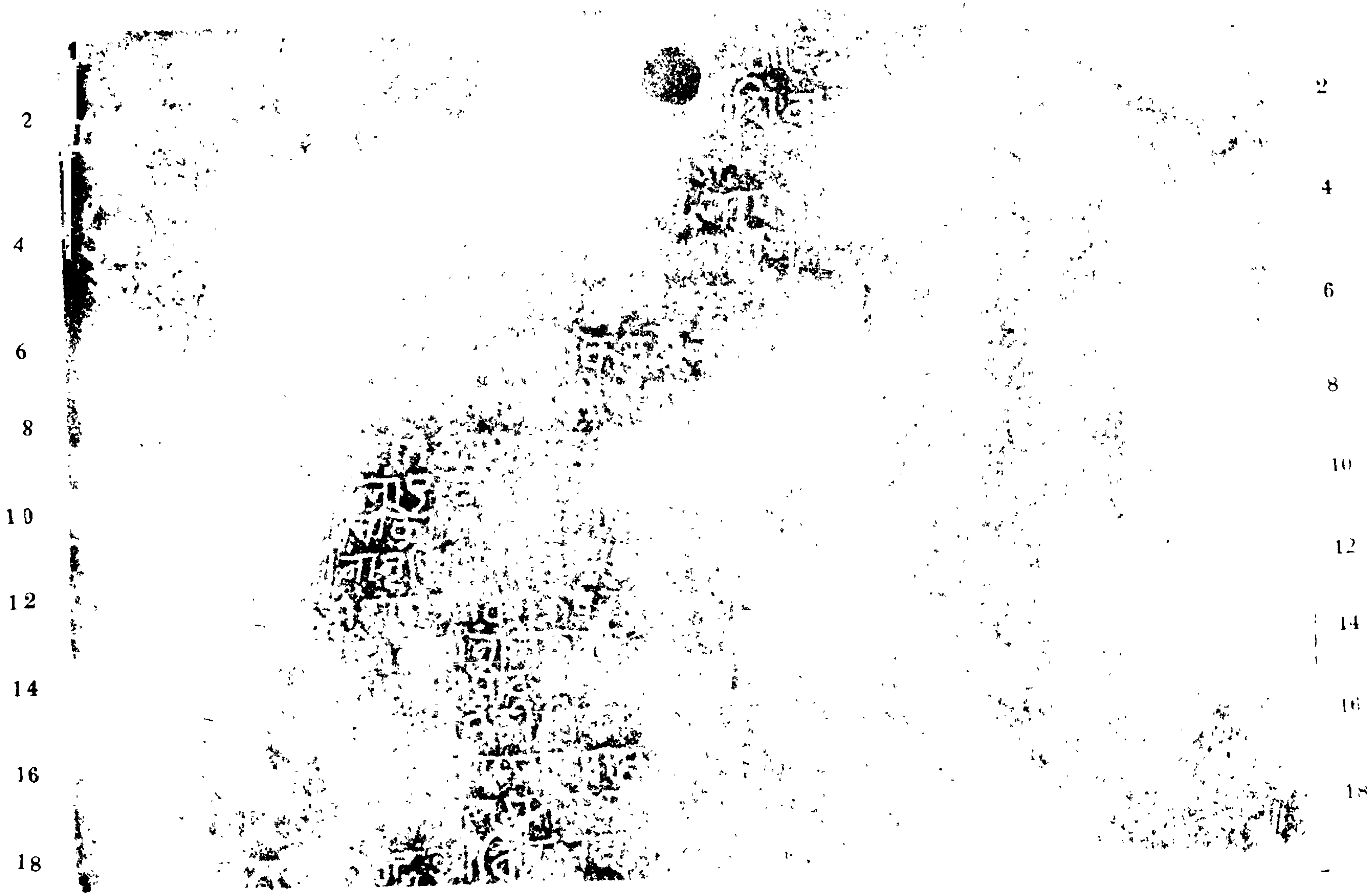
[24] This *daṇḍa* is redundant.

[25] Read *Āśvina.*



(from a Photograph)

KADMAL PLATES OF GUHILA VIJAYASIMHA, V. S. 1140



(from a Photograph)

21 **vadi** raka[1] [|*] avaghēha[2] Nāga[hra*]da-rājadhānyāṁ saṁjāna-tūrya-ahaṇa-parkaṇa[3] śrī[4]-Ēkaliṁga-

22 **dēva-sa[nn]idhō(dhau)** Bhōlā[5]-taḍāgē snānvā(tvā) [śu]chi-chā(vā)sasī pachi(ri)dhāya [s]va-**pitṛīn sanavya**[6] bhagadaṁ(vaṁ)naṁ(taṁ) Bha-

23 **va(vā)nīpaliṁ(tiṁ)** char-āchara-[ru](gu)ruṁ adana[7]-Vishṇu-Sa(Śa)kr-ādi-sēvina(ta)-**viśva-śṛi(sṛi)**shṭi-sthiti-saṁhṛiti-hēnuṁ(tuṁ) saṁsāra-

24 **sāgar-ōntā(ttā)ra-pōtaṁ** dēva-dānava-ya[ksha]-ra[ksha]ḥ-siddha-vidyādhar-ādi-nu[taṁ] **mahatyā** bhavravā[8] śakt[y]ā va(cha) su-

25 **gaṁdhi-push[pai]r=abhyamyaṁ(rchya)** punappunaḥ[9] vē(vai)pva(śvā)naraṁ p[ū]jayitvā **hōma-dravyaiḥ** saṁnarsha[10] mātṛi(tā)-pi[trō]r=ātma-

26 **naśrāmına**[11]-puṇya-yaśō-bhētṛiddhyaṁvvaṁm[12]=aihıkam=āmushmikaṁ va(cha) phalam=**aṁtī(gī)kṛi[tya*]** grasırivrajavipa-

27 **ya**[13] ēvakālasatalaṭhā[14] ēllitrāma-ēṁvaınō vrilagaḥ[15] sva-sīmā-ēryanasya śrāmasya[16] **śva(a)raghaṭṭa-kā-**

28 **ṭa(shṭha)-na(ta)**ḍāg-ādi-gha(sa)mastasya paṁchamō vibhāgaḥ sarvv-ādāyaya[17] ta[d-a*]dha-**(rdha)-kara-pānī[ya*]**-bhāya(ga)-lō(bhō)g-ādi-sana(ma)nvi-

29 **tō Nāga[hra]da-sthāma(na)**-vinivvī(rgga)lā(tā)ya Vasasragōttrāya[18] **ētaghavarā[ya]**[19] **Mādhyaṁdini(na)**-śākhinē [i]-

30 **h=aiva Nāgahrada**-kāslachā-para-mā[n]ya-vāchāya[20]-Sāhīya-sutāya śrī[21]-[Ū]ṇal-**āchāyī(ryā)y=ōē(pa)**ry-ārōpi-

31 **ta-dhā(grā)ma**-paṁchama-vibhāga āvvaṁdyakīrllava[22]-kshiti-sama-kālaṁ **yācha(va)t udaka-pūrla(rvva)**kāṁ |[23] śāya(sa)nēna uṇa-

32 u × [24] | iti mavvā(tvā) atra grāma-nivāsiyi(bhi)r=jjanair=ājā(jñā)-pra(śra)vaṇa-**vi[dhē]yaisu-(r=bhū)**tvā sarnē(rvai)r=api pūva(rvva)-praya(dī)-

33 pa(ya)mānam=akhilam=amuṇai(shmai) rā(ā)chāryāya ma(sa)dya(mu)panētavyaṁ(**vyam**) | [ē]taṭī(dī)pa(ya)-putra-[pau]trāṇāṁ sāṁtānidā(kā)nāṁ

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[1] Read *14*.
[2] Read *ath=ādy=ēha*.
[3] Read *saṁjāta-sūryya-grahaṇa-parvaṇi*.
[4] *Sandhi* has not been observed here.
[5] Read *Bhōja°*.
[6] Read *saṁtarpya*.
[7] Read *Brahma°*.
[8] Read *bhaktyā*.
[9] Read *punaḥ punaḥ*.
[10] Read *saṁtarpya*.
[11] Read *ātmanaś=ch=āmita°*.
[12] Read *°bhivṛiddhy-artham°*.
[13] Read *sa-giri-vraja-viṭapaḥ*.
[14] Read *sarvva-kāla-sajalaḥ*.
[15] Read *Palligrāma-paṁchamō vibhāgaḥ*.
[16] Read *sva-sīmā-paryantasya grāmasya*. The following *daṇḍa* is redundant.
[17] Read *sarv-ādāyaḥ*.
[18] Read *Vatsa-sugōtrāya*.
[19] Read *paṁcha-pravarāya*.
[20] Read *°vāstavya-parama-mānya-var-āchārya°*.
[21] *Sandhi* has not been observed here.
[22] Read *ā-chaṁdr-ārkk-ārṇṇava°*.
[23] The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.
[24] Read *pradattaḥ*.

34 cha tuṁjanāṁ bhuṁjāpayatāṁ[1]m=asā(sma)dvi(d=vaṁ)śajair=atyai(nyai)r=api bhāvi-bhū-pālaiḥ paripaṁtra(tha)nā pa(pra)tishēdhō

35 vā na karlla(rtta)vyaḥ | yavva(thā) hā(dā)n-āpahāra-saṁvaṁ(baṁ)dhi-prākra(kta)na-maha-r[shi]-pa(pra)ṇītāni [sm]ṛiti-vāchavvāny[2]=atē(nē)ka-

36 śaḥ prū(śrū)yaṁtē | tāni yavvā(thā) | Va(Ba)hubhir=vavvu(su)dhā bhukā(ktā) ga(rā)-jabhi[ḥ*] Saja(ga)r-ādibhiḥ [|*] yasya 2[3] yadā bh[ū]mika(s=ta)nya(sya)

37 [2][3] taya(dā) phalaṁ(lam) |[|11*] Suvarlla(rṇṇa)tē(m=ē)kaṁ gō(gā)m=ēkaṁ(kāṁ) bhū-mēr=apy=ēkam=aṁgulaṁ(lam) | haraṁtō hārayaṁta[ś]=cha daha[ṁ*]ty=ā-śra(sa)pla-(pta)maṁ kulaṁ(lam) |[| 12*]

38 i[ty-ā]ṭi(di)-smṛi[ti]-vākyānā(ny=a)vagamy=āsā(sma)t-pradatra(tta)-chra(bra)hla(hma)dāyō=ya[ṁ*] sadhaśā[4] pālanīyaḥ | iti li[ri](khi)-

39 tam=ida[ṁ*] ṇa(śā)sanaṁ ēṁ(paṁ)chakulika-paṁḍita-Ūhila-sutēna Tā(Nā)gavā(pā)lēna iti | ta(dū)takō='tra Chāhaa(mā)-

40 na-rājaī(pu)pra(tra)-Saga[ṁ]ḍā-suta-Dhā(Ra)ṇā(ṇa)dhavalaḥ | iti sa(ma)hārāṇā(jā)dhirō(rā)-ja-śrī-Vvi(Vi)jayasi[ṁ*]hasya [||*][5]

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[1] Read *bhuṁjatāṁ bhōjayatā°*.
[2] Read *°vachanāny°*.
[3] This denotes that the preceding word should be repeated.
[4] Read *sarvvathā*.
[5] A small spear-head is engraved at the end of the line.

No. 34—DASGOBA PLATES OF RAJARAJA III, SAKA 1120

(*3 Plates*)

D.C. Sircar, Ootacamund, and Sadasiva Ratha Sarma, Puri

The copper-plate inscription published below was recovered from the house of Sri **Kshetra-mohan Das** in the village of **Dāsgōbā** within the Chandanpur Police Station in the Puri District of Orissa.

The set consists of five thick plates held together by a ring with a seal soldered to it. Each of the plates measures about 13¾"×8½". The ring, which is of considerable thickness, passes through the hole made about the middle of the left margin of each plate. The diameter of the hole in the first, third and fourth plates is 1" while it is ·9" in the second and fifth plates. The seal (about 4" in diameter) has the form of an expanded lotus and has in the centre an embossed figure of a seated bull caparisoned and bedecked with ornaments, facing front and having raised neck and head. To the proper right of the bull, there are the emblems of a conch, the crescent moon, a battle-axe, a flywhisk, a *ḍamaru* and an indefinite object, and to its left are similarly an *aṅkuśa* and a *daṇḍa* or *gadā*. The borders of the plates are slightly raised. The first plate has writing only on the inner side, the others being engraved on both the sides. There are altogether 155 lines of writing in the following order : IB—18, IIA—19, IIB—20, IIIA—19, IIIB—20, IVA—19, IVB—19, VA—19, VB—2. The five plates together weigh 537 *tolas* while the weight of the ring with the seal is 154 *tolas*.

The charter was issued by king Rājarāja III (c. 1198-1211 A.D.) of the imperial branch of the Eastern Gaṅga family of Orissa and closely resembles the recently published Nagarī plates[1], issued by his son Anaṅgabhīma III in 1230-31 A.D., in respect of palaeography, orthography and style. The date of our grant is Śaka 1120 corresponding to 1198-99 A.D. It was therefore issued about 32 years before the Nagarī plates. Rājarāja III was the son of Anaṅgabhīma II (c. 1190-96 A.D.) and grandson of the great Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A.D.). The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it is the only copper-plate charter of the king so far discovered. It is specially interesting in view of the fact that as yet we have copper-plate grants of none of the four sons of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, viz. Kāmārṇava III (1147-56 A.D.), Rāghava (c. 1156-70 A.D.), Rājarāja II (c. 1170-90 A.D.), and Anaṅgabhīma II who was the father and predecessor of the issuer of the present charter.

The introductory part of the record contains seventy verses with a string of personal names between verses 6 and 7 in lines 12-16. This part was copied in the Nagarī plates with slight modifications[2] and with the omission of only one stanza (verse 63) in the description of Anaṅgabhīma II. The importance of this portion has already been discussed in our article on the Nagarī plates. It has to be noted that verse 37 quotes the correct date of Kāmārṇava's accession to the throne as *nand-artu-vyōma-chandra-pramita-Śaka-samā-vyāpta-kālē dinēśē chāpasthē*. This refers to the solar month of Dhanus (Pausha) in the Śaka year 1069 corresponding to 1147 A.D. While editing the Nagarī plates, verse 8 was taken to speak of Sarapura as the original name of Kōlāhala, capital of the mythical prince Kōlāhala Anantavarman. But the correct reading of the passage *Sarapuraṅ=cha tadīyam* seems to be *sa cha puraṅ=cha tadīyam*. This says that both

[1] Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 235 ff.

[2] Some of the mistakes that crept into the transcript of the Nagarī plates published above may be corrected with the help of the transcript of the present epigraph.

Anantavarman and his capital city became famous under the name Kōlāhala but does not refer to the original name of the city.

The grant portion of the inscription begins in line 122. Lines 122-27 state that, on the occasion of a **solar eclipse** in the Śaka year 1120, king **Rājarāja III**, apparently when he was staying at **Śrī Purushōttama-kshētra** on the shore of the ocean, granted the village of Kōrada or Kōradā in the **Aṭṭhāyisa** *khaṇḍa* (sub-division) within the *vishaya* (district) of **Sāyilō** in **Utkala-dēśa** as a rent-free holding in favour of a number of Brāhmaṇas of various *gōtras*. The grant is stated to have been made for the merit of the king's mother Vāghalladēvī. It is not impossible that the king and his mother went to Śrī-Purushōttama-kshētra (i.e. Purī) on pilgrimage for taking a bath in the holy waters of the Bay of Bengal on the occasion of the eclipse.[1] In Śaka 1120 there was only one solar eclipse occurring on **Thursday the 28th of January 1199 A.D.** The grant, therefore, was made on the said date.

The donees are enumerated in lines 128-45. The names of the Brāhmaṇas are quoted along with their respective *gōtra* as well as the area of land granted to each of them. Twelve of the Brāhmaṇas received 102 *Vāṭis* of land, each *Vāṭi* measuring about 20 acres. Sixty-two other Brāhmaṇas received one *Gṛiha-vāṭi* or house-site each, while a Brāhmaṇa named Dharmū alone received four *Gṛiha-vāṭis*. It is stated that the *Gṛiha-vāṭis* granted to these Brāhmaṇas amounted to fifteen *Vāṭis* in area. Vidyākarāryya of the Kauśika *gōtra* was the *pānīya-grāhin* or the principal donee who seems to have received the ceremonial water from the donor on behalf of the donees.[2] He received 20 *Vāṭis* out of 30 *Vāṭis* of land granted to Viddanāryya. The details of the grant are quoted below in a tabular form. The last name of the list may be that of the God of Purī.

No.	Donee	Gōtra	Land
1	Viddanārya	Kāśyapa	10 *Vāṭis*
2	Vidyākarārya (*Pānīya-grāhin*)	Kauśika	20 do.
3	Rudrakarārya	do.	7 do.
4	Śivakarārya	do.	7 do.
5	Mādhavakarārya	do.	7 do.
6	Narasiṁhārya	do.	7 do.
7	Hariharārya	do.	7 do.
8	Kēśavārya	Kauṇḍinya	10 do.
9	Ādityārya	do.	10 do.
10	Chandrakarārya	Kāśyapa	5 do.
11	Nārāyaṇārya	Bhāradvāja	1 *Gṛiha-vāṭi*
12	Gadādharārya	do.	1 do.
13	Nārāyaṇaśarman	do.	1 do.
14	Siddhēśvaraśarman	do.	1 do.
15	Rāmadēvārya	do.	1 do.
16	Gaṇēśvaraśarman	do.	1 do.

[1] Cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 64.

[2] See above, p. 113

No.	Donee	Gōtra	Land
17	Dhanakaraśarman	Bhāradvāja	1 *Gṛiha-vāṭī*
18	Rudraśarman	do.	1 do.
19	Kēśavaśarman	do.	1 do.
20	Jayakaraśarman	do.	1 do.
21	Āllōyiśarman	do.	1 do.
22	Payānundaśarman	do.	1 do.
23	Hōtṛi-Mādhavaśarma	do.	1 do.
24	Vāsudēvaśarman	do.	1 do.
25	Buddhaśarman	do.	1 do.
26	Nāgūśarman	do.	1 do.
27	Pītāmbarārya	Parāśara	1 do.
28	Madhuśarman	do.	1 do.
29	Gaṇēśvaraśarman	do.	1 do.
30	Rudraśarman	do.	1 do.
31	Kṛishṇayajvan	Kāśyapa	1 do.
32	Kāmadēvaśarman	do.	1 do.
33	Vishṇuyajvan	do.	1 do.
34	Budhaśarman	do.	1 do.
35	Gadādharaśarman	do.	1 do.
36	Kāmadēvaśarman	do.	1 do.
37	Chaṇḍōśarman	do.	1 do.
38	Anantaśarman	Rāthītara	1 do.
39	Padmākarārya	Kauśika	1 do.
40	Bhōgayajvan	do.	1 do.
41	Gadādharahōtṛi	do.	1 do.
42	Brahmaśarman	do.	1 do.
43	Vāṅkaśarman	do.	1 do.
44	Gadādharārya	Kṛishṇātrēya	1 do.
45	Chandrakaraśarman	do.	1 do.
46	Kālōśarman	do.	1 do.
47	Sujjāyiyajvan	Kuddālaka	1 do.
48	Dēvapālaśarman	do.	1 do.
49	Udgātṛi-Purushōttamaśarman	Vatsa	1 do.
50	Hariśarman	do.	1 do.
51	Hariharaśarman	do.	1 do.

No.	Donee	Gōtra	Land	
52	Pajjunaśarman	Vatsa	1	*Gṛiha-vāṭī*
53	Trilōchanārya(?)	do.	1	do.
54	Pūrṇakarārya	Kauṇḍinya	1	do.
55	Gōvindaśarman	do.	1	do.
56	Mannāyiśarman	Kapi(?)	1	do.
57	Kēśavaśarman	do.	1	do.
58	Tantōyajvan	Kṛishṇātrēya	1	do.
59	Kēśavaśarman	do.	1	do.
60	Jagēśvar-āhitāgni	do.	1	do.
61	Pannāyiśarman	do.	1	do.
62	Sujāyiśarman	do.	1	do.
63	Purushōttamārya	do.	1	do.
64	Dāmōdaraśarman	do.	1	do.
65	Rāmadēvaśarman	do.	1	do.
66	Padmanābhārya	Gārgya	1	do.
67	Kṛishṇaśarman	Vatsa	1	do.
68	Kituśarman	Ghṛitakauśika	1	do.
69	Ālōiśarman	Kāśyapa	1	do.
70	Dāmōdaraśarman	do.	1	do.
71	Dhṛitikaraśarman	Vārshagaṇa	1	*Vāṭī*
72	Viyudēvārya	Vatsa	2	do.
73	Kēśavārya	Ālaṁvāyana	10	do.
74	Dharmū	....	4	*Gṛiha-vāṭīs*
75	Śrī-Purushōttamadēva	....	1	do.

The concluding part (lines 146 ff.) of the inscription contains the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas, many of which are found in the Nagarī plates and other inscriptions of the family. Verse 77 praying for the everlasting fame and prowess of king Rājarāja III is an interesting new stanza. Verse 78, also found in the Nagarī plates, states that the *praśasti* was composed by Appa(yya ?)na. This poet therefore adorned the court both of Rājarāja III and of his son Anaṅgabhīma III. Line 154 speaks of the artisan Lōkāyi who engraved the record. The inscription ends with a reference to Kēśavārya of the Ālaṁvāyana *gōtra* receiving 10 *Vāṭīs* of land. The name of this donee was apparently omitted from its proper place through oversight.

As to the **geographical** names in the grant portion of the record, **Sāyilō-vishaya** in **Utkala-dēśa** is the present Sailo Pargana in the Cuttack District of Orissa. **Aṭṭhāyisa-khaṇḍa** (literally, 'the subdivision of 28 [villages]'), in which the gift village of **Kōrada** or **Kōradā** was situated, seems to have formed a part of the Pargana in question. There is a Pargana called Aṭhāisī comprising the Konarak region of the Puri District. The inclusion of this in the old

Sāyilō *vishaya* would suggest that the latter extended from the Kathjuri river to the sea. Mr. P. Acharya is inclined to associate Aṭṭhāyisa-khaṇḍa with modern Aṭhāspur in sheet map No. 73/L/4.

TEXT[1]

[Metres : Verses 1-3, 5-6, 9-11, 15, 20, 24-31, 33, 40-41, 48, 50, 54, 56-58, 60-61, 65, 68 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verses 4, 21, 37, 42, 53, 67, 77 *Sragdharā* ; verses 7, 23, 49, 66 *Mālinī* ; verses 8, 13, 34, 38-39, 44-46, 51, 59, 69 *Vasantatilaka* ; verses 12, 16, 18-19, 22, 32, 36, 43, 52, 55, 62, 64, 70-76, 78 *Anushṭubh* ; verses 14, 17, 35 *Upajāti* ; verses 47, 63 *Indravajrā*.]

First Plate

1 Siddham[2] Ō [||*] Lakshmī-pāda-sarōruha-dvayam=adaḥ śrēyānsi(yāṁsi) dāsīshṭa vaḥ prasphūrjjan-nakha-raśmi-kēsara-saṭaṁ bhāsvan-nakh-ālī-dalaṁ(lam)

2 | vispashṭaṁ prativiṁvi(bi)taḥ praṇamanaiḥ krīḍ-āparādh-ōdbhavaiḥ Kṛishṇō yan-nakha-dīptishu bhramaratān=dhattē sa [La*]kshmī-priyaḥ || [1*] Kshī-

3 r-āvdhē(bdhē)r=mmathitāt=sur-āsura-gaṇaiḥ prādurbhavantī Ramā Śambhu-Vra(Bra)hma-Puranda[ra*]-prabhṛitishu prakhyāta-kīrttishv=api | paśyatsv=Amvu(mbu)janābham=īśam=avṛiṇōl=lōka-tray-āhlādinaṁ bhṛing-ālī sahakāram=ēti hi vanē phullā(llē)=nya-śākhiny=api || [2*] Tan-nābhī-sarasī-ruh-ōdbhava-

5 Vidhēr=Atrirvva(r=bba)bhūv=āmutaś=Chandraś=chandrikayā prakāsi(śi)ta-jagat=sambhūtakā(vā)n=nētrataḥ | trailōkya-ga(gra)san-aika-daksha-timira-grāsitva-sā-

6 myē=pi yō lakshma-vyāji dadhat=tamaḥ prati-vapuḥ sūryy-ādhikō nirmmalaḥ || [3*] Śrīvē(dē)vī-sōdaratvād=amṛita-sakhatayā Kalpa-vṛiksh-ā-

7 bh[u](nu)jatvā[l*]=lōk-ānandaṁ vidhātā timira-visha-haraḥ sarvva-dēv-aika-bhōgyaḥ | tat-tat-saṁsargga-lābhāt=tad-anugata-guṇaṁ sv-āṅga-nishṭhaṁ da-

8 dhānaḥ svasy=[ai]tan=nirmmalatvaṁ jagati vijayatē darśayan=nūnam=induḥ || [4*] Vanśē(Vaṁśē) tasya nṛip-ēśvarāḥ samabhavan=yēshāṁ guṇāś=chhanda-

9 saḥ prōtpūrṇṇā[3] iva yat=purāṇa-pathagās=tatr=āpi nō sammitāḥ[4] | tat-tat-kāvya-pathaṁ śritās=tri-bhuvanam[5]=mūrttin=dadhānā i-

10 va bhrāmyant=īsva(va) sa-chētanāḥ śruti-gṛihē viśramya viśramya cha || [5*] Praty-ēkaṁ śaśi-vanśa(vaṁśa)-bhūpati-bhuja-vyāpāra-saṅkīrttanaṁ ka-

11 rttuṅ=kaḥ kavir=īhatē[6] va(ba)hu-mukhō yatr=Ārjjunasy=aiva hi | dōr-ddaṇḍ-ā[r*]jjita-kīrtti-varṇṇana paraṁ tad=Bhārataṁ prābhavat-tasmād=āhvaya-mātra-

12 m=ādi-nṛipatē(ti)-śrēṇi-kramāl=likhyatē || [6*] tathā hi Chandrād=Vu(d=Bu)dhaḥ | Vu(Bu)dhāt=Purūravāḥ | tasmād=Āyuḥ | tatō Nahushaḥ | tatō Yayātiḥ [|*]

13 tataḥ(ta)s=Turvvashuḥ(suḥ) | tatō Gāṅgēyaḥ | tatō Virōchanaḥ [|*] tat-sutaḥ Saṁvē(Saṁvē)dyaḥ | tatō Bhāsvān | tatō Dattasēnaḥ [|*] tataḥ

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[1] From impressions and the original plates.

[2] Expressed by symbol.

[3] The Nagarī plates read *prōtphullā*.

[4] The Nagarī plates wrongly read *sammatāḥ*.

[5] The Nagarī plates read *patha-śritās=tri-bhuvanē*.

[6] The Nagarī plates have *kshamatē kshitau*.

14 Saumyaḥ | tatō=nśudattaḥ[1] | tataḥ Saurāṅgaḥ | tasmāch=Chitrāṅgadaḥ [|*] **tat-sūnuḥ** Sāradhvajaḥ | tatō Dharmmaishī | tatō Pa-

15 rīkshita(kshit) | tatō Jayasēnaḥ | tat-sutō=pi Jayā(ya)sa(sē)naḥ | tatō **Vṛishadhvajaḥ** [|*] tataḥ Śaktiḥ | tataḥ Pragalbhaḥ | tataḥ Kōlā-

16 halaḥ sa ēv=**Ānantavarmm**=ābhavata(vat) || Dhana-kanaka-samṛiddhō **Gaṅgavāḍiḥ prasi**ddhaḥ sakala-vishaya-bhūshā[2] svargga-bhōg-ōpabhōgya-

17 ḥ[3] | tad-adhipatir=ath=ādyō=nantavarmmā nṛip-ēndraḥ samabhavad=iti rūḍhā **Gaṅga-nāmnā** tad-ādyāḥ || [7*] Kōlāhalaḥ samara-mū[r*]dhni

18 tatō nṛipāṇāṁ bhūtō yataḥ sa cha[4] purañ=cha tadīyam=atra | Kōlāhal-āhvayam=**abhūt=sura**sadma-tulyaṁ tasmin=kra-

Second Plate, First Side

19 mēṇa patibhir=vva(r=bba)hubhir=vva(r=bba)bhūvē || [8*] Rājyaḥ(jya)-śrī-bhṛiti **Mārasiṁha-** **[ha*]**-nṛipatau jyēshṭhē kiṁ=atr=āsmahē dōr-ddaṇḍ-ārjjita-bhūtal-ōtthita-**Ramā-ka-**

20 ṇṭha-grah-ānandinaḥ | kin=na syāma vayaṁ[5] bhuj-āsi-latikā saṁvē(saṁvē)**shṭatāṁ** vairiṇā[ṁ*] kaṇṭh-āraṇyam=iyañ=cha kīrti-latikā dyān=naḥ samā-

21 rōhatu || [9*] Bhrāmyadbhir=vvijigīshayā ski(kshi)titalaṁ kv=āpi dvishad-vanditaiḥ **kv=āpi** dvēpi dvēpi[6]-kula-pramāthibhir=api prāptāḥ Kali-

22 ṅgāḥ kila | taiḥ **Kāmārṇṇava**-pañchamai[r*]=nnṛipa-varair=yyuddhaṁ **Kaliṅgaiḥ samaṁ** prāpta[ṁ*] drashu(shṭu)m=iv=ārṇṇavād=udagamat=Kūrmm-āvatārō **Hariḥ** || [10*]

23 Kūrmma-svāmini sākshiṇi Trinayanē tasmin=Mahēndraṁ gatē Gōkarṇṇē=pi **mahōdadhau** viyati vā sūryyē tath=ēndāv=api | Kā

24 liṅgīm bhuvam=āharad=bhuja-va(ba)lād=any-ōpabhuktāñ=chira(rā)l=lakshmīñ=ch=**ēty=atha** kā stutir=vvadata hē[7] Gaṅg-ānvayasy=āhavē || [11*] Tatr=āsīd=vanśa(vaṁśa)-

25 kartt=āsau **Kāmārṇṇava**-mahīpatiḥ | yasy=aitē putra-pautr-ādyā rājānaḥ **khyāta-vikra**māḥ || [12*] Śāst-ārtha[8]-nishṭhita-matir=dvi-

26 shad-anta-kārī sarvv-ārthi-vargga-paritōshaṇa-hētur=ēkaḥ[9] | āchāratō=pi **muni-puṅgava-ma**(mā)rgga-chārī tasmād=abhūn=nṛipa-varō

27 bhuvi **Vajrahastaḥ** || [13*] Na nāmataḥ kēvalam=arthatō=pi sa **vajra-hastas=Trikaliṅga**nāthaḥ | kō Vajrahastād=a-

28 paraḥ pṛithivyāṁ vajraṁ patad=vārayituṁ samarthaḥ || [14*] [Vyā]ptē Gaṅga-ka(ku)l-ōttamasya yaśasā dik-chakravālē śaśi-

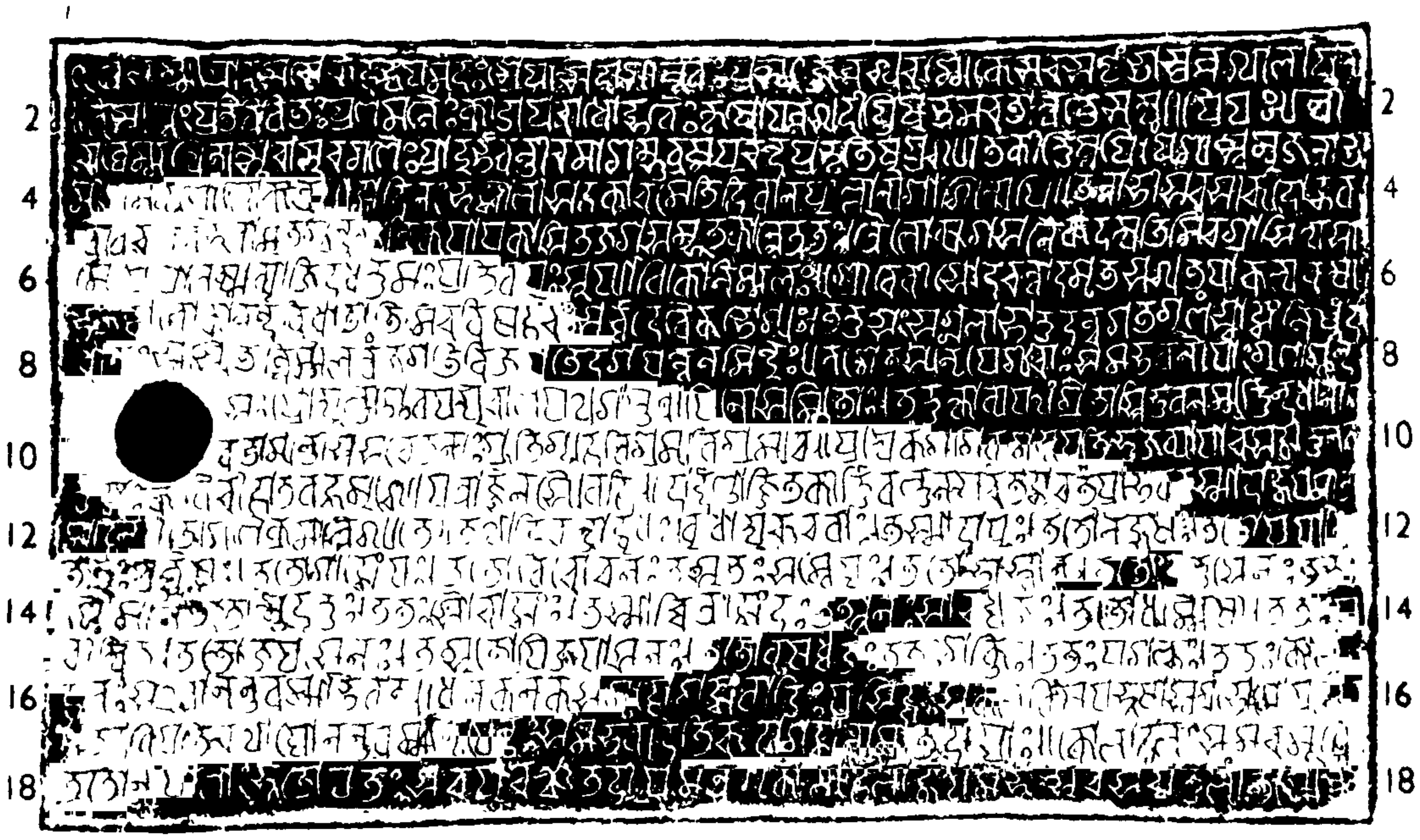
29 pradyōt-ā[10]malinēna yasya bhuvana-prahlāda-sampādinā | sindūrair=ati-sāndra-paṅka-**paṭa**laiḥ kumbha-sthalī-pa-

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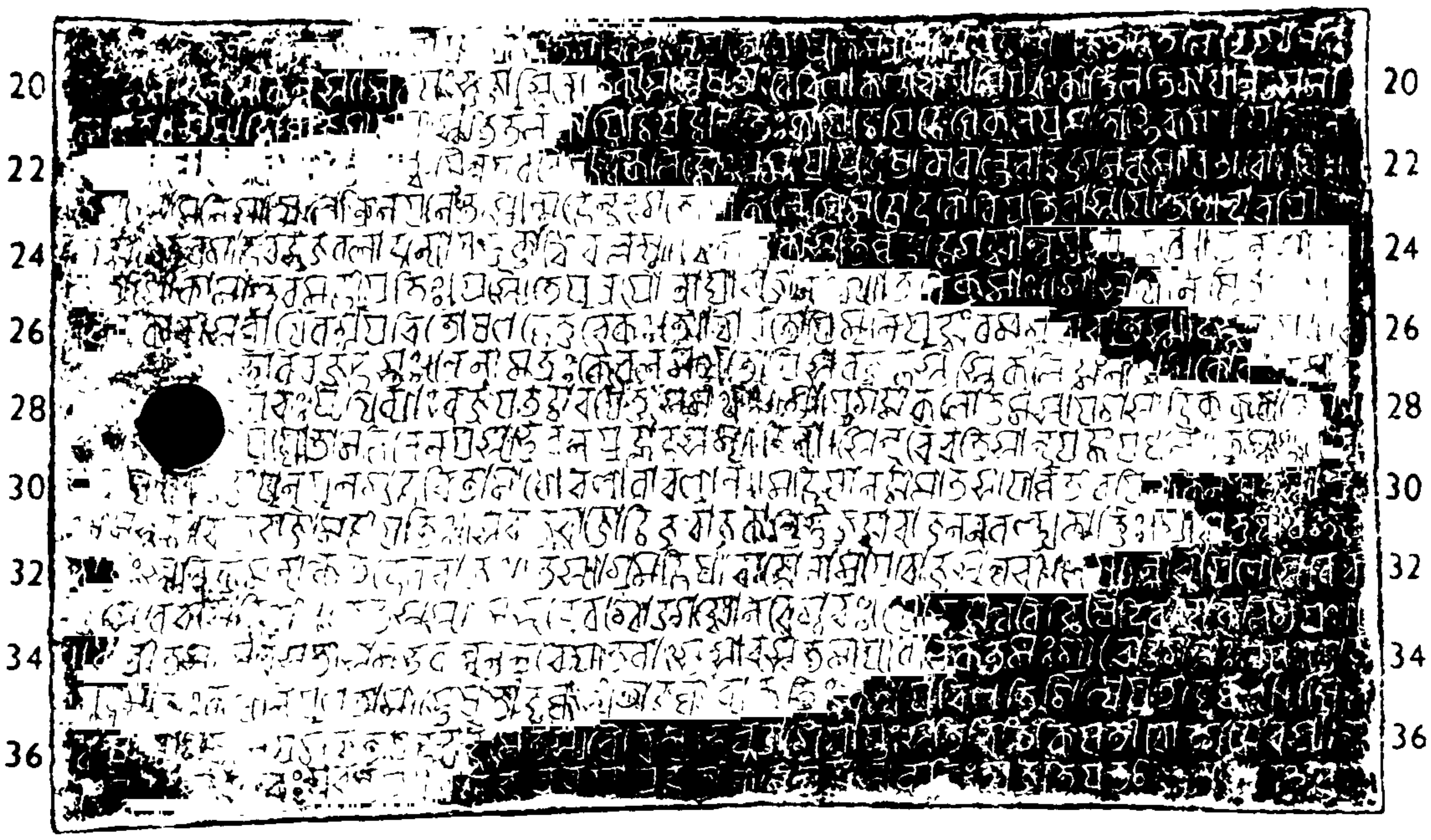
[1] The name intended seems to be Aṁśudatta and not Aśvadatta as found in the Nagarī plates and elsewhere.
[2] The same reading was apparently intended in the Nagarī plates.
[3] The Nagarī plates read *svargi-varg-ōpabhōgaḥ*.
[4] This reading should be adopted in the Nagarī plates also.
[5] The Nagarī plates have *kiñ=ch=āsmākam=iyaṁ*.
[6] Read *dvēshi* for *dvēpi dvēpi*.
[7] The *akshara* was originally omitted.
[8] Read *śāstr-ārtha°*
[9] The Nagarī plates wrongly read *hētu-varggaḥ*.
[10] The Nagarī plates read *prāyēṇ-ā°*.

DASGOBA PLATES OF RAJARAJA III, SAKA 1120—PLATE I

i

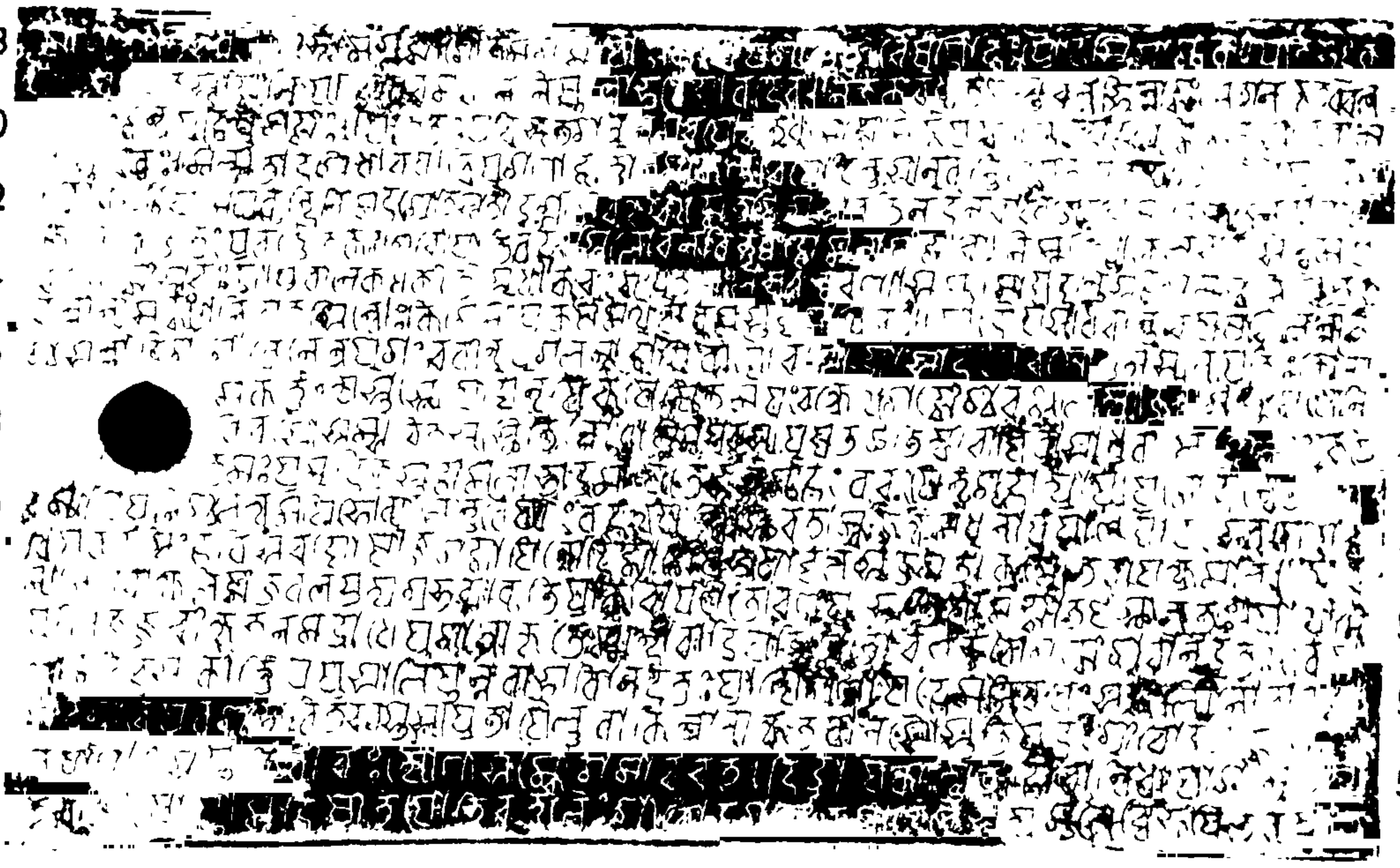


ii, a

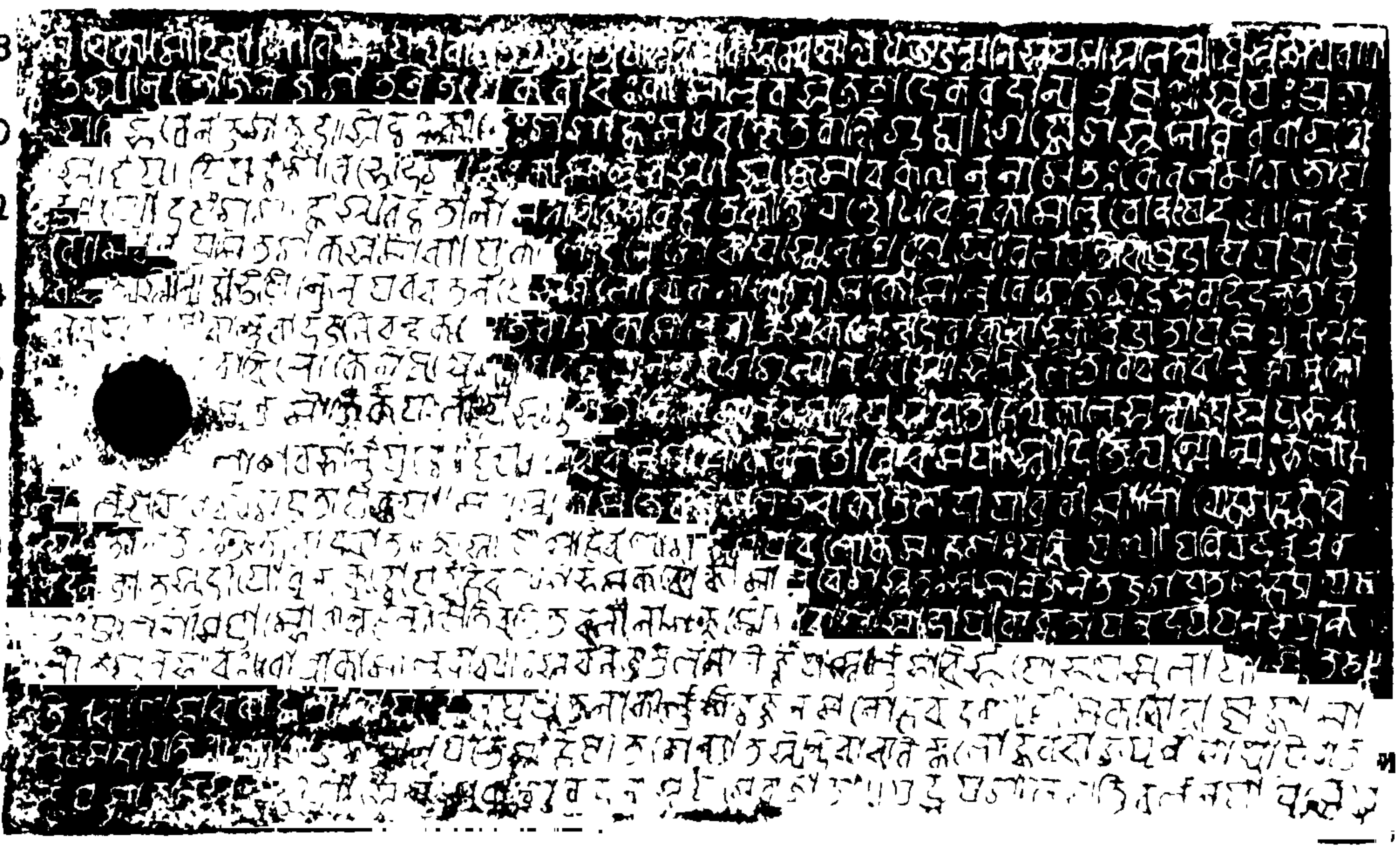


Scale: Four-ninths

II.b



III.a



30 ṭṭakēshv=āliṁpanti puna[ḥ*] punaś=cha haritām=ādhōraṇā vāraṇāna(ṇān) || [15*] Mahishī Naṅgamā tasya Pārvvat=īva Pinākinaḥ | tasmāt=ta-

31 syām=abhūd=vīrō **[Rā*]jarājō** mahīpatiḥ || [16*] Sa Rājarājō dvijarāja-kāntir=bhujaṅga-rāja(j-ā)nana-varṇṇya-kā(kī)rttiḥ | śrīmattay=ādhaḥ-kṛita-

32 [Rāja*]rājaḥ sva-vikrama-nyakkṛita-Dēvarājaḥ || [17*] Tasy=āgra-mahishī rājñō nāmnā yā Rājasundarī | Lakshmīr=Nnārāyaṇasy=ēva Cha-

33 ndrasy=ēva cha Rōhiṇī || [18*] Tatas=tasyām=abhūd=dēvaś=**Chōḍagaṅgō** nar-ēśvaraḥ | kshō[ṇī*]bhṛiṅga(d-ga)ndha-vichchhi[tyai][1] div=Īndrāt=kuliśaṁ yathā

34 || [19*] Dhātrī tasya Sarasvatī samabhavan=nūnan=na chēt=pītavāṁs=tat=sārasvatam=āryya-vā(bā)lakatamaḥ śrī-Chōḍagaṅgaḥ payaḥ | tādṛi-

35 g=Vēda-matiḥ kathaṁ nipuṇatā śāstrēshu tādṛik=kathaṁ tādṛik=kāvya-kṛitiḥ kathaṁ pariṇati[ḥ*] śilpēshu tādṛik=kathaṁ(tham) || [20*] Kshōṇīṁ

36 dikpāla-śēshām=ayam=akṛita pada-dvandvam=ētasya vairi-kshmābhṛich-chūḍā-śriy=āptaṁ stutir=iti kiyatī Chōḍagaṅg-ē[śva*]rasya | nū-

37 naṁ pūrṇṇaḥ sudhāṁśuḥ para-nṛipa-dhavala-chchhatra-vu(bu)ddhy=āpaharttā mām=ity=aṅgasya vṛiddhiṁ tyajati yata iva trasta-chittaḥ pravīrā-

Second Plate, Second Side

38 t || [21*] Gṛihṇāti sma karaṁ bhūmēr=**Ggaṅgā-Gautamagaṅgayōḥ** | madhyē paśyatsu vīrēshu prauḍhaḥ prauḍha-striyā iva || [22*] Pratibhaṭa-ka-

39 [ra*]-śastra-vyāhata-sv-āṅga-niryyad-rudhiram=avani-nishṭhan=nō bhavēd=yāvad=ēva[2] | nija-kara-dhṛita-śastra-chchhanna[2]-bhinn-āṅgam=ētān=akṛita dharaṇi-

40 śayyāṁ(yyān) dvandva-yuddhēshu Gaṅgaḥ || [23*] Yat-tējaḥ-paribhūta-śatru-nagara-prōd-bhūta-dhūm-ōṅga(dga)mair=bhūyaḥ Khāṇḍava-dāha-śaṅki-manasō dēvāḥ ksha-

41 ṇaṁ bhīravaḥ ||(|) svar-ṇṇītād=asi-dhārayā ripu-gaṇād=vṛittāntam=ākarṇṇya cha prō(prau)-ḍhin=tasya nuvanti Gaṅga-nṛipatēr=bhītiṁ vihāya dhruvaṁ(vam) || [24*]

42 Krōdhā(dh-ō)dya[d*]-dvipa-mēgha-vṛindini mada-śrō(srō)tasvatō(tī)-durggamē chañcha-[t*]-khaḍga-taṭi(ḍi)t-prabhāvati nadaṁ(dan)-nārācha-vaj[r*]-ōdayē [|*] mat-sainyē jalad-āga[ma*]-pra-

43 tinidhau jētuṁ pravarttēta kaḥ |[3] śūrō=pā(p=ī)ti vadaṁs=Trilōchana-vibhur=vva(r=bba)-ddhō=munā saṁ(sa)ṅgarē || [25*] Nirmmathy=**Ōtkala-rāja**-sindhum=apa-

44 raṁ Gaṅg-ēsva(śva)raḥ prāptavān=eka[ḥ][4] kīrtta(rtti)-sudhākaraṁ pṛithutamaṁ lakshmīn=dharaṇyā samaṁ(mam) | mādyad-danti-sahaśra(sra)m=aśva-niyutaṁ

45 rannā(tnā)ny=asaṅkhyāni vā tat-sindhōḥ kigi(m=i)maṁ prakarsham=athavā vrū(brū)-mas=tad-unmāthinaḥ || [26*] Pādau yasya dhar-āntarikshasha(m=a)khilan=nā[bhi]-

46 ś=cha sar[vv]ā diśa[ḥ*] śrōtrē nētra-yugaṁ rav-īndu-yugala[ṁ*] mūrddh=āpi vā dyaur=asau [|*] prāsādaṁ Pura(ru)shōttamasya nṛipatiḥ kō nā-

47 ma karttuṁ ksha[ma*]s=tasy=ēty=ādya-nṛipair=upēkshitam=ayaṁ chakrē=tha Gaṅg-ēśva-raḥ || [27*] Lakshmī-janma-gṛihaṁ payōni-

[1] The Nagarī plates read *garvva-vichchhittau*.

[2] The Nagarī plates offer a slightly different reading.

[3] The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[4] This *visarga* is of a peculiar form and may have been intended by the scribe for the *jihvāmūlīya*. But see line 138 below.

48 •dhir=asau sambhāvitasya sthitir=nnō dhāmni svasu(śvaśu)rasya pūjyata iti kshīr-āvdhi-(bdhi)-vāsā[d*]=dhruvaṁ(vam |) nirvviṇṇaḥ Purushō-

49 ttamaḥ pramuditas=tad-dhāma-lābhād=Ram=āpy=ētad=bhartṛi-gṛihaṁ varaṁ pitṛi-gṛihāt=prāpya pramōd-ānvitā || [28*] Tvaṁ

50 [Kū]rmm-ādhipa niśchala tvam=api bhō vyāl-ēndra dhairyyaṁ vaha tva[ṁ*] pṛithvi sthiratām=bhaja tvam=adhunā vra(bra)[hmā]ṇḍa dyā(gā)ḍhaṁ bhava | śrī-Gā(Ga)ṅg-ā-

51 dhipa-va(ba)ddha-siṁha-visarad-ghōshāj=jagad[1]-vyāpinō diṅ-nāgēshu bhayāch=chalatsu jagatī kampēta vā yat=kramāt || [29*] Āra-

52 myā-nagarāt=Kaliṅgaja-va(ba)la-pratyagra-bhagn-āvṛiti-prākār-ārpaṇa[2]-tōraṇa-prabhṛitiyō(tō) [Ga]ṅgā-taṭasthāt=tataḥ | Pārth-āstrai-

53 r=yyudhi jarjjarīkṛita-namad-Rādhēya-gātr-ākṛitir=Mandār-ādri-patir=ggatō raṇa-bhuvō Gaṅg-ēśvar-ānudrutaḥ |[| 30*] Vra(Bra)hmā-

54 ṇḍādva(d=ba)hir=asya kīrtti-payu(ya)sā liptan=na vā bhāvinē dattaḥ prārthi[3]-gaṇāya hēma-nichayaḥ saṅkalpinō(nē) vā va(ba)hu||(|)

55 nirdagdh-āri-pava(pura)ś=cha bhāvita-ra(na)vas=tasya pratāpairṇṇa(r=nna) vā kin=n=ānya-[t*][4] kṛitavān=asau stuti-padaṁ śrī-Chōḍagaṅg-ēśvaraḥ || [31*]

56 Varshāṇāṁ saptatiṁ vīraḥ kshōṇī-sambhōgam=ācharat | diṅ-nāyakān=pratīhārān=vidhāy=] āśāmu(su) sarvva-

57 taḥ [|| 32*] Kiṁ prāptā mahishī tapōbhir=atulaiḥ . śrī-Chōḍagaṅgēna sā dēvai=stutya-guṇair=vvibhūshita-vapuḥ Ka-

Third Plate, First Side

58 stūrikāmōdinī | n=ā-Vishṇuḥ pṛithivī-patiḥ prabhavat=īty=asmin=Harau vā bhuvō raksh-ārthaṁ dhṛita-janmani svayam=asau Lakshmīḥ prasūt=ātha vā || [33*]

59 Tasyān=tatō=jani jagat-tritay-aika-vīraḥ Kāmārṇṇavas=tri-jatā(ga)d-ēka-vadānya ēshaḥ ||(|) sūryaḥ pratā-

60 pa-vibhavēna jagat-prasiddhaḥ(ddha)-kīrttēḥ(rttiḥ) śaśāṅkam=adharīkṛitavān=viśuddhyā || [34*] Gaṅg-ēśa-sūnōr=vvivu(bu)dh-āśraya-

61 sya dṛipyad-dvishad-vanśa(vaṁśa)-vibhēdi-śaktēḥ [|*] Kāmārṇṇavasy=āsya Kumārakatvaṁ nanāmataḥ kēvalam=arthatō=pi [|| 35*]

62 Prāpy=ōdayaṁ śaśāṅkasya vardhatā[ṁ*] nāma vāridhiḥ | varddhatē kīrtti-chandrō=yaṁ chitraṁ Kāmārṇṇav-ō[dayē][5]dayē || [36*] Nand-artu-

63 vyōma-chandra-pramita-Śaka-samā-vyāpta-kālē dinēśē chāpasthē=nya-grah-aughē[6] va(ba)lavati ripushu[7] prakshayaṁ prāpta-

64 vatsu [|*] asmin=mūrddh-ābhishiktē nṛipa-vara-tanayē sarvva-lōk-aika-nāthē śrīma[t]-Kāmārṇṇav-ēśē jagad=abhavad=idan=tat-tad-ā-

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[1] The Nagarī plates have °*ghōshā jaga*°.

[2] The Nagarī plates read °*āyata* which is better.

[3] The Nagarī plates have *dattaś=ch=ārthi*°.

[4] The Nagarī plates read *kiṁ vā nō*.

[5] These two *aksharas* are redundant and were penned through by the engraver.

[6] The *akshara ghau* was originally engraved.

[7] The *akshara pu* had been originally omitted and was later inserted.

65 nanda-pūrṇṇaṁ(ṇṇam) || [37*] Kshīr-ārṇṇavād=ajani chandra-kal=ēti vārttā Kāmārṇṇa-vāt=tu sakal-ēndu-divākar-ābhaṁ(bham) [|*] kīrtti-pratāpa-mithunaṁ saha-

66 chāri lōkē ślishyaty=ahō para-nṛipān=anurāga-śūnyān || [38*] Yasy=āsi-niḥ(ni)rdalita-vairi-karīndra-kumbha-ni-

67 rmmukta-mauktika-phalāny=asṛig-ukshitāni [|*] Kāmārṇṇavasya ripu-saṁhati-hētv-a-kāla[1]-sandhyā-prabh-āpta-bha-ga-

68 ṇā iva bhānti yuddhē || [39*] Dṛipyad-vairi-chamūr=mmayā kavalitā n=aivaṁ may=āsvā-dit=ēty=anyōnyaṁ kalahē

69 tu nirṇṇaya-vidhau khaḍga-pratāp-ēchchhayā ||(|) mādhyasthyaṁ gamit=ēvan[2]=nirmalatarā kīrttir=yadīyā vra(bra)vīmy=ālōchy=ēha mahadbhir=i-

70 ty=u[pa*]gatā Dhātuḥ śrutī ch=ā[3]darāta(rāt) || [40*] Asrākshīt=sa Hiraṇyagarbham=aparaṁ lōkaṁ[4] Mahēśaḥ pur=ēty[5]=arthō yaṁ vivadanta ēva[6]

71 vadana-vrātas=tadīyō=dhunā [|*] kruddhō[7] yat=tu Hiraṇyagarbham=akarōt=Kāmār-ṇṇav-ēśas=tataḥ saṁpannaṁ janitaṁ jagad=yata iha pratyaksha-

72 taḥ prāṇināṁ(nām) |[| 41*] Sapt-āmbhōdhīn=vahantī kshitir=ati-taralā nāga-kūrmm-ēśvarāṇāṁ sāhāyyaṁ vāṁchchha(chha)t=īyan=tad=api punar=ayaṁ ka-

73 lpitas=tatra bhāraḥ ||(|) Dhātrā[8] Kāmārṇṇav-ākhyaḥ sa cha[9] nija-tulanā[ṁ] nirjjayat=svarṇṇa-bhārair=bhūyō bhūyas=tulāyāṁ sthita i-

74 ti dharaṇēr=bhāra-vā(bā)hulyam=āptaṁ(ptam) [|| 42*] Hṛishṭa-pushṭa-jan-ākīrṇṇa-vidvaj-jana-manōhara[m |*][10] daś-āvdī(bdī)m=akarōd=rājyaṅ=Kāmā-

75 rṇṇava-mahīpatiḥ || [43*] Śrī-Chōḍagaṅga-nṛipatēr=mmahishī tatō=nyā tasy=Ēndirā Ravi-kul-ōdbhava-rāja-putrī [|*] y=ādy=āpi Dhātu-

76 r=upam=ājani sundarīṇāṁ s=ēyaṁ sudhāṁśu(dhāṁśu)-vadanā svayam=ēva jātā || [44*] Yad-rūpa-śīla-gati-varṇṇanayā prasiddhā

Third Plate, Second Side

77 dṛishṭānta-bhūr=Ggirisut=ēty=ati-vāda-dōshaḥ | n=āsty=ēva chaṇḍa-ripu[11]-kāma-harō yad=atra tām=Indirām=udavahad=bhuvi Chō-

78 ḍagaṅgaḥ || [45*] Tasyāṁ tataḥ samajani kshiti-nātha-nāthaḥ śrī-**Rāghavaḥ** para-dhar-ēśvara-[12]darppa-marddī | yat-pa-

79 ṭṭa-va(ba)ndhana[13]-vidhi-śravaṇa-pratītāḥ[14] sarvvē nṛipāḥ sva-hṛidi kampam=avāptavantaḥ || [46*] Śrī-Rāghavē rājani chitram=ētat=tējō-

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[1] The Nagarī plates read °*a-kālē*.
[2] The Nagarī plates correctly read °*ēva*.
[3] The Nagarī plates read *śrut=īv=ā*° or *śrutī v=ā*°.
[4] Read °*parē lōkē*.
[5] *Ri* was originally engraved.
[6] The Nagarī plates read *vivadanti yē cha* which is better.
[7] The Nagarī plates read *ruddhō* which is better.
[8] The Nagarī plates read *Dhātā*.
[9] The Nagarī plates read *tu*.
[10] The Nagarī plates read *manōrama[m*]*.
[11] The Nagarī plates read *ruchi*.
[12] The Nagarī plates read *dhan-ēśvara*.
[13] Originally *vandhāna* was engraved.
[14] The Nagarī plates correctly read *prabhītāḥ*.

80 vihīnaḥ kshiti-pāla-varggaḥ || (|) tat-pāda-sēvā-kṛita-dēha-siddhir=mmitrībhavaty=ēva sana[1]masta ēshaḥ [|| 47*]

81 Prauḍh-āri-prahati-prakāra-vihita-prāchaṇḍya-sandarbhavat(vad)-dōrddaṇḍ-ōpamiti-pragalbha-vishayaḥ[2] prāg=bhūtvavān=Arjjunaḥ [|*]

82 sampraty=āhava-ra[3]ṅga-saṅgata-ripu-śrēṇī-śiraḥ-ka[r*]ttana[4]-krīḍā-sakta-bhujaḥ śar-āsana-bhṛitāṁ chitr-ōpamā Rāghavaḥ || [48*]-

83 Jagati Paraśurāmaḥ prādurāsī[d*]=dvitīyaḥ kimu ripu-kula-hantā sv-ājñay=āchchhanna-[5] lōkaḥ | kshiti-vitaraṇa-dīkshā-

84 sakta-hastaḥ pratāpād=api[6] Daśaśatavā(bā)hur=yyasya śatrur=vvināśī || [49*] Bhēda[ṁ*]-bhēdam=arāti-kuñjara-ghaṭā[7]-kshōṇīdhra-paṁ-

85 ktiṁ raṇē pāya[ṁ*] pāyam=asṛik-payāṁsi va(ba)hudhā śrī-Rāghav-āsiḥ kshaṇāta(ṇāt) ||(|) śubhraṁ śubhram=iv=ōdva-

86 man=vijayatē kīrtti-pratānaṁ parañ=chandraṁ chandra(ndri)kayā prapūrṇṇatarayā saṁsēvyamān-ākṛi-

87 tuṁ(tim) || [50*] Durggēshu dāva-dahanaḥ kshitibhṛitsu vajraṁ mādyan(dyat)-karīndra-ghaṭanāsu cha siṁha ēshaḥ [|*] vi-

88 dvōsha(dvēshi)-bhūmipatayō nivasanti yatra śrī-Rāghava-kshitipatir=vvitata-pratāpaḥ |[| 51*] Śrī-Rāghava-dharādhī-

89 śaḥ kshōṇī-nātha-si(śi)rōmaṇiḥ | akarōd=rāyi(jya)mu(m=a)vya(bdā)nām=uddamō daśa paṁcha cha || [52*] Tasya śrī-Chōḍa-

90 gaṅga-kshiti-valaya-patēr=vvatsa[8]-saṁ(sa)ntāna-vallī-kanda-śriś[9]=Chandralēkhā sphuṭam=Aditir=iva prēyasī Kaśyapasya [|*]

91 tasyām=uddāma-dhāma-kshapita-dinamaṇir=jjajñivān=**Rājarājō** rājanya-kshōda-kēlī-tila-kita-mahima-vyā-

92 pta-dik-chakravālaḥ || [53*] Tasmin=dig-vijaya-prayāṇa-rasa(si)kē saṁrambha-śumbhach-chamū-saṁkshuṇṇa-kshiti-chakra-pāṁśu-paṭala-prāgbhā-

93 ravaty=amva(mba)rē || (|) bhū-saṁsparśa-ghṛiṇā-vaśād=dinamaṇēr=uchchaiḥ pu(plu)taṁ saptibhiḥ sv-abhyastaṁ sura-sindurēṇa[10] dharaṇī-

94 paṭṭē rajō(d-ō)dghaṭṭanaḥ(nam) || [54*] Chōḍagaṅga-narēndrasya sūnur=uddāma-vikramaḥ [|*] Rājarāja iti khyātaḥ(tas)=Trikaliṅga-

95 mahī-patiḥ || [55*] Viśvaṁ krōḍayati pragalbha-yaśasi Prālēyaśaila-tvishi yad=yad=yādṛig=abhūd=abhūta-sadṛiśaṁ santaḥ

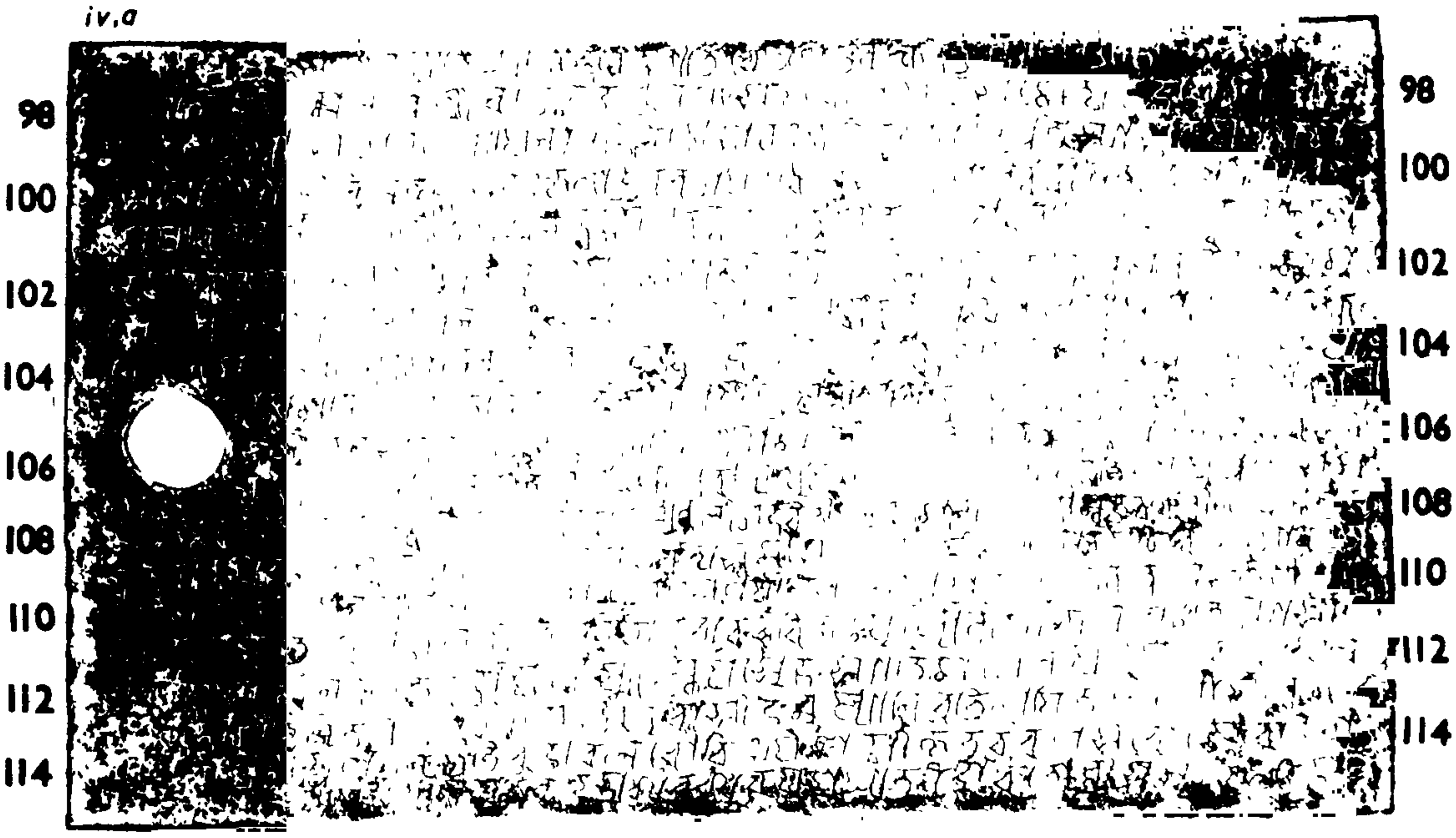
[1] The letter is redundant.
[2] The Nagarī plates wrongly read *prāchaṇḍyam=anta....vishayaḥ°*.
[3] This letter was originally omitted.
[4] The Nagarī plates have *kanduka*.
[5] Before *nna*, *nva* was incised and penned through.
[6] *Dā* was originally engraved.
[7] The Nagarī plates read *ghaṭāṁ*.
[8] The Nagarī plates correctly read *vaṁśa*.
[9] The Nagarī plates read *°śrī-Cha°*.
[10] Read *sindhurēṇa*. There is a cancelled *i-mātrā* with *ndu*.

DASGOBA PLATES OF RAJARAJA III, SAKA 1120—PLATE II

iii,b



iv,a

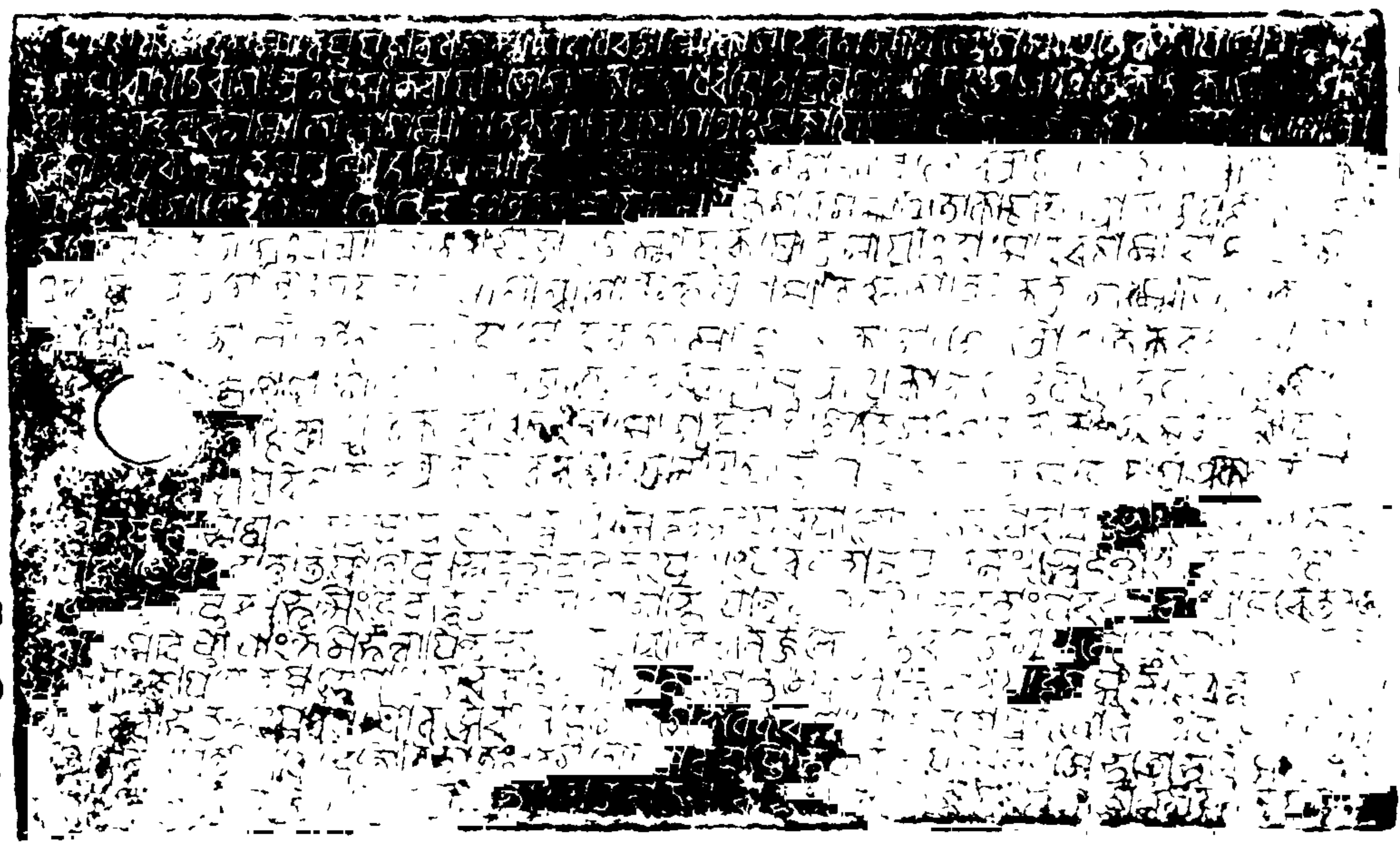


Scale: Four-ninths

iv, b



v, a



96 **samākarṇṇyatāṁ(tām |)** dhātrī pīṭhati liṅgati svar-achalaḥ prāsādati tvad-yaśō diṅ-**nāthāḥ** pratima(mā)nti yasya pa-

Fourth Plate, First Side

97 **ritaḥ** srashṭaḥ(shṭuḥ) padaṁ śṛiṅgati [|| 56*] Ānandaṁ vidadhāti chētasi bhavat-kīrttir=**gguṇa-grāhinaḥ** sūtē dōha-

98 **dam=arthinaś**=cha manasi[1] śrī-Rājara(rā)ja dhruvaṁ(vam) || (|) s=ēyaṁ **karṇṇa-pathaṁ** samētya hṛidayē śalyāya-

99 tē vairiṇaḥ svām-ī[2]chchh-ānuvidhāyināṁ nahi nijō bhāvaḥ kvachid-dṛiśyatē | [| 57*] Ētasyāṁ bhuvi pañchaviṅśa(viṁśa)ti-

100 **samāḥ** kshām-āri-lakshmī-madaḥ[3] kṛitvā jitvara-chāpa-chañchala-bhujā-dam-bhōlir=**urvvī-patiḥ** [|*] rājyaṁ **prājya-yaśa-**

101 **sta**(s-tu)shāra-kiraṇaḥ(ṇa)-śrēṇī-raśā(sā)d=āsanād=udgachchhat=Pu(n=Pu)**ruhūta-gīta-charitaḥ** śrī-Rājarājō nṛipaḥ || [58*] Tasy=ānujō

102 nṛipati-rāja-padē=bhishiktaḥ sūkti-priyaḥ parimit-ādi-nṛipa-praśastiḥ [|*] pa(pṛi)**thvī-patiḥ** kali-malī(l-ō)hi(jjhi)ta-dharmma-śu-

103 ddhō(ddhaḥ) kārya-kshamaḥ prabhur=asāv=**Aniyaṅkabhīmaḥ** || [59*] Chī(Vī)r-ādhi**shṭhita-saṅgar**-ādri-śikharē śaṅkha-svan-āśāsitē k[u]ṁ(ku)-

104 ntē(nt-ō)dbhinna-mad-ēbha-kumbha-vigalan-mukt-āvalī-pu[ṁ*]jitē [|*] harshād=**ugra-nija-pratāpa**-dahanē khaḍga-sruga(chā) vidvishāṁ

105 rājñām=ānana-paṅkajāni nṛipatirdga(r=gga)tv=ānayad=yaḥ śriyaṁ(yam) || [60*] **Kshīr-**āvdhē(bdhē)r=amṛitaḥ[4] sur-āsura-**bhuja**-vyāpāra-vikshō-

106 bhitāch=chandrasy=ārddham=abhūt=tad=apy=adhiyayāv=Īśānam=ēkaṁ kila | chañcha[dvā]-(d-bā)hu-va(ba)lēna **saṅgara**-bhuvi

107 tvat-khaḍga-dhārā-jalāj=jātas=tv=ashṭa-dig-Īśvarān=pṛithu-yaśaś-**chandraḥ** samāliṅgati || [61*] Yat-prayāṇa-samu-

108 dbhūta-bhū-rajaḥ-pūritē[5]='mva(mba)rē | abhū[d*]=dvirada-rājasya dhūlī-mada-chitā **tanuḥ** || [62*] Śrīnātha-pād-āmva(mbu)ja-chañcharīka(kō) dṛipya[d*]-dvishad-ga-

109 ndha-karīndra-si[ṁ]haḥ | Lakshmī-ha(hṛi)d-ākarshaṇa-mantra-siddhir=nnityas=tvam=āsīr =Aniyaṅkabhīmaḥ(ma) || [63*][6] Daśa-varshāṇi vīrō-sau nirjjit-ā-

110 rāti-maṇḍalaḥ | Anaṅgabhīma-bhūpālō dharitrīṁ samapālayat || [64*] **Prauḍh-ānarggala-vikramaḥ** kula-gṛihaṁ

111 yō daṇḍa-nīti-śriyaḥ|[7] saty-āchāra-vichāra-chāru-charitaḥ puṇyē(ṇy-ai)ka-shā(pā)**rāyaṇaḥ** | tasy=āsīd=A-

112 na(ni)yaṅkabhīma-nṛipatēr=arddh-āṅga-lakshmīḥ ska(sva)yaṁ s[n]ēhasy=ātiśayēna **paṭṭa-**mahishī Vāghalla-

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[1] The Nagarī plates read *su-manasi.*

[2] The Nagarī plates wrongly read *sv-ātm-ē°.*

[3] Elsewhere we have *kshmāpāla-lakshmī-dharaḥ.*

[4] The Nagarī plates correctly read *°amṛitāt.*

[5] The Nagarī plates read *°dbhūta-rajaḥ-sampūrttē.*

[6] This stanza is not found in the Nagarī plates.

[7] The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

113 dēvī bhuvi || [65*] Tulita-pitṛi-guṇ-aughaḥ sūnur=āsīd=amushyā niratiśayita-tējō[1]-yauvan-ā-

114 vāpta-rājyaḥ | praṇata-nṛipati-chūḍā-ratna-rōchiḥ-piśaṅgīkṛita-charaṇa-sarōjō **Rājarā-**

115 **jō** nṛipālaḥ || [66*] Yasy=ōdyad-vāji-vṛinda-prakhara-khura-puṭ-āghāta-nirddārit-ōrvvī-sambhūtaṁ bhūri bhāsva-

Fourth Plate, Second Side

116 t-kara-nikara-guṇaḥ(ṇa)[2]-syūta-sāndraṁ[3] prayāṇō(ṇē |) vistīrṇṇaṁ karṇṇa-tāl-āhatibhē(bhi)-r=avirat-ōnmatta-sēnā-gajānna(nā)m=a-

117 shṭānāṁ dig-gajānām=mukha-paṭa-tulanām=ādadhē dhūli-jālaṁ(lam) || [67*] Yasmin=śāsati śāsit-āri-nikaraiḥ[4] sa-

118 myak=samudr-āvma(mba)rāṁ pṛithvīṁ pārthiva-puṅgavē naya-guṇaiḥ śrī-Rājarājē nṛipē | chakram=Mādhava ēva taikshṇya-

119 m=adhikaṁ kaukshēyakē chintanaṁ śāstr-ābhyāsa-vidhau Vidhau cha jaḍatā kālē Kali(lēḥ) śrūyatē || [68*] Yat-kīrtti-dugdha-ja-

120 lai (dhēr)=bhuvan-āntarālaṁ sa[ṁ*]plāvya dūrataram=unsa(chchha)litasya bhānti | tārā-gaṇā[ḥ*] sphuṭa-ruchō gaganē sa-

121 mantānsū(t=sū)kshm-ātisūkshma-taralā iva viprushas=tē ||[5] [69*] Tyāgē śauryyē cha satyē cha Karṇṇ-Ārjjuna-Yudhishṭhirai-

122 ḥ | sadṛiśō=yam=mahāvīrō Rājarājō narādhipaḥ || [70*] Sō=yaṁ śrī-**Rājarāja**-narēndraḥ sakala-jagan-nata-sama-

123 sta-guṇ-ālaṁkṛita-diganta-viśrānta-viśālā-kīrttēr=Aditēr=iva sva-mātuḥ śrī-Vāghalladēvyāḥ puṇy-ā-

124 bhivṛiddhy-arthaṁ **Śākāvdē(bdē) vinśa(viṁśa)ty-adhik-aikādaśa-śatē(ta)tamē** śrī-**Purushōttama-ksha(kshē)trē** sāgara-**tīrē** sū-

125 ryy-ōparāgē **Utkala-dēśē Sāyilō-vishayē Aṭṭhāyisa-khaṇḍē Kōrad-ākhya-grāmaṁ** sa-jala-

126 sthala-kshētra[ṁ*] sa-machchhya(tsya)-kachchhapa[ṁ*] sa-viṭap-āraṇyaṁ pu(pū)rvva-siddha-chatuḥ-sīm-ānvitan=nānā-gōtrē-

127 bhyō Vrā(Brā)hmaṇēbhyaḥ dhārā-pūrvvakam=ā-chandr-ārkk-ōpabhōgāy=ākarīkṛitya prā-dāta(dāt) || atra Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-nāmā-

128 ni likhyantē || Ka(Kā)śyapa-gōtraḥ Viddanāryyas tinsa(t=triṁśa)d-vāṭy-adhikārī [|*] ētan-madhyē Kauśika-gōtraḥ

129 Vidyākarāryyō vinśa(vaṁśa)ti-vāṭy-adhikārī [|*] Rudrakarāryyaḥ Śivakarāryyaḥ Mādha-vakarāryyaḥ Narasiṁhā-

130 ryyaḥ Harē(ri)harāryyaḥ ētē pratyēkaṁ sapta-sapta-vāṭy-adhikāriṇaḥ [|*] ētē Kauśika-gōtrāḥ [|*] Kēśava(vā)ryyō daśa-vāṭy-adha(dhi)-

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[1] The Nagarī plates read *tējā°*.

[2] The Nagarī plates read *mahaḥ*.

[3] The Nagarī plates wrongly read *sāndra°*.

[4] The Nagarī plates read *°t-āmara-gaṇaiḥ*.

[5] The Nagarī plates offer a different reading of the stanza.

131 kārī [|*] Ādityāryyō daśa-vāṭy-adhikārī [|*] [ētau*] Kauṇḍinya-gōtraḥ(trau |) Chandrakarāryyaḥ pañcha-vāṭy-adhikārī Kāśyapa-gōtraḥ [|*] Nārāyaṇā-

132 ryyaḥ Gadādharāryyaḥ Nārāyaṇaśa[r*]mmā Siddē(ddhē)śvaraśarmmā Rāmadēvāryyaḥ Gaṇēśvaraśarmmā Dhanakaraśarmmā Rudraśarmma(rmmā) Kēṇa(śa)-

133 vaśa[r*]mmā Jayakaraśasmā(rmmā) Āllōyigarsmā(śarmmā) Payān[u]ndaśarmmā hōtṛi-Mādhavaśarmsā(rmmā) Vāsudēvaśarmmā Vu(Bu)ddhaśarmmā Nāgūśa-

134 rmmā ētē Bhāradvāja-gōtrāḥ [|*] Pītāmva(mba)vā(rār)yyaḥ Madhuśarmmā Gaṇēśvaraśarmmā Rudraśarmmā ētē Pārāśara-sagōtrāḥ [|*]

Fifth Plate, First Side

135 Kṛishṇayajvā Kāmadē[va*]śarmmā Vishṇuyajvā Vu(Bu)dhaśarmmā Gadādharaśarmmā Kāmadēvaśarmmā Chaṇḍōśarmmā ētē Kāśyapa-gōtrāḥ [|*] [Ana]-

136 ntaśamma(rmmā) Rāthītara-gōtraḥ [|*] Padmākarāryyaḥ Bhōgayajvā Gadādharahōtā Vra(Bra)hmaśarmmā Vāṅkaśarmmā ētē Kauśika-gōtrāḥ [|*] Gadā-

137 dharāryyaḥ Chandrakaraśa[r*]mmā Kālōśarmmā ētē Kṛishṇātrēya-sagōtrāḥ [|*] Sujjāy[i]-yajā(jvā) Dēvapālaśarmmā ētō(tau) Kuddālaka-gōtrō(trau |)

138 udgātṛi-Purushō[tta]maśarmmā Hariśarmmā Hariharaśarmmā Pajjunaśarmmā Trilōchētrāḥ[1] ētē Vatsa-gōtrāḥ [|*] Pūrṇṇakarā-

139 ryyas=tathā Govē(vi)ndaśarmm[ā*] Kō(Kau)ṇḍinya-gōtraḥ(trau) [|*] Mannāyiśarmmā Kēśavaśarmmā ētau Kāpī[2]-gau(gō)trau [|*] Tantōyajvā Kē[śava*]śarmmā

140 Jagēśvar-āhitāgniḥ Pannāyiśarmmā Sujāyiśarmmā Purushōttamāryyaḥ Dāmōdaraśarmmā Rāmadēvaśa[rmmā]

141 ē[tē*] Kṛishṇātrēya-gōtrāḥ [|*] Padmanābhāryā(ryyaḥ) Gārgga-gōtraḥ [|*] Kṛsha(shṇa)-śarmmā Vatsa-gōtraḥ [|*] Kituśarmmā Ghṛitakōśa(kauśi)-

142 ka-mō(gō)traḥ [|*] Ālōiśarmmā Dāmōdaraśarmā ētau Kāśya[pa*]-gōtrau [|*] Dhṛitikaraśarmmā Vā-

143 [r*]shagaṇa-gōtraḥ [|*] ētē pratyēka[ṁ*] gṛiha-vāṭī-mātr-ātha(dhi)kārā(ri)ṇaḥ [|*] Viy[u]dēvāryō Vatsa-gō-

144 trō dvi-vāṭy-adhikārī [|*] Dharmū-nāmō(mnō) gṛiha-vāṭyaś=chatasraḥ [|*] gṛiha-vāṭī[3]-bhūmiḥ pañchadaśa-

145 vāṭī-parima(mi)tā [|*] tatra Vidyākarāryaḥ pānīya-grāhī [|*] śrī-Purushōttamadēvāya ēkā gṛiha-vāṭī [|*]

146 Mad-dāna-phala-siddhy-arthan=tad-rakshā-phala-siddhayē | mad-dharmmaḥ paripālyō=yaṁ bhūpair=ā-chandra-tārakaṁ(kam) || [71*] Mā bhūd=a-pha-

147 la-śaṅkā tē para-datt=ēti pārthiva | sva-dattād=adhikaṁ puṇyaṁ para-datt-ānupālanaṁ(nam) || [72*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā ya-

148 tnād=raksha Yudhishṭhira | bhūmiṁ dēva-dvijātīnāṁ dānāch=chh[r*]ēyō=nupālanaṁ(nam) || [73*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattā[ṁ*] vā yō harēta vasu-

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[1] The name is doubtful but may be Trilōchanāryya. The *visarga* looks like the one in line 44 above.

[2] Originally *pau* was engraved. The intended reading may be *Kapi*.

[3] Originally *ṭi* was engraved and cancelled and *ṭi* was separately incised. This *ṭi* was later changed to *ṭī*.

149 ndharāṁ(rāṁ) | sa vishṭhāyāṁ kṛimir=bhūtvā pitṛibhbhēh(bhiḥ) saha pachī(chya)tē || [74*] Nirjjalē prāntarē dēśē śushka-kōṭara-vāsinaḥ | kṛishṇa-

150 sarppā hi jāyantē vra(bra)hmadēy-āpahārakāḥ || [75*] Gām=ēkāṁ svarṇṇam=ēkaṁ vā bhūmēr=apy=ardham=aṅgulaṁ(lam) | haran=narakam=āpnō-

151 ti yāvavā(d=ā)-bhūta-saṁplavaṁ(vam) || [76*] Yāvad=Gai(Gau)rī-Mahēśau jagad-adhikaraṇaṁ yāvad=avdhau(bdhau) prahashṭhau(hṛishṭau) Latyaḥ|(kshmī)-Paṅkēruhākshau

152 dyuti-divasa-patī yāvad=ētau vibhātaḥ | va(vā)g-arthau yāvad=āptau bhuvana-niyaminaṁ m[v]i(bi)bhratō(tau) bhāvam=ādyaṁ tā-

153 vat=kīrtti-pratāpau jagati viya(ja)chhā(ya)tāṁ **Rājarājasya** rājñaḥ || [77*] Tasy=ājñayā yathā-jñānaṁ Gaṅg-ānvaya-gaṇā-

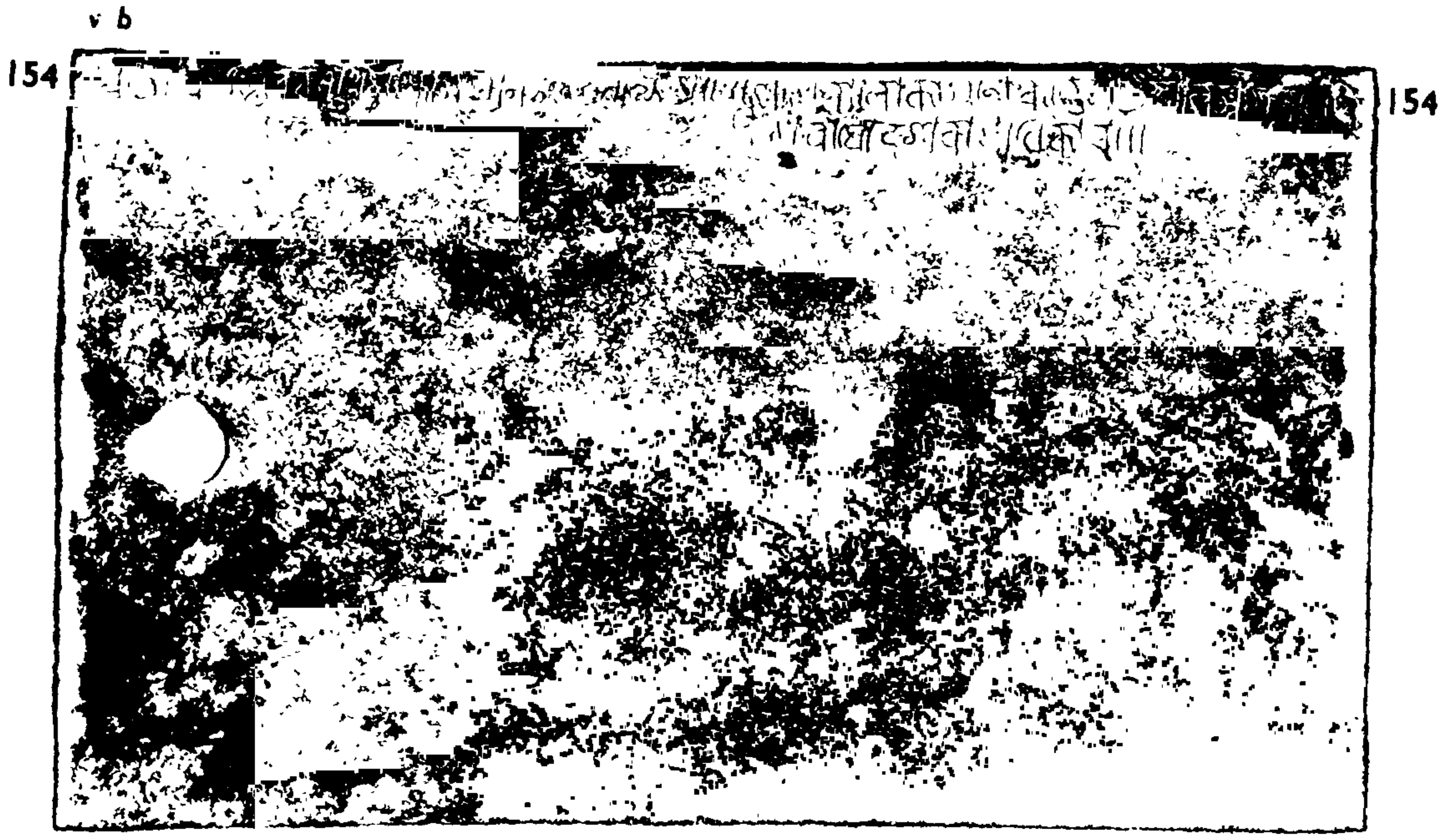
Fifth Plate, Second Side

154 n=prati | praśasti-rachanāḥ(nā)-ślōkān=Appanaḥ[1] kṛitavān=kṛitī || [78*] ||[2] śilpinā Lōkāyin=ōtkīrṇṇam=iti [||*] Ālaṁvā(laṁvā)yana-gō[traḥ]

155 [3]Ki(Kē)śavāryyō daśa-vāṭy-adhikārī ||

[1] The name may also be Ayyana. The reading of the same name in the Nagarī plates requires modification.
[2] There is a small dot between the double *daṇḍas*.
[3] This line begins from about the middle of the previous line.

DASGOBA PLATES OF RAJARAJA III, SAKA 1120—PLATE III



SEAL



(from a Photograph)

No. 35—KURUD PLATES OF NARENDRA, YEAR 24

(1 Plate)

MORESHWAR G. DIKSHIT, RAIPUR

The accompanying copper-plate grant, published here for the first time, was found by a farmer while ploughing his field at **Kurud**, about 27 miles north-east of Raipur, in the Tahsil and District of Raipur in Madhya Pradesh. It was brought to the notice of Mahant Lakshmi Narayan Das, President of the Mahakoshala Congress Committee, Raipur, who subsequently passed it on to Shri M. P. Dwivedi, Deputy Commissioner, Raipur, for acquisition under the Treasure Trove Act. It was through the kindness of the latter that I secured the grant for decipherment and I am obliged to him for kindly according me permission to edit it in this journal. The plates have since been purchased by the Department of Archaeology, Madhya Pradesh, and are at present preserved in the Mahant Ghasidas Memorial Museum at Raipur.

The charter consists of a set of **three** copper plates, each measuring 5·9" broad and 3·2" high, secured by means of a circular ring passing through holes in the left margin of the plates. The ends of this ring are soldered into the socket of a **seal**, about 2·8" in diameter, which has on its counter-sunk surface the figure of Gaja-Lakshmī, standing on a lotus, with two elephants pouring water over her from pitchers held in their upraised trunks. In the topmost portion of the seal appear the figures of the sun and the moon, represented respectively by a small pellet and a crescent. A double line in the centre divides the seal into two compartments, the lower of them containing the legend in two lines, in raised characters in low relief. The seal was apparently cast from a mould. The weight of the plates, together with the seal and the ring, is 66 *tolas*.

The inscription consists of 21 lines of writing, of which five each appear on the second side of the first plate and both sides of the second while the remaining six lines are engraved on the first side of the third plate. The first side of the first plate and the second side of the third are blank.

The **characters** are of the box-headed variety of the Central Indian Alphabet, assignable to the fifth century A.D. and commonly noticed in the copper-plate grants of the Śarabhapura kings, and resemble closely those of the Pipardula plates[1] in having less angular forms. The **language** is Sanskrit and, with the exception of the legend occurring on the seal and the imprecatory verses at the end of the charter, the whole inscription is in prose. As regards **orthography**, it may be noted that *ri* takes the place of subscript *ṛi* in some cases (cf. lines 7-8). The consonants are sometimes doubled in conjunction with *r*.

The charter was issued by king **Narēndra** from his camp of victory at **Tilakēśvara** on the **4th day of Vaiśākha in the 24th year** of his reign. The legend on the seal indicates that this Narēndra was the son of Śarabha who had 'conquered the earth with the sharp edge of his sword'. The charter was issued in confirmation of an earlier grant made by the deceased father of the king.[2] It is addressed to the residents of the village of **Kēśavaka**, situated in the **Chullāḍasīma** *bhōga* (or in the *bhōga* bordering on Chullāḍa) and states that the village was granted by the deceased king to one Bhaśrutasvāmin or Bhāśrutasvāmin[3] belonging to the Dhāraṇi *gōtra*, after taking a bath in the Gaṅgā, for his own religious merit and was registered by a charter written

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[1] *IHQ*, Vol. XIX, pp. 139-46 and Plates.

[2] [The suggestion is unsupported by the language of the record. See below, p. 267.—Ed.]

[3] This name is spelt as *Bhaśruta* in line 5 and *Bhāśruta* in line 9.

on *tāla* leaves. This charter was burnt in the course of a conflagration in the donee's house; but it was known to the secretariat that the village continued to be enjoyed by the donee unhindered.[1] King Narēndra confirmed the grant to Śaṅkhasvāmin, son of Bhāśrutasvāmin, by means of a charter incised on copper plates, together with all the rights such as *bhōga, bhāga, dhānya* and *hiraṇya*, for the increase of the religious merit of his deceased father[2]. The *dūtaka* of the grant was the secretariat itself.[3] The record was engraved by one Śrīdatta or Datta.

King Narēndra, son of Śarabha, is already known to us from his Pipardula plates issued in his 3rd regnal year. The present charter, issued in his 24th regnal year, indicates that he had a fairly long reign. Neither the Pipardula plates nor the present inscription give any pedigree and the ruler is mentioned with the simple title *Mahārāja*. The legend appearing on the seal of both the records says that Narēndra was the son of Śarabha who was perhaps the founder of the Śarabhapura dynasty. It is also noteworthy that the Gaja-Lakshmī motif is common to the seals of the grants issued by the kings of this family and this may go in favour of assigning Narēndra of our record to the Śarabhapura dynasty. The editors of the Pipardula copper-plate inscription have rightly suggested that Śarabha mentioned in the legend on his son's seal is probably no other than Śarabharāja, the maternal grandfather of Gōparāja who died at Eran in 510 A.D.[4]

The only point of interest in the present inscription is the reference to the original charter which is said to have been written on *āla* leaves and was later confirmed by the present document. There are many instances of older grants being renewed or confirmed by subsequent rulers; but this is probably the only instance, so far noticed, where it is expressly stated that a charter was written on *tāla* leaves.

Kurud, where the plates were found, is hardly 27 miles from Raipur and about 8 miles north of Āraṅg, both of which are known to be the findspots of charters belonging to the Śarabhapura dynasty. The present plates again support the conclusion drawn by the editors of the Pipardula plates that the rule of this dynasty was mostly confined to the environs of Raipur and that their capital Śarabhapura probably lay in the neighbourhood of Sirpur.[5] In the excavations at Sirpur,[6] a small gold coin of king Parsannamātra was found in the lowest stratum which was superimposed by buildings attributed to the Pāṇḍava kings. This also shows the early associations of the Śarabhapura kings with Sirpur which is hardly 3 miles from Kurud on the opposite bank of the Mahānadī. Knowing these details, it is clear that the river Gaṅgā, mentioned in the present record, can only be the Mahānadī which is one of the most important rivers in the region. It would be improper to connect it with the famous river Ganges.[7]

Tilakēśvara, where the king was camping at the time of making the grant, cannot be identified with certainty. There is a likelihood of its being some celebrated temple in the vicinity of Kēśavaka, probably the small village Keshwa standing on the bank of a nullah bearing the same name about

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[1] [The words of the inscription have not been taken here literally in the analysis of the contents. See below.—Ed.]

[2] [See below.—Ed.]

[3] [The mention of the *adhikaraṇa* as the *dūtaka* of a charter is rare in inscriptions.—Ed.]

[4] *IHQ*, Vol. XIX, p. 143; *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 91-93.

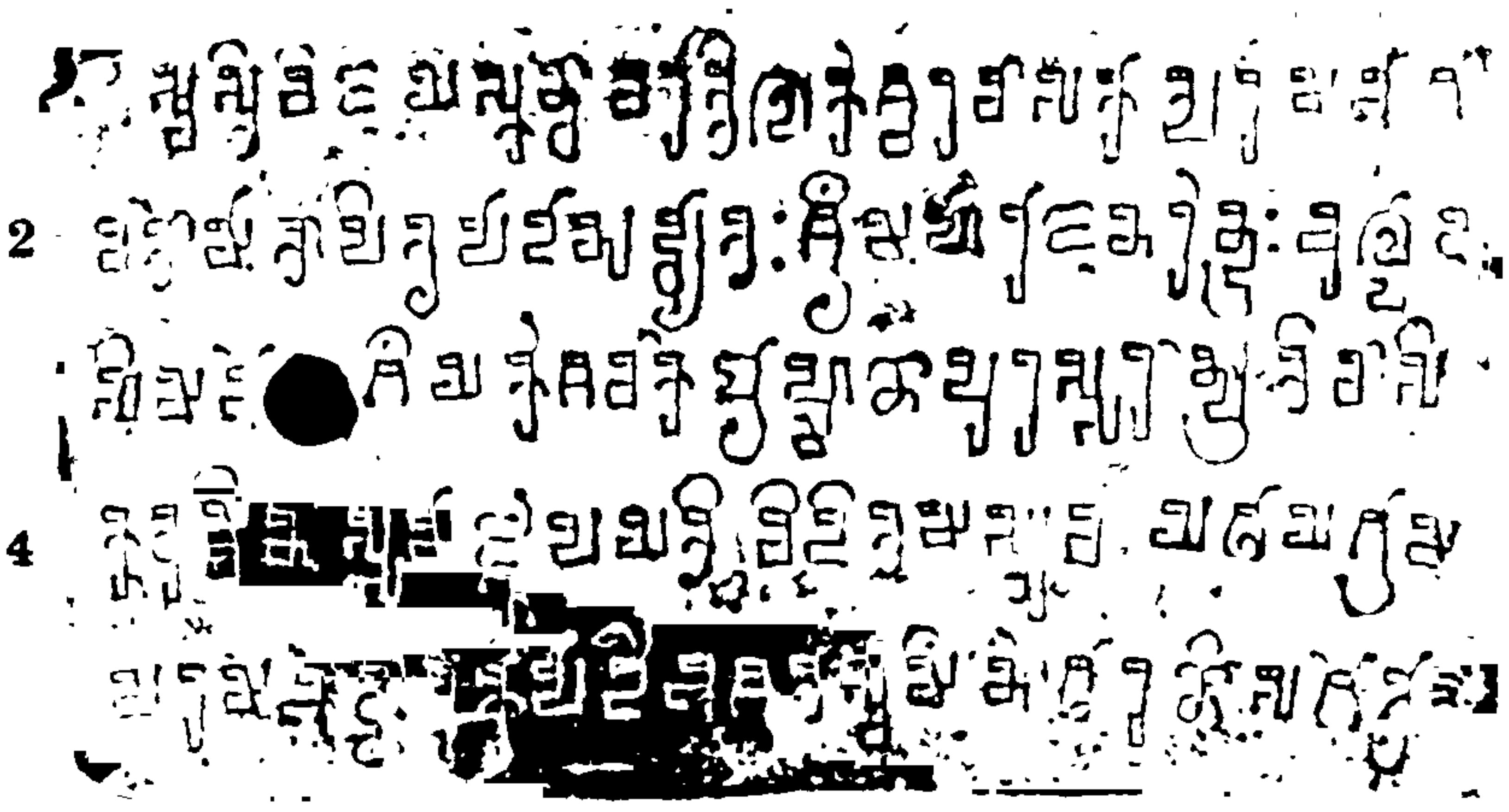
[5] *IHQ*, Vol. XIX, p. 144.

[6] The detailed results of these excavations conducted in 1953-55 on behalf of the University of Saugar and the Department of Archaeology, Government of Madhya Pradesh, are now under publication.

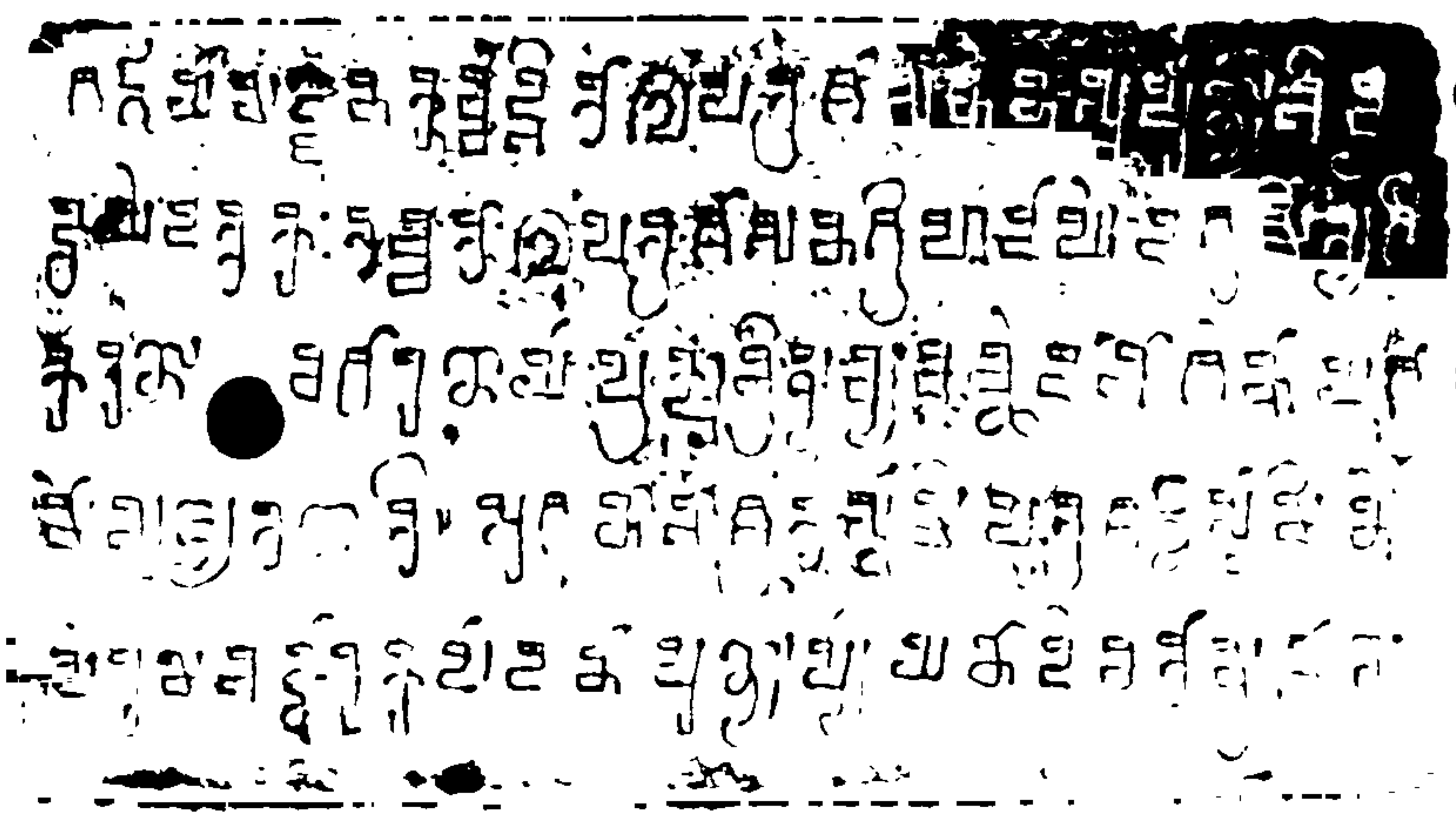
[7] For a river called Gaṅgā on account of its sanctity, see the Paithan and Purushottampuri plates of Yādava Rāmachandra, where the Godāvarī is styled as Gaṅgā. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 317-18; above, Vol. XXV, p. 208. [If all the rivers are called Gaṅgā, their individual names become meaningless. The Gōdāvarī has been called Gaṅgā because one of its names was Gautama-gaṅgā (cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 251, text line 37; note also its other names Gautamī, Gautama-sambhavā, etc.). The Mahānadī could hardly have been called Gaṅgā without any qualification. See below, p. 267.—Ed.]

KURUD PLATES OF NARENDRA, YEAR 24

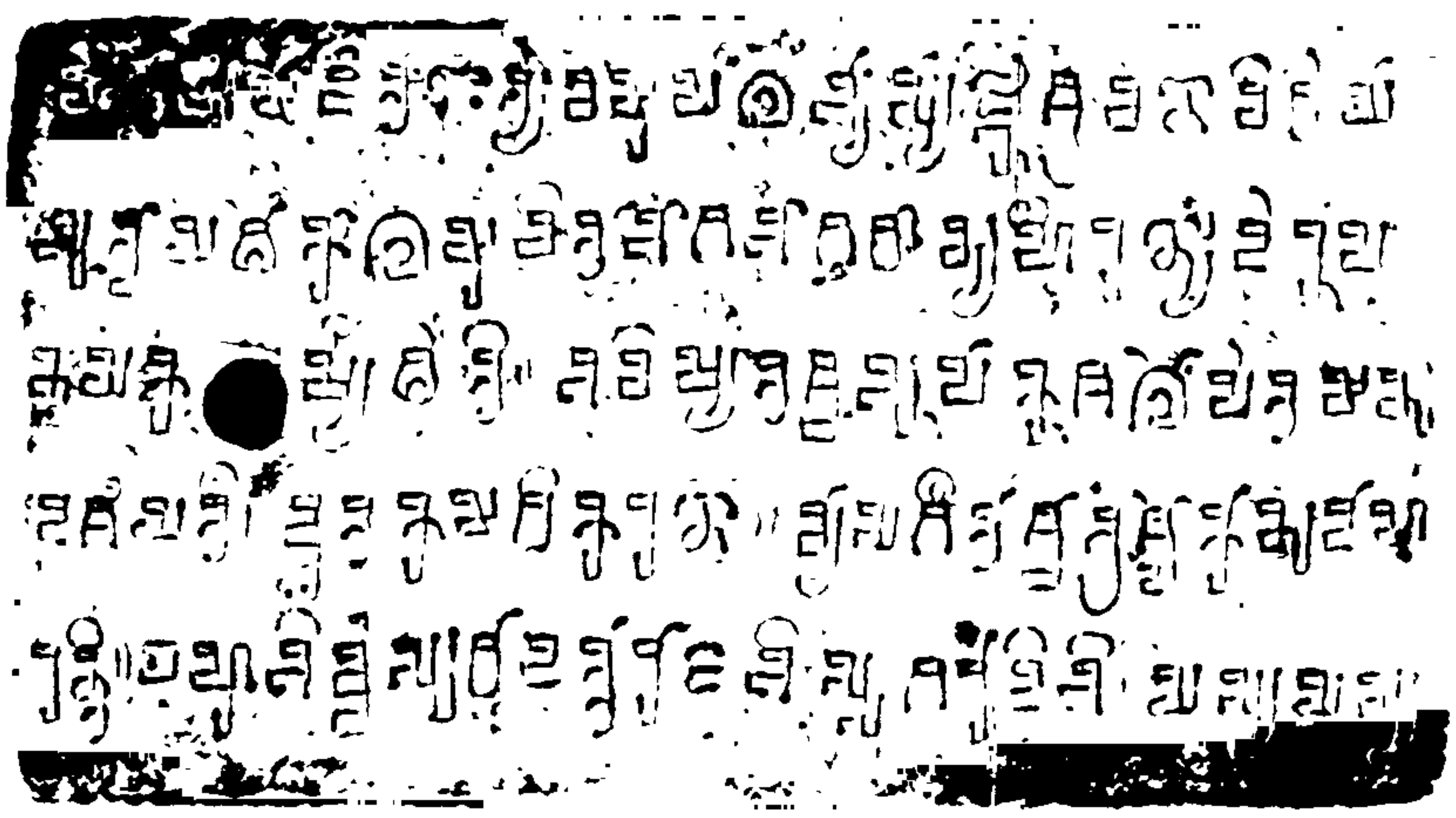
i



ii,a

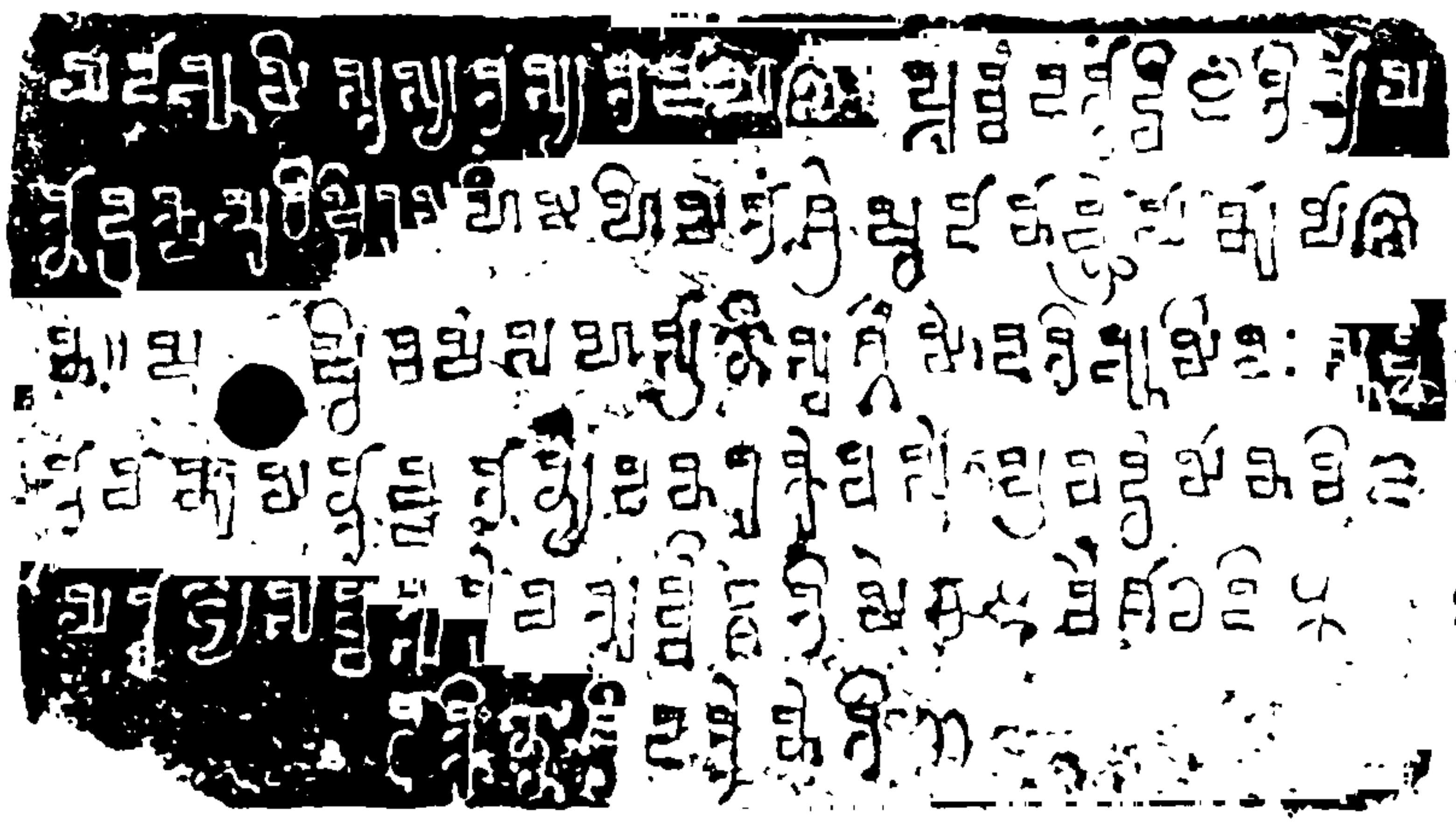


ii,b



Scale: Four-fifths

iii



SEAL



(from a photograph)

5½ miles to the south-east of Mahasamund in the Tahsil of that name.[1] Chullāḍa-sīma-bhōga, by which the adjoining district or division was indicated, appears to be represented by modern Charoda, a village 7 miles due east of Keshwa.

TEXT[2]

Seal

1 Khaḍga-[dhā]rā-jita-bhuva[ḥ*] **Śarabhāt**=prāpta-janmanaḥ [|*]]

2 nṛipatē[ś=śrī]-**Narēndrasya** [śā]sanaṁ ripu-[śā]sana[m[3] ||*]

First Plate

1 Siddham[4] [|*] svasti [||*] vijaya-skandhā[vā]rat=**Tilakēśvara**-vāsakāt=paramabhāga-

2 vatō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānuddhyātaḥ śrī-mahārāja-**Narēndraḥ Chullāḍa-**

3 **sīma-bhōgīya-Kēśavakē** Brāhmaṇa-purassarān=prativāsi-

4 kuṭumbinas=samājñāpayati [|*] viditam=astu vaḥ yath=āya[ṁ] grāma[ḥ]

5 paramabhaṭṭāraka-pādai[ḥ*] Bhaśrutasvamine[5] Dhāraṇi-sagōtrāya

Second Plate, First Side

6 Gaṅgāyā[ṁ] majjana[ṁ*] kurvvadbhi[ḥ*] tāla-patra-śāsanēna sva-puṇy-ābhivṛi-

7 ddhayē dattakaḥ [|*] tach=cha tāla-patra-śāsana[ṁ*] griha-dāghē[6] dagdham=ity=adhi-

8 karaṇ-āvadhāraṇayā prāk-prabhri(bhṛi)ty-avyavachchhēda-bhōgēn=āya[ṁ*] grā-

9 mō bhujyata iti ||[7] adhunā Bhāśrutasvāmi-putra-Śaṅkhasvāminē

10 paramabhaṭṭāraka-pādānā[ṁ*] puṇy-āpyāyanādē(y=ai)va tāmra-śāsa-

Second Plate, Second Side

11 nēn=ānumōdita ity=ēvam=upalabhy=āsy=ājñā-śravaṇa-vidhēyā

12 bhūtvā yathō(thā)-kālam=uchita-bhōga-bhāga-dhānya-h[i]raṇy-ādēr=upa-

13 nayaṁ karshyith=ēti[8] || bhavishyataś=cha bhūpā[n*] kuśal-ōpētam=anu-

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[1] See Sheet No. 2 of the Majmuli map of the Mahasamund Tahsil; also Sheet No. 64 K of Survey of India, which gives the location of Charoda and the Keshwa nullah only.

[2] From the original plates.]

[3] *Ripu-śāsinaḥ* is the reading in this place on the seal of the Pipardula plates.

[4] Expressed by symbol.

[5] The name appears as Bhāśruta in line 9 below.]

[6] Read *griha-dāhē*.

[7] The *daṇḍas* are unnecessary.

[8] Read *karishyath=ēti*.

14 darśayati || dūtakam=adhikaraṇa[m*] || Vyāsa-gītā[ṁ*]ś=ch=ātra ślōkān=udāha-

15 ranti || Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabhis=Sāgar-ādhibhi[ḥ*] | yasya yasya

Third Plate

16 yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phala[m*] || Pūrvva-dattāṁ dvijātibhyō ya-

17 tnād=raksha Yudhishṭhira [|*] mahīṁ mahimatāṁ śrēshṭha dānāch=chhrēyō=nupāla-

18 na[m ||*] Shashṭi-varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmidaḥ [|*] āchchhē-

19 ttā ch=ānumantā chcha(cha) tāny=ēva narakē vasēt [||*] pravarddhamāna-vija-

20 ya-rājya-savva(saṁva)tsarē chaturvviṅśa(rvviṁśa)timē 20 4 Vaiśākha-di 4

21 utki(tkī)rṇṇaṁ Śrīdattēn=ēti ||[1]

[1] Termination of the record is indicated by two curved strokes.

No. 36—NOTE ON KURUD PLATES OF NARENDRA, YEAR 24

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

The Kurud copper-plate inscription has been edited by Dr. M. G. Dikshit in the foregoing pages (pp. 263ff.). He has, however, failed to grasp what appears to be the most important historical information supplied by the epigraph.

The record purports to say that the village of Kēśavaka was originally granted by the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pāda*, while he had been taking a bath in the waters of the Gaṅgā (*Gaṅgāyāṁ majjanaṁ kurvvadbhiḥ*), in favour of the Brāhmaṇa Bhaśrutasvāmin or Bhāśrutasvāmin by means of a charter written on palm leaves, but that, as a result of that document being destroyed by a conflagration in the house of the donee, *Mahārāja* Narēndra, son of Śarabha, re-granted the village from his camp at Tilakēśvara in favour of the original donee's son Śaṅkhasvāmin for the merit of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pāda*, since it was established by official investigation (*adhikaraṇ-āvadhāraṇayā*) that the village was continuously in the possession of the Brāhmaṇas. As Narēndra's father Śarabha is apparently identical with the homonymous maternal grandfather of Gōparāja who died in fighting on behalf of the Gupta monarch Bhānugupta at Eran in the Saugor District of Madhya Pradesh in the Gupta year 191=510 A.D.,[1] Śarabha and his son Narēndra may be roughly assigned respectively to the last quarter of the fifth and the first quarter of the sixth century A.D. If Narēndra re-granted the village in question to Śaṅkhasvāmin about the first quarter of the sixth century, the latter's father (apparently dead at the time of the present charter) should have originally received it from the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pāda* about quarter of a century earlier, i.e. sometime about the last quarter of the fifth century.

Dr. Dikshit identifies the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pāda*, who originally made the grant, with *Mahārāja* Narēndra's father. This is, however, not supported by the language of the inscription, the word 'father' being conspicuous by its absence from the context. Moreover the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pāda* seems to have had his headquarters in the neighbourhood of the river Gaṅgā far away from the Raipur District where Narēndra and apparently also his father Śarabha were ruling. Then again the imperial title *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, along with *Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, is known to have been popularised by the Imperial Guptas since the fourth century A.D.[2] and it is impossible to believe in the present state of our knowledge that *Mahārāja* Narēndra's father Śarabha enjoyed the title *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* (and presumably also *Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*), side by side with the Imperial Guptas, about the end of the fifth century. We know that Śarabha's daughter's son Gōparāja was a feudatory of the Guptas and it seems quite likely that Śarabha himself also owed allegiance to the same imperial house. Since the Guptas had their capital at Pāṭaliputra on the Gaṅgā, the grant being made by the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pāda* while taking a bath in the holy waters of that river is easily explained. As the Gupta power was fast declining since the closing years of the fifth century, it is intelligible how Śarabha's son *Mahārāja* Narēndra, ruling considerably away from the centre of the Gupta empire, issued his charters as an independent monarch without referring to his allegiance to the Gupta emperor. But his respectful mention of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pāda*, to whom Narēnda's family must have owed complete allegiance originally, shows that he still considered himself, howsoever nominally, a subordinate of the Imperial Guptas. It has to be noted that Narēndra confirmed the earlier grant for the merit of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pāda* and not of himself or of his parents. It has, however, also to be noticed that he was powerful enough not to describe himself even vaguely as *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-pād-ānudhyāta* like such nominal

[1] *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 92 ff.

[2] See *IHQ*, Vol. XXII, pp. 64-65 ; Vol. XXIV, pp. 75-77.

feudatories of the Guptas as the *Mahārājas* Svāmidāsa, Rudradāsa and Bhuluṇḍa.[1] At the same time he also does not use the Gupta era like some other erstwhile feudatories of the Imperial Guptas, who did so with or without some kind of reference to their former overlords.[2]

As we have elsewhere[3] observed, the influence of the coin-types of the Imperial Guptas and the use of their era noticed in South Kōsala (modern Chhattisgarh and the adjoining area) suggest that the kings of this country became subordinate allies of the Gupta emperors. Again in connection with the discovery of the coins of a South Kōsala king named Mahēndrāditya, who seems to have been named after the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta I Mahēndrāditya (414-55 A.D.), we observed that Gupta suzerainty was probably acknowledged by the rulers of South Kōsala.[4] The Kurud copper-plate inscription of Narēndra seems to support the above observations inasmuch as it shows that South Kōsala formed an integral part of the Gupta empire as late as the close of the fifth century when the charter, confirmed by Narēndra, was originally granted by a Gupta monarch in favour of a Brāhmaṇa of the Raipur region of that country. It is of course impossible to identify this Gupta emperor without further evidence; but the manner in which he is twice mentioned by Narēndra in the present charter seems to indicate that Gupta political influence was not totally absent from South Kōsala even about the beginning of the sixth century.

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[1] *IHQ*, loc. cit.; above, Vol. XV, pp. 286 ff.

[2] Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 370 ff., 374 ff.; Bhandarkar's List, No. 1329, etc.

[3] *The Classical Age*, p. 218; cf. *New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, p. 85; above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 82-83.

[4] Above Vol. XXVIII, p. 83.

No. 37—HEMAVATI PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF KULOTTUNGACHOLA (III), YEAR 2

(*Plate 1*)

K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and T. N. Subramaniam, Madras

The text of this inscription has already been published in the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. VI, No. 553. It is taken up here for detailed study in view of the fresh light it throws on the history of its period. The record is incised on two faces of a pillar found at **Hēmāvati** in the Madakasira Taluk of the Anantapur District, Andhra State.[1]

The inscription under discussion is in the Tamil **language** and **script** with an admixture of Grantha characters for words of Sanskrit origin. It is couched in chaste **language** and incised fairly correctly. There is no orthographical peculiarity requiring special mention. Palaeographically it may be assigned to the 12th century A.D.

The object of the record is to register the gift of some land to the temple of god Maṅgēśvaradēva at Perunjeṟu in Śiṟai-nāḍu, a sub-division of Nigarilisōḷa-maṇḍalam, by one Śikkaluḍaiya-śeṭṭiyār who is described as *Vaḍḍha-vyvahāri* and *dēśimukhya*; the gift was made with the permission of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Uṟaiyūrpuravar-ādhīśvara Śrī-Māhēśvaraṉ* Tribhuvanamalla Mallidēva Chōḷa-mahārāja in the month of Āvaṇi in the cyclic year Vyaya, which was the second regnal year of Tribhuvana-chakravartin Kulōttuṅgachōḷadēva. It is further stated that the gift was placed in the hands of Īśānaśiva, the *sthānapati* of the temple of Tirumaṅgīśvaram-uḍaiyār with the libation of water by the illustrious hand of the king.

It is not clear from the record to which of the reigns of the three Chōḷa kings bearing the name of Kulōttuṅga it belongs. The cyclic year Vyaya corresponded with 1046-47, 1106-07, 1166-67 and 1226-27 A.D. In no case did any of these years coincide with the 2nd year of the reign of any of the Chōḷa kings bearing the name Kulōttuṅga. While the other dates did not fall in the reign of any Kulōttuṅga at all, the first one coincided with the 37th year of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I. But the palaeography, the difference in the regnal years 2 and 37 and the mention of Tribhuvanamalla Mallidēva Chōḷa-mahārāja make it impossible to assign this record to the time of that monarch.

Tribhuvanamalla Mallidēva Chōḷa-mahārāja mentioned in this inscription as ruling over the Śiṟai-nāḍu, a sub-division of Nigarilisōḷa-maṇḍalam[2], with Peruñjeṟu as his capital figures also in other epigraphs found in that locality. A record[3] engraved on a stone set up at the southern entrance of the Oddappa (Śiva) temple at the same place, dated in Śaka 1084, Vṛisha, Pushya,

[1] The other two faces of the pillar contain two separate records. The third face bears an undated inscription (*SII*, Vol. VI, No. 554) in the Tamil language and script registering the gift of two *poṉ* of gold placed in the hands of Īśāna-jīyar by Dēvaragaṇḍan Tāṅguvān *alias* Uttamaśōḷa Vaḷavadarayaṉ of Śeyyūr in Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam (i.e. modern Cheyyūr in the Madhurantakam Taluk of the Chingleput District), from the interest of which was to be maintained the worship and a *śandi-viḷakku* in the temple for the merit of his father and mother in the shrine of Svayambhūdēva *alias* Tiruvirāmīśvaramuḍaiya-mahādēva consecrated by him. The fourth face of the pillar contains an incomplete and undated inscription (ibid., No. 555), in Kannaḍa, of the time of the Western Chālukya king Jagadēkamalla containing a portion of the *praśasti* of a person who is described therein as the son of Iruṅgōḷa Chōḷa-mahārāja.

[2] Nigarilisōḷa-maṇḍalam was the same as Noḷambavāḍi renamed as such by the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I after his conquest of the region and was a 'Thirtytwo Thousand country' comprising portions of the Bellary and Anantapur Districts of Andhra and parts of the Kōlār and Tumkūr Districts of Mysore.

[3] *SII*, Vol. IX, No. 268.

Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkramaṇa, corresponding probably to 1162 A.D., December 25, Monday, mentions the chief as ruling over Śiṟe-nāḍu (same as the Śiṟai-nāḍu of the Tamil record) from his capital at Heñjēṟu, which is only another form of Peruñjēṟu, as a feudatory of Chāḷukya-chakravartin Vikrama (i.e. Taila III). There is also another inscription[1] incised on a pillar at the same place, dated in Śaka 1090, Sarvajit, corresponding to 1168 A.D., mentioning this chief as a feudatory of Chāḷukya-chakravartin. He was the son of Iruṅgōḷa Chōḷa-mahārāja of the Niḍugal family.[2] Tribhuvanamalla Mallidēva Chōḷa-mahārāja mentioned in the record under review is evidently the Niḍugal Chōḍa chief and his known dates range from 1162 to 1179 A.D. Then the cyclic year Vyaya mentioned in the record should be the one coinciding with Śaka 1088 corresponding to 1166-67 A.D. This being the 2nd year of the reign of Kulōttuṅgachōḷadēva, he should have ascended the throne in 1165-66 A.D. It has already been pointed out that none of the three kings bearing the name of Kulōttuṅgachōḷa ascended the throne on this date.[3] But curiously enough we find another Chōḷa king of the imperial family of Tañjāvūr, Rājādhirāja II, counting his regnal years in some of his inscriptions with this year as the starting point,[4] and it is also known that he did not succeed to the Chōḷa throne as direct heir in the male line. The Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai inscription[5] states that Rājarāja II chose as his successor on the throne Rājādhirāja II as there was no regular and proper heir in the male line available then. Pallavarāyar (whose full name was Tiruch-chiṟṟambalam-uḍaiyāṉ Perumāṉambi), who was the trusted chief minister of Rājarāja II and was responsible for this selection, is stated to have made after the coronation of Rājādhirāja II, the *uḍaṉkūṭṭam* and the *nāḍu* act with the king in unison and also to have suppressed [the hostile elements] from doing [any] high-handed action.[6] The actual expression *mīgai śeyyādapaḍi[yum] parigarittu* used in the inscription is significant. It is clear therefrom that the accession of Rājādhirāja II to the Chōḷa throne was not unanimously accepted by the officials and the public and that there was some opposition to the choice, but that Pallavarāyar overcame the opposition and compelled it to surrender and accept the selection. Who were those that opposed the selection and how they were subdued are not explicit from the inscription. But it is stated therein that Pallavarāyar was successful in his attempt only 'to some extent (*orupaḍi*)' and even that possibly with very great difficulty.[7] For making this selection, Pallavarāyar, according to the record, brought some princes from Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōḷapuram (*Gaṅgaiko[ṇ]ḍaśōḷapura ....daruḷi iru[k]kiṟa piḷḷaigaḷai ......yāṉam paṇṇu ....*). The use of the word *piḷḷaigaḷ* in plural denotes more than one prince, although only one person[8] was selected from among them and crowned as Rājādhirāja. It is quite possible that the other prince or princes who were brought to the capital

[1] Ibid., Vol. VI, No. 557.

[2] Ibid., Vol. IX, Nos. 268 and 273. See also note 1 at p. 269 above.

[3] The inscription being in the Tamil language and script, it is not possible to take him as one of the Telugu-Chōḍas. In fact, no Telugu-Chōḍa prince is known to have borne the name of Kulōttuṅga. He can be only a prince belonging to the Imperial Chōḷa family of Tañjāvūr.

[4] *A. R. Ep.*, 1908, App. B, No. 571 ; 1913, App. B, No. 428 ; App. C, No. 19 ; also above, Vol. X, pp. 126-27 ; *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 70.

[5] Above Vol. XXI, pp. 184-93 ; see also K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, Vol. II, pp. 89-96, and above, pp. 223ff.

[6] The translation given above, Vol. XXI, p. 192, has not brought out the full force of the original text and at places conveys a wrong meaning not borne out by the text. The word *mīgai* literally means 'up-lifted arm'. If the word is taken as *migai* with a short *i*, then it would mean 'excess'. Even then, it will convey more or less the same idea.

[7] That Pallavarāyar was successful only partially has not been brought out in the translation of the record, referred to above. It runs as follows : "and made the *uḍaṉkūṭṭam* (assembly) and the *nāḍu* (chamber) follow him without any dissensions. Thus (*he*) brought all (*parties*) together so that there might be no transgression. (*In this way he*) creditably discharged one of his commissions".

[8] [The authors have obviously taken the word *ivarai* occurring in the text (line 12) to mean one of the princes (*piḷḷaigaḷ*) brought from Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōḷapuram. But the word *ivarai* cannot mean *ivargaḷil oruvarai*. See above, p. 224, n. 1.—Ed.]

from Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōḷapuram but not selected were the hostile elements alluded to in the Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai record. Then Kulōttuṅgachōḷadēva of the inscription now being edited was probably a rival of Rājādhirāja II. A study of the course of events in the reign of this king would also lead us to such a conclusion.

The latest regnal year traced in the inscriptions of Rājādhirāja II is 16.[1] We know that two sets of dates are found in his inscriptions, one counting some date between the 28th February and 30th March 1163 A.D. as the initial year[2] and the other, as already indicated above, suggesting some date in the first half of 1166 A.D. as its starting point. Thus the latest regnal year of 16 would correspond to 1178 A.D. or 1181 according as we adopt 1163 or 1166 A.D. for the commencement of his reign. Even though we have his records upto his 16th regnal year, it is to be noted that only inscriptions upto his 14th regnal year are numerous while those of the last two years are very few. A record from Puṅgaṇūr[3] refers to the same regnal year of this king as *padinālāvadāṇa panniraṇḍāvadu*, i.e. 'the 12th year which is the same as the 14th year', and this is probably due to there being two different dates for the commencement of his reign. In the light of the above, we may not be far wrong in taking the 16th regnal year of his inscriptions as having been reckoned from the earlier of the above two dates of accession. It will thus be seen that the records of Rājādhirāja II are found in the Tamil country only upto about 1178 A.D. He was succeeded on the throne by Kulōttuṅga III whose inscriptions show that his rule commenced between the 6th and 8th of July, 1178 A.D.[4] The circumstances under which Kulōttuṅga III came to occupy the Chōḷa throne are not clear ; but one thing seems to be certain. Rājādhirāja II was not dead when Kulōttuṅga III ascended the throne and began to rule the country in his own name. A large number of Rājādhirāja's inscriptions are found in the Bhīmēśvara temple at Drākshārāma in the Godavari District extending for a period of more than 30 years thereafter, thus practically covering the reign of Kulōttuṅga III till its very end. The following is a list of such inscriptions recording gifts to the temple published in the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. IV, in which both the Śaka and regnal years of Tribhuvanachakravartin Rājādhirājadēva are quoted.

No.	Regnal year	Śaka year	A.D.	Remarks
1223	28	1115	1193-4	Mentions some Śeṭṭis of Śakkarakkōṭṭam.
1331	28	1116	1194-5	Text not available. *A.R. Ep.*, 1893, is the only evidence.
1332	29	1117	1195-6	
1279	35	1123	1201-2	
1257	40	1127	1205-6	
1118	47	1134	1212-3	Mentions some Śeṭṭis of Śakkarakkōṭṭam.

The following inscriptions found in the same temple and published in the same volume recording similar transactions quote the Śaka years and the regnal years of a king whose name is not

[1] *A. R. Ep.*, No. 389 of 1921.
[2] Above, Vol. IX, p. 211.
[3] *A.R. Ep.*, No. 209 of 1932.
[4] Above, Vol. VIII, p. 260.

mentioned therein but who can be no other than Rājādhirāja II, as these dates work out correctly only for him and not for any other king known so far.

No.	Regnal year	Śaka year	A.D.	Remarks
1218	30	1118	1196-7	Mentions Goṅka of Vēṅgī.
1092	31	1119	1197-8	
215	35	1123	1201-2	
1117	[4]6	1134	1212-3	Mentions the *sāmanta* of a chief of the Kākaṭi kingdom.

In addition to the above, there is also an inscription[1] dated in the 31st year of the reign of Tribhuvanachakravartin Rājādhirājadēva, without mentioning the equivalent Śaka year and recording the gift of a lamp in the time of the Veḷanāṇṭi chief Kulōttuṅga Pṛithvīśvara whose inscriptions are found to range from 1186[2] to 1199[3] A.D.

But a close study of these inscriptions as well as the history of Vēṅgī in this period will show that the suzerainty of Rājādhirāja there was only in name and that the country was ruled by the local chiefs who were practically independent, owing only nominal allegiance to Rājādhirāja. It can be surmised from the above that this king was practically driven out of the Chōḷa kingdom in 1178 A.D. by his rival Kulōttuṅga III and that he found an asylum in Vēṅgī as a refugee where he was probably treated with all the honours due to a king but nothing more. It would thus appear that Kulōttuṅga, though he failed in his attempt in 1165 A.D. to get the Chōḷa throne, finally succeeded in the attempt made subsequently in 1178 A.D.

To have made an attempt to assert his right and to capture the Chōḷa throne in 1165 A.D., even while Rājarāja was alive, Kulōttuṅga must have had at least some chance to succeed. Otherwise he would not have daringly ventured on the project. The troublous condition then prevailing in the Tamil country was probably propitious for him to launch the scheme. About this time a civil war broke out between two Pāṇḍya princes, Kulaśēkhara and Parākrama, for the throne of Madurai. Parākrama obtained the help of the Ceylonese while Kulaśēkhara was helped by the Chōḷas. This war, which seems to have dragged on for some five or six years, did considerable havoc to the entire Tamil country and struck terror into the hearts of the people. Pallavarāyar who was responsible for the selection of Rājādhirāja to the Chōḷa throne was the officer entrusted by the Chōḷa king Rājarāja II with the task of restoring Kulaśēkhara to the Pāṇḍya throne. From the Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai record, it may even be surmised that the installation of Rājādhirāja as co-regent was hastened by the quick movement of events in the Pāṇḍya country. The Koṅgu king Kulōttuṅga I was the uncle of the Pāṇḍya prince Kulaśēkhara, the candidate supported by the Chōḷas of the main line, and he also took an effective part in the war as suggested by the Ceylon chronicle.[4] A record from Nerūr in the Tiruchirappalli District,[5] dated in the 17th regnal year of the Koṅgu king Kulōttuṅga, registers the gift of a village to his *purōhita* as *yātrādāna* before starting out on an expedition

[1] *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 1100 (No. 247 of 1893).

[2] Above, Vol. IV, No. 4 (Pithāpuram pillar inscription of Pṛithvīśvara, Śaka 1108).

[3] *A. R. Ep.*, 1909, App. B, No. 97 ; see also part ii, para. 76.

[4] Geiger, *Cūlavaṁsa*, Vol. II, Chapters 76-77.

[5] *A. R. Ep.*, 1928, App. B, No. 336. The name of the Pāṇḍya prince is partially lost and only .... *kharadēva* is now available. The Mackenzie transcript of this record (*South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, Vol II, No. 716), where also the name is partially lost, has, however, the letter *ku* at the beginning and so the name can be restored only as Kulaśēkharadēva.

to Madui to get the kingdom for his nephew (*marumagaṉār*) Kulaśēkhara. This Koṅgu Kulōttuṅga came to the throne in Śaka 1072 (1150 A.D.) as evidenced by an inscription[1] of his from Vijayamaṅgalam in the Coimbatore District giving the year 13+1 of his reign as corresponding to Śaka 1085. Thus the Pāṇḍyan civil war had already commenced and probably reached the second stage before his 17th year, i.e. 1166 A.D.[2] The time was thus favourable for the pretender Kulōttuṅga of the inscription now being edited to embark on his attempt to get the Chōḷa throne.

In this inscription, the Niḍugal Chōḷa chief Mallidēva Chōḷa-mahārāja figures as a subordinate or rather as acknowledging the overlordship, in a way, of the pretender Kulōttuṅga. This chief had been the loyal feudatory of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa who were the inveterate enemies of the Imperial Chōḷas of Tañjāvūr. Thus, in the two inscriptions of this chief found at Hēmāvati itself, dated respectively 1162 and 1168 A.D. in the years immediately preceding and following the date of the present record, he mentions himself as the feudatory of the Western Chālukyas. There must have been some special reason for Mallidēva-chōḷa to adopt this course in the intervening period. He being only a feudatory would not and could not have adopted this course unless it had the backing of his overlords, first the Western Chālukyas and later Kalachuri Bijjala.

A verse in the *Tamiḻ Nāvalar Charitai*[3] refers to the victory of the Chōḷa king Rājarāja II over Kalayāṇapura. It states that the gates of the cities Kapāṭapuram (i.e. Madurai, the capital of the Pāṇḍyas), Laṅkāpura (the capital of Ceylon) and Kalyāṇapura (the capital of the Western Chālukyan kingdom) were always open to him. Another verse in the final benedictory portion of the *Takka-yāga pparaṇi*[4] states that Rājagambhīra, i.e. Rājarāja II, removed the crown of the imposter (*bhrashṭa*) and crowned the Raṭṭa to rule over the great ' seven and a half lakh country '. This incident though mentioned in literature is not referred to in his *meykkīrttis*. The omission of any reference to this incident in the *meykkīrttis* of his Tamil inscriptions which extend upto his 18th regnal year shows that the king had not undertaken the campaign against Kuntala upto that year and that consequently the campaign must have taken place on some subsequent date. An inscription[5] from Drākshārāma dated in Śaka 1085 and the 18th regnal year of Rājarāja II (1163 A.D.) registering the gift of a lamp by Paṇḍāmbikā, queen of the Velanāṇṭi Chōḍa chief Rājēndrachōḍaya, contains a panegyric of this feudatory in which it is stated that he conquered Kuntala and the Kaliṅga kingdoms and that the rulers of those countries ran away as soon as they heard the news of his starting on an invasion. That being the first year of his rule his conquest of Kuntala must have been achieved only then (i.e. 1163 A.D.). Kuntala in those days referred only to the kingdoms with Kalyāṇa as its capital where Kalachuri Bijjala was then the reigning monarch who had by then usurped the throne of his erstwhile overlord, the Western Chālukya king Tailapa III, but had not yet completely brought the entire kingdom under his control. In 1162-63 A.D., while ' in the course of a state progress undertaken with a view to secure the possession of the southern provinces', he was encamped at Baḷḷigāmve[6] in the Shikarpur Taluk of the Shimoga District. The Western Chālukyas, deprived of their throne and capital, were then

[1] *A. R. Ep.*, 1905, No. 598.

[2] [This date has been taken by Mr. K. V. Subramania Aiyar as that of the commencement of the war (above, Vol. XXV, p. 83).—Ed.]

[3] Karattuñ=śirattuṅ=kaḷikkuṅ=kaḷiṟuḍai=kkaṇḍaṉ vandāṉ
iṟattuṅ=kapāḍam iṉi=ttiṟappāy paṇḍ=ivaṉ-aṉaṅgē
uṟattuñ=jiṟattuṅ=kapāṭan-tiṟandiṭṭad=uṇḍ=Ilaṅkā-
purattuṅ=Kapāṭapurattuṅ=Kalyāṇapurattiṉumē (verse 128).
[The claim might have been an empty boast.—Ed.]
Piraṭṭaṉaiyē paṭṭaṅ-g ,ṭ-aḻittu=ppēr-ēḻarai-yilakkam purakka
Iraṭṭaṉaiyē paṭṭaṅ-gaṭṭi-viṭṭa Irājagambhīraṉai vāḻttiṉavē (verse 774).
SII, Vol. IV, No. 1113.
Above Vol. V. p[t] 225

holding some outlying provinces with the help of some loyal feudatories. Just about this time Tailapa III died.[1] And we find Jagadēkamalla III styling himself as the Western Chālukya monarch some time in 1163 A.D.[2] Tailapa III seems to have had other sons also. It was possibly to instal Jagadēkamalla on the throne that Chōḷa Rājarāja II had to intervene in the affairs of the kingdom of Kalyāṇa. In the present state of our knowledge, it is very difficult to definitely postulate the course of events that took place and identify the king installed on the throne by the Chōḷas. But this much seems certain that Rājarāja II intervened in the affairs of the kingdom of Kalyāṇa and installed one of the claimants on the throne. Naturally this would have been resented by the other candidate for the throne as also by the Kalachuri king Bijjala who had by that time usurped the Kalyāṇa throne. This is evident from the title *Rājigachōḷa-manōbhaṅga*[3] assumed in 1171 A.D. by the Uchchaṅgi Pāṇḍya chief Vijaya-pāṇḍya who was then ruling over Noḷambavāḍi as a feudatory of the Kalachuris.[4] The setting up in 1165 A.D. of Kulōttuṅga as a pretender to the Imperial Chōḷa throne was probably the outcome of the above.[5]

The donor, Śikkal-uḍaiya-Śeṭṭiyār, who had the grant given away by the hands of the king, i.e. Kulōttuṅga, is described in the record as *Vaḍḍha-vyavahāri-dēśimukhya* which may be translated as 'the senior merchant and leader of the *dēśi* community'. In some of the later inscriptions, this is expressed as *Śrīman-mahāpaṭṭaviyāpāri Ubhaya-nānā-dēśikku mukkiyam āṉa* in Tamil[6] and *Śrīman-mahavaḍḍavyavahāri ubhaya-nānā-dēśiyargē mahāprabhu mukhyar appa* in Kannaḍa.[7] It would thus appear that Śikkal-uḍaiya-Śeṭṭiyār was also a member of the merchant-guild known as Nānādēśi and as '500 valiant men', which had its head-quarters at Aiyāvaḷi, the modern Aihoḷe. An undated inscription[8] from Pirāṉmalai in the Ramanathapuram District contains a panegyric of this body from which it will be evident that it had something to do with another organisation known as Śittiramēḷi-Periyanāṭṭavar. Another undated inscription[9] from Tirukkōvalūr in the South Arcot District recording the transactions of the Śittiramēḷi-Periyanāṭṭavar contains substantial portions of the above *praśasti*. A record[10] from Tiṭṭaguḍi in the South Arcot District dated in the 4th year of the reign of Rājādhirāja II registers the benefactions to the temple made jointly by the Śittiramēḷi-Periyanāḍu of the 79 *nāḍus* and the *diśai diśai viḷaṅgu diśai-āyirattu aiññūṟṟuvar*. Probably the two bodies Śittiramēḷi-Periyanāṭṭavar and the Diśai-āy irattu-aiññūṟṟuvar were two branches of the same parental organisation of the Nānādēśis.[11] The organisation Śittiramēḷi-Periyanāṭṭavar which came into being about this time very soon

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[1] Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 256; also *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI (1882), p. 9.

[2] *Ep. Car.*, Vol. XI, Dg. 43. [This inscription is dated in 1164 A.D. The earlier part of the record praises a king named Jagadēkamalla whose indentification is problematical.—Ed.]

[3] The same title is found assumed by one of his predecessors, viz. Tribhuvanamalla-pāṇḍya who was a subordinate of the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI, to commemorate the frustration of the designs of Rājiga, i.e. Kulōttuṅgachōḷa I (*Ep. Car.*, Vol. XI, Hk. 68). But this does not seem to be a family title and it does not also appear to have been borne by the intervening members. The title was probably renewed now in view of the appropriateness of the situation. Rājiga here probably stands for Rājarāja II.

[4] *Ep. Car.*, Vol. XI, Dg. 32 and 43.

[5] It would be interesting to note in this connection that the *Kulōttuṅgaṉ-Kōvai* (K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, Vol. II, p. 115) mentions Saṅgamarāja and Nallama as the names respectively of the father and the elder brother of this Kulōttuṅga (III). These names sound more as of Telugu-Kannaḍa origin.

[6] *Ep. Car.*, Vol. X, Kl. 71.

[7] Ibid., Nos. 72, 73.

[8] *SII*, Vol. VIII, No. 442.

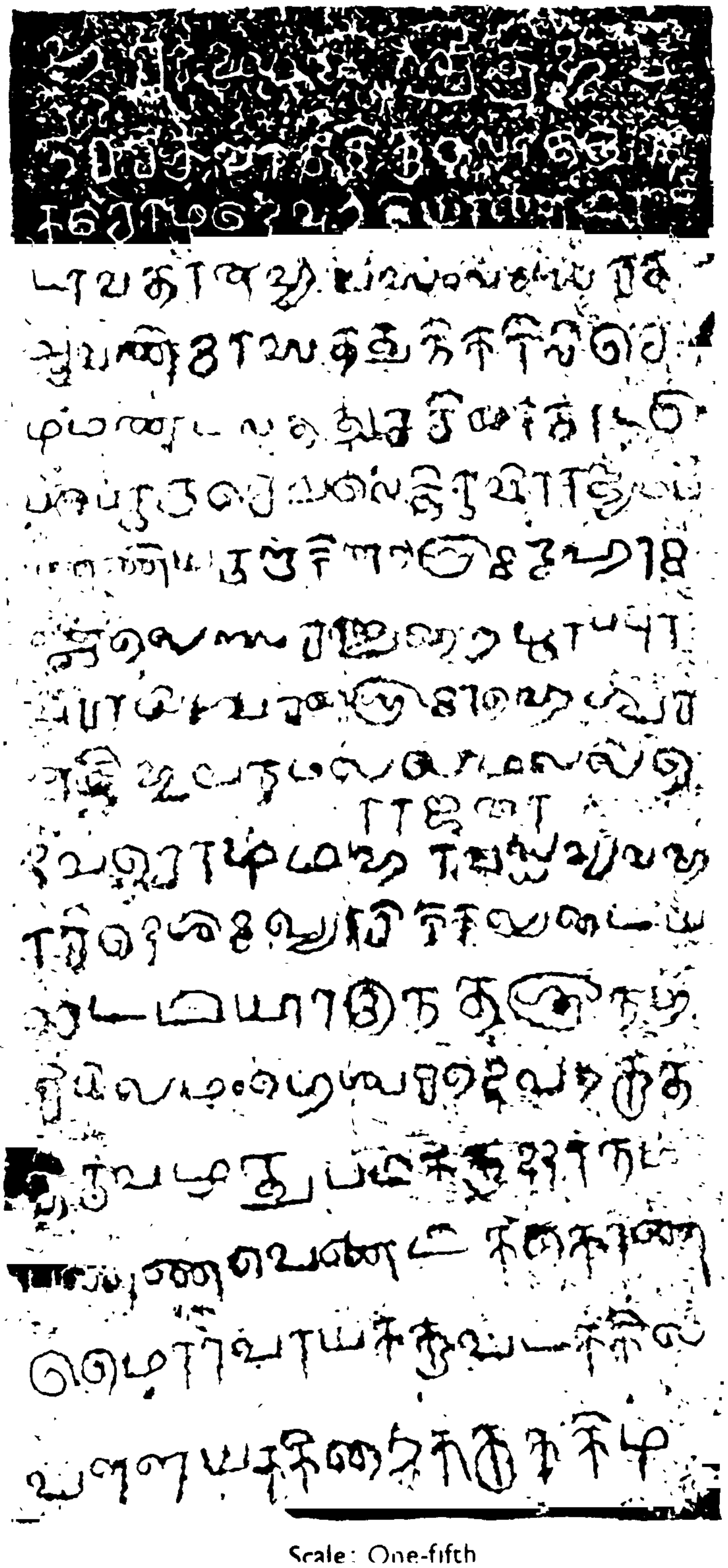
[9] Ibid., No. 129

[10] Ibid., No. 291. This is perhaps the earliest mention of the Sittiramēḷi-Periyanāṭṭavar in Tamil inscriptions. The record from Jambai in the South Arcot District (*A. R. Ep.*, 1906, No. 67) of the 3rd year of Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulōttuṅga mentioning the Sittaramēḷi-Periyanāṭṭavar of 79 *nāḍus* has to be assigned to Kulōttuṅga III, taking Rājakēsari as a mistake for Parakēsari.

[11] The expression *ubhaya-nānādēśi* of the above inscriptions probably denotes these two branches.

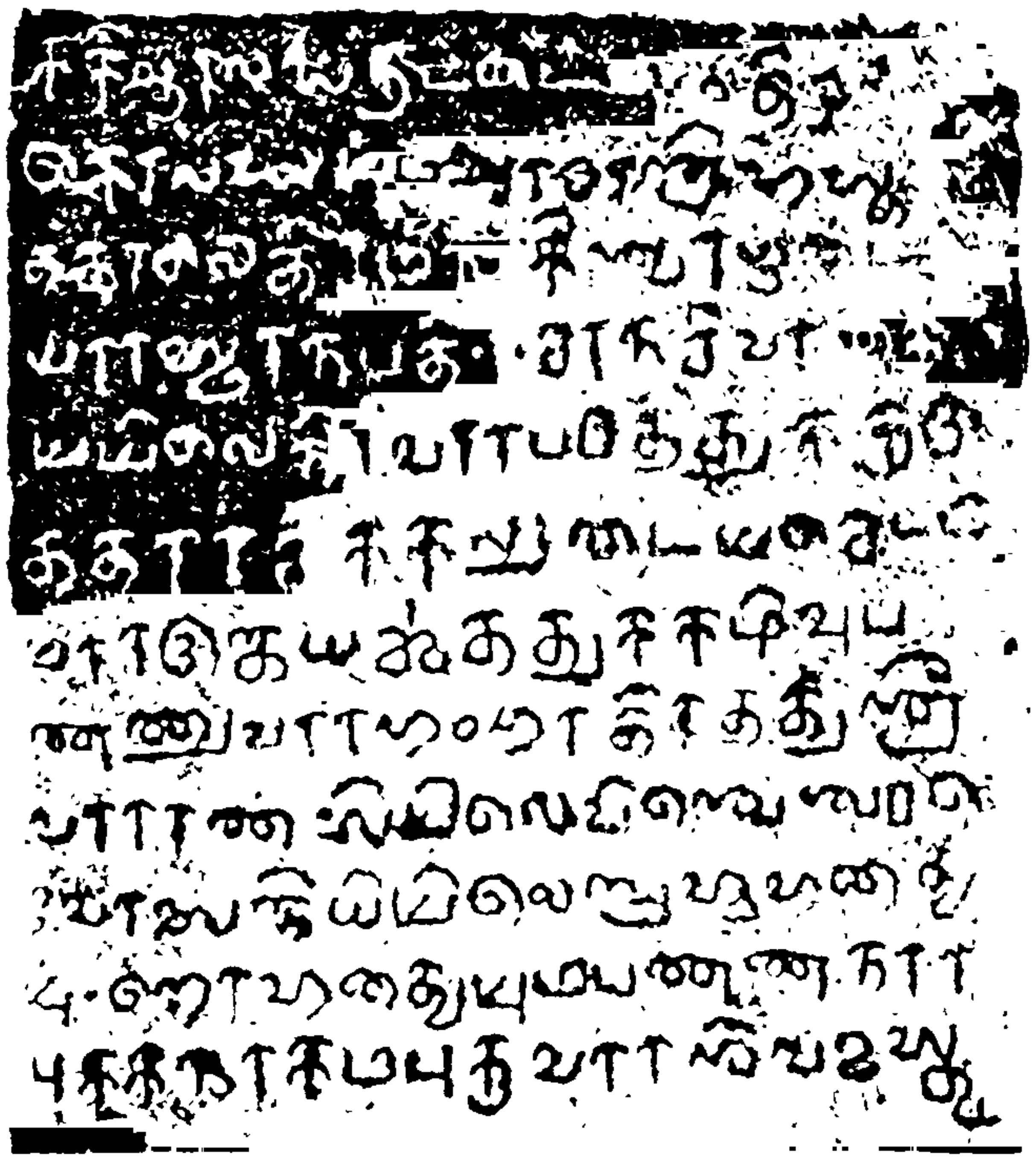
HEMAVATI PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF KULOTTUNGACHOLA III, YEAR 2

First Face



Scale: One-fifth

Second Face



obtained a firm footing in the Tamil country and was very influential throughout the reign of Kulōttuṅga III. We may not therefore be wrong in surmising that this organisation paved the way for the ultimate success of Kulōttuṅga in getting the Chōla throne.[1]

Our thanks are due to Dr. N. Venkataramanayya who helped us by drawing our attention to the Telugu records and also suggested the possibility of the identification.

TEXT

First Face

1 Haraḥ [|*] Svasti Śrīḥ [||*] Tribhuva-

2 nachchakravartti Kulōttuṅ-

3 ga-śōḷadēvaṟk=iyāṇḍ=iraṇ

4 ḍ=āvad=āna Vyaya-saṁvatsarat[tu]

5 Āvaṇi-māsattu Nigariliś[ō][2]-

6 ḷa-maṇḍalattu=Chchirai-nāṭṭu=

7 p-Peruñjeṟu-il tiru-virājyam pa-

8 ṇṇi=yaruḷugiṉṟa Śrīman-mahāma-

9 ṇḍalēsva(śva)raṉ=Uṟaiyur-ppura-

10 varādhīśvaraṇ Śrīmāhēśvara-

11 ṇ Tribhuvanamalla Malli-

12 dēva[3]-śōḷamahārājarai[4] Vaḍḍha-vyavah-

13 āri dēśi-[mu]khyar Śikkal-uḍaiya

14 śeṭṭiyār inda śrīnaga-

15 riyil Maṁgēśvaradēvaṟku=t-

16 tiruv-amudupadikku=ddānam

17 panna vēṇḍi-kkon-

18 ḍu Mōrvāykku vaḍakkil

19 Vaḷḷayakkiṟaikku=kkiḷa-

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[1] [There seems to be no evidence in favour of this conjecture.—Ed.]

[2] The loop and *sa* are clear. Only the *ā* symbol is indistinct.

[3] The letter *d* in the Grantha script is in this line ; the symbol for *ē* is engraved in the previous line.

[4] The syllables *rājarai* are incised above the line.

Second Face

20 kk=i[v*]=ūral=a[ndha]kuṭṭaiyum=adiṟ=

21 kollaiyum araśar śrī-hasta-

22 ttālē Tirumaṅgīsvaram-uḍai-

23 yār sthānapati Īśānaśivar kai-

24 yyi(yi)lē nīr-vārppittu=kkuḍu-

25 ttār Śikkal-uḍaiya-śeṭṭi-

26 yār [|*] inda dharmmattukk=aḻivu-pa-

27 ṇṇuvār Gaṁgā-tīrattu śrī-

28 Vārāṇasiyilē Visvē(śvē)śvara-

29 dēvar sannidhiyilē brahma-hatyai-

30 yuṁ gō-hatyaiyum paṇṇa(ṇi)nār

31 pukka narakam puguvār [|*] Śivam=astu [||*]

TRANSLATION

(*Obeisance to*) Hara (Śiva). Hail ! Prosperity ! In the month of Āvaṇi of the cyclic year Vyaya, corresponding to the 2nd year (*of the reign*) of Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulōttuṅgachōḷadēva, *Vaḍḍha-vyavahāri dēśi-mukhyan* Śikkal-uḍaiya-śeṭṭiyār having got the approval of the illustrious *Śrīman-Mahāmaṇḍalēśvaran Uṟaiyūr-puravar-ādhīśvaran Srīmāhēśvaran* Tribhuvanamalla Mallidēva Chōḷa-mahārāja who is pleased to rule (*his country with the capital*) at Peruñjeṟu in Śirai-nāḍu (*a sub-division*) of Nigariliśōḷa-maṇḍalam, for a gift (*of land to provide*) for the sacred food offerings to the god Maṅgēśvaradēvar in this illustrious city (*śrīnagari*), had the spring (*ūral*) including the garden (*kollai*) land comprised in it, to the north of Mōrvāy and east of Vaḷḷayakkiṟai, placed in the hands of Īśānaśiva, the *sthānapati* of the temple of the god Tirumaṅgīśvaram-uḍaiyār, with libation of water by the illustrious hands of the king. Those destroying this charity will go to the hell to which those who commit the murder of Brāhmaṇas and cows in the *sannidhi* of (*the god*) Viśvēśvaradēva at Vārāṇasi on the banks of the Gaṅgā (*go*). Let there be peace !

No. 38—THREE PLATES FROM PANDUKESVAR

(*2 Plates*)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

As noticed by A. Führer in his *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, 1891, p. 46, there are four inscribed copper plates preserved in the temple of Yōga-badarī (one of the Pañcha-badarī) at **Pāṇḍukēśvar** (lat. 30° 19′ 56″N., long. 79° 35′ 30″E.), 54 miles north-east of Śrīnagar, in the Garhwal District of the Kumaun Division of Uttar Pradesh. A tentative translation of the inscriptions was published in 1875 by E. T. Atkinson in a collection of inscriptions from the temples of Kumaun and Garhwal and circulated with a view to securing information about the identification of the places and personages mentioned in them. The text of only one of these records was later edited by R. L. Mitra in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1877, pp. 71 ff., with a photolithograph. As, however, the work was not done quite satisfactorily, F. Kielhorn afterwards re-edited the inscription in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXV, 1896, pp. 177 ff. A detailed analysis of six records from Kumaun and Garhwal including the above inscriptions was also published by Atkinson in *The Himalayan Districts of the North-Western Provinces of India*, Vol. II (forming Vol. XI of the Gazetteer, N.-W.P.), 1884, pp. 469-85. But the analysis was based on inaccurate transcripts of the original records. Some years ago, information reached the Government Epigraphist for India that impressions of all the four Pāṇḍukēśvar copper-plate inscriptions had been secured for the Lucknow Museum. At his request, the Curator of the Lucknow Museum sent the impressions to the Government Epigraphist's office for examination and transcription. The three unpublished inscriptions out of the four are edited below.

I. Plate of Lalitaśūradēva, Year 22

This is a **single** plate engraved only on one side. It measures about 24·4″ × 15·6″ excluding a projection (with a squarish hole in it) about 4″ long on the proper right side. The royal seal appears to have been originally fixed on this projection as is the case with the Pāṇḍukēśvar plate of the same king published by Mitra and Kielhorn. We know that the seal of this king had on a counter-sunk surface the figure of a couchant bull facing the proper left with a legend in three lines (mentioning the reigning monarch together with his father and grandfather) beneath it. There are altogether twentyeight lines of writing on the plate under discussion, the size of each *akshara* being about ·4″ × ·4″. The engraving seems to be deep and carefully executed and the writing is apparently in a satisfactory state of preservation.

The **characters** belong to the Northern Class of alphabets of about the ninth century and are the same as those used in the published copper-plate inscription from Pāṇḍukēśvar. The use of initial *ā* and *i* and final *t* are noticed in the record. The *upadhmānīya* is employed in line 3. *B* has always been denoted by the sign for *v*. In line 25 there occur the ordinary numerical figures for 1, 2 and 5. The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. With the exception of five imprecatory verses at the end, the record is written entirely in prose which exhibits in a considerable degree the quality of *ōjas* or *samāsa-bhūyastva*. In respect of **orthography**, the inscription closely resembles the published record of the king, referred to above, and some other epigraphs of the period. Some of the consonants are reduplicated in conjunction with *r*. The *anusvāra* is wrongly used in some cases for the final *m* which, however, is usually retained before *v*. The dental nasal has been used for the *anusvāra* in *anyāṅś cha* in line 16. *Sh* has been used in place of *ś* in *Khasha* in line 15 and *ś* instead of *s* in °*āśēdha* in line 13, while *i* is found instead of *ī* in °*tkirṇṇa*° in line 25. The word *sahasrani* is written correctly in line 27 but is found in the form *śahashrāṇi* in the previous line.

The charter is **dated** in the regnal reckoning of the king. Line 19 refers to the auspicious day of the *Vishuva-saṅkrānti*, while lines 24-25 give the date as the 15th day of the dark half of Kārttika in the 22nd year of king Lalitaśūradēva's reign. We know that the other Pāṇḍukēśvar plate of this king refers to the *Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti* as well as to the 3rd day of the dark half of Māgha in the king's 21st regnal year. Kielhorn suggested that this date may be the 22nd December 853 A.D. As the date of the present record was also known to Kielhorn through its rough translation published by Atkinson, he noticed the curious coincidence that the details work out faultlessly with the **25th September 854 A.D.** He further observed,"The two dates themselves do not fix the time of Lalitaśūradēva with absolute certainty; but on palaeographical grounds the inscription here published might well have been written in 853 A.D., and in the whole of the 9th century A.D. there are no two consecutive years which would suit the two dates so well as A.D. 853 and 854 do."

The charter was issued from the city of **Kārttikēyapura** by *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara* **Lalitaśūradēva** who, as is also known from the published record from Pāṇḍukēśvar, was the son of *P.M.P.* **Ishṭagaṇadēva** and grandson of **Nimbara.** The names of the mothers of Lalitaśūradēva and Ishṭagaṇadēva were Vēgādēvī and Nāśūdēvī respectively. Lalitaśūradēva's own queen is known, from a Bāgēśvar inscription referred to below, to have been Sāyadēvī (possibly the same as Sāmadēvī mentioned in the Pāṇḍukēśvar plate of year 21). King Nimbara, who is not endowed with imperial titles and may have been the founder of this royal line, is said to have been devoted to the god Dhūrjaṭi (Śiva) and the goddess Nandā-bhagavatī, i.e. Durgā, after whom one of the principal peaks in the Kumaun Division is called Nandādēvī. There is a river called Nandākinī rising in the glaciers on the western slope of the Triśūl in Pargana Badhān, lat. 30° 16′ 10″N., long. 79° 46′ 5″ E. High up the source of this river there is the temple of Nandādēvī, which is situated near Tantarakharak above the village of Satōl in the Garhwal District. This may have been the goddess referred to. Nothing important is said about Nimbara's son and successor Ishṭagaṇadēva; but he is called *paramabrahmaṇya* and a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva) and is endowed with the usual imperial style. The reigning monarch Lalitaśūradēva is also endowed with the same characteristics as his father.

There is an inscription at the temple of Śiva called Bāgēśvar (Vyāghrēśvara) situated at the junction of the Gōmatī and Sarjū in Patti Katyūr in Kumaun. A tentative transcript of this stone inscription was published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. VII, 1838, pp. 1056-58. A note on the same record is also found in E.T. Atkinson's *The Himalayan Districts of the North-Western Provinces of India*, Vol. II, pp. 469-70. It was, however, not noticed that the text of the inscription contains no less than three grants made by three different kings in favour of the god Vyāghrēśvaradēva. The defective nature of the published transcript renders it difficult to be definite about the names of the two kings mentioned in the first of the three charters, as they are given in the absurd forms *Śrī-Bhasantanadēva* (read as *Masantanadēva* in the translation and *Basantanadēva* in Atkinson's account) and *Śāyasvairaṁsvairaṁdadau*. The names of the kings mentioned in the second charter have been quoted as śrī-Kharparadēva, his son śrī-Kalyāṇarājadēva and his son śrī-Tribhuvanarājadēva. The third grant apparently belongs to the son and successor of king Lalitaśūradēva of our record. His name has been read as śrī-Bhūdēvadēva, although the reading *paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvar-ōpamiy-āḍhya-śrī-Bhūdēvadēva* seems to be doubtful. The name of Lalitaśūradēva has been read correctly, but those of Nimbara and Ishṭagaṇadēva have been wrongly made out. Nothing can be said, without examining the inscribed stone, about the year of the reign of Lalitaśūradēva's son, in which the grant was made. Little therefore is known about the duration of his rule and about the relation of this group of rulers with those mentioned in the other two charters incorporated in the Bāgēśvar record.[1]

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[1] Cf. *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, Vol. XII, 1951, pp. 149 ff.

The present inscription records the grant of some land which was in the possession of a person named Dēnduvāka and was lying within the jurisdiction of the administrative unit called **Thappalasāri** forming a part of the *vishaya* or district of **Kārttikēyapura**. The name of the *vishaya* shows that it was the district round the city of Kārttikēyapura which was apparently the capital of Lalitaśūradēva. For the religious merit of himself and his parents, the king made the grant in favour of the god Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭāraka installed by *Bhaṭṭa* Śrīpurusha in a village called **Garuḍāgrāma**. It is interesting to note that the king, who claims to be a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), made the grant in favour of Nārāyaṇa or Vishṇu. It is said that the temple of Nārāyaṇa should get some help from the *Brahmachārins* attached to the *tapōvana* at **Badarik-āśrama.** This shows that Garuḍāgrāma was probably close to Badarik-āśrama. The executor of the grant was the officer in charge of the Department of Gifts (*mahādān-ākshapaṭal-ādhikṛita*), whose name was Piūka. The same official is also mentioned in the Pāṇḍukēśvar plate of the 21st year of Lalitaśūradēva's reign ; but the name was wrongly read there as *Yījaka*. The record was engraved by Gaṅgabhadra from the draft of the original prepared by Āryaṭa who was in charge of the Department of War and Peace (*mahāsandhivigrah-ākshapaṭal-ādhikṛita*). Both these persons are also known from the published inscription of Lalitaśūradēva.

Of the **geographical** names mentioned in the inscription, Kārttikēyapura is identified with Baijnāth or Vaidyanāth (lat. 29° 54′ 24″ N., long. 79° 39′ 28″E.), a village in Pargana Dānpur of the Hazūr Tahsil in the Almora District. According to a tradition noticed by Atkinson,[1] the city was built by a Katyūrī king of the Katyūr valley in Kumaun on the ruins of an older city named Karavīrapura. It is not improbable that the name **Kārttikēyapura** is a Sanskritized form of the aboriginal name Katyūr. Possibly Kartṛipura of the Allahabad pillar inscription[2] was just another Sanskritized form of the same name. **Badarik-āśrama** is modern Badrīnāth (lat. 30° 44′ 29″ N., long. 79° 32′ 1″ E.) which is a village in Pargana Malla-Painkhanda, 55 miles north-east of Śrīnagar, and contains the celebrated temple of Badarīnātha or Badarī-Narāyaṇa. The *tapōvana* referred to as located at Badarik-āśrama may possibly be identified with modern Tapoban or Dhak-tapoban, a village on the left bank of the Dhauli river about nine miles from Jōshīmaṭh. It is conside.ably away from Badrīnāth ; but the Bhavishya-Badarī lies near it. **Thappalasāri and Garuḍāgrāma** cannot be identified.

TEXT[3]

1 Siddham[4] Svasti [||*] Śrīmat-**Kārttikēyapurāt**=sakal-āmara-di[t]itanuja-manuja-vibhu-bhakti-bhāva-bhara-bhār-ānamit-āmit-ōttamāṅga-saṁgi-vikaṭa-mukuta-kirīṭa-viṭaṅka-kōṭi-kōṭi-śvēt-aikatā-

2 n-anayaka-pradīpa-dīpta-dīdhiti-pāna-mada-rakta-charaṇa-kamal-āmala-vipula-va(ba)ha[la*]-kiraṇa-kēsar-āsāra-sārit-āśēsha-viśēsha-mōshi-ghana-tamas-tējasas=Svardhunī-dhauta-jaṭājū-

3 ṭasya bhagavatō Dhūrjjaṭēḥ=prasādān=nija-bhuj-ōpārjjitō(t-au)rjjitya-nirjjita-ripu-timira-lavdhō(bdh-ō)daya-prakāśaḥ dayā-dākshiṇya-satya-sattva-śīla-śaucha-śaury-audārya-gāmbhīrya-maryād-āryavṛitt-āścha-

4 rya-kārya-vary-ādi-guṇa-gaṇ-ālaṁkṛita-śarīraḥ mahā-sukṛiti-santāna-vī(bī)j-āvatāraḥ Kṛitayug-āgama-bhūpāla-lalita-kīrttiḥ Nandā-bhagavatī-charaṇa-kamala-kamalā-sanātha-mūrttiḥ śrī-

[1] *The Himalayan Districts of the North-Western Provinces of India*, Vol. II, p. 468.
[2] *Select Inscriptions*, p. 257.
[3] From impressions.
[4] Expressed by symbol.

5 **Nīmva(mba)ras**=tasya tanayas=tat-pād-ānudhyātō rājñī mahādēvī śrī-Nāśūdēvī **tasyām**= utpannaḥ paramamāhēśvaraḥ paramavra(bra)hmaṇyaḥ śita-kṛipāṇa-dhār-ōt**khāta**-matt-ēbha-kumbh-ākṛishṭ-ōtkṛishṭa-mukt-ā-

6 valī-yaśaḥ-patāk-ōchchhrāya-chandrik-āpahastita-tārā-gaṇaḥ paramabhaṭṭāra**ka-mahārājā**-dhirаja-paramēśvara-śrīmad-**Ishṭagaṇadēvas**=tasyā(sya) puttras=tat-pād-ānu**dhyātō rājñī** mahādēvī śrī-

7 Vēgādēvī tasyām=utpā(tpa)nnaḥ paramamāhēśvaraḥ paramavra(**bra)hmaṇya**[ḥ] [Kali]-**kalaṅka**-pank-ātaṅka-magna-dharaṇy-uddhāra-dhārita-dhaurēya-vara-**Varāha-charitaḥ sahaja-mati**-vibhava-vibhu-vibhūti-

8 sthagit-ārāti-chakra-pratāpa-dahanaḥ a[t]i-vaibhava-saṁbhār-ārambha-[saṁbh**ṛita]-bhīma**-bhrūkuṭi-kuṭila-kēsa[r]i-saṭā-bhīta-bhīt-ārāt-ībha-kalabha-bhara[ḥ] atuṇḍa-raṇa[t-]**kṛipāṇa**-vā(bā)ṇa-gaṇa-prāṇa-

9 guṇa-haṭh-ākṛish[ṭ]-ōtkṛishṭa-salīla-jayalakshmī-prathama-samāliṅgan-āvalōkana-**vailakshya**-sakhēda-surasundarī-vidhūta-kara-skha[la]d-va[la]ya-[ku]suma-prakara-prakīrṇṇ-**āvataṁsa**-samva(saṁva)rddhita-kīrtti-

10 vī(bī)[ja]ḥ Pṛithur=iva dōrddaṇḍa-sādhita-dhanur-mmaṇḍala-va(ba)l-āvashṭambha-**vasa(śa)**-**vaśīkṛita**-gō-pāla[n]ā-niśchalīkṛita-dharādharēndraḥ paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhi**rāja**-**paramēśvara-śrīmal-Lali**-

11 **taśūradēvaḥ** kuśalī | śrīmat-**Kārtti[keya*]pura-vishay[ē]** samupagatā[n-**sarvvā]n**= ēva niyōgasthā[n=rā]ja-rājanaka[1]-rājaputtra-rājāmātya-sāmanta-mahā**sāmanta-ṭhakkura**-**mahāmanushya-ma**-

12 hāka(kā)rttākṛi[t]ika-ma[hāpratīhāra]-mahādaṇḍanāyaka-mahārājapra[mātāra]-śarabha**ṅga**-[ku]mārāmāty-ōparika-dussādhyasādhanika-da(dā)śāparādhika-chaurōddharaṇika-**śaulki**-

13 ka-gaulmika-tadāyuktaka-viniyuktaka-paṭṭakāpachārī(ri)k-āśē(sē)dhabhaṅgādhikṛita-[**hastya**]-**aśvōshṭrava(ba)lavyāpṛitaka**-dūta-prēshanika-da(dā)ṇḍika-da(dā)ṇḍapāśika-gamāgami-**khā**-

14 ḍgik-ābhitvaramāṇaka-rājasthānīya-vishyapati-bhōgapati-tarapaty-aśvapati-**khaṇḍaraksha**-pratiś[ū]rika-sthānādhikṛita-va[r*]tmapāla-kōṭṭapāla-ghaṭṭapāla-kshēttrapāla-**prā[nta]**-

15 **pāla**-ki[śōrava]ḍavāgōmahishyadhikṛi[ta-bhaṭṭa-mahatta]m-ābhīra-vaṇik-śrēshṭhi-purōgān= s-āshṭādaśa-prakṛityā(ty-a)dhi[shṭh]ānīyān=Khasha(śa)-Kirāta-Draviḍa-Kaliṅga-Gau-

16 ḍa-Hūṇ-Ōḍra-Mēd-Ān[dhra]-Chāṇḍāla-paryantān=sarvva-samvā(saṁvā)sān=**sama[sta]-ja(jā)**-napa[dā]n=bhaṭa-chā[ṭa-sēvak]-ādīn=anyāṅś cha(nyāṁś=cha) kīrttitān=**akīrttitān=asmat**-pāda=padm-ōpajīvinaḥ prativāsi-

17 na[ś=cha] Vrā(Brā)hmaṇ-ōttarā[n=ya]thārhaṁ mānayati vō(bō)dhayati samā[jñā]**payaty**= a[stu] vas=samvi(saṁvi)dita[m*] upari-saṁsūchita-vishayē **Thappalasā[r]i-prativa(ba)**-ddha-Dēnduvāka-paribhujyamā-

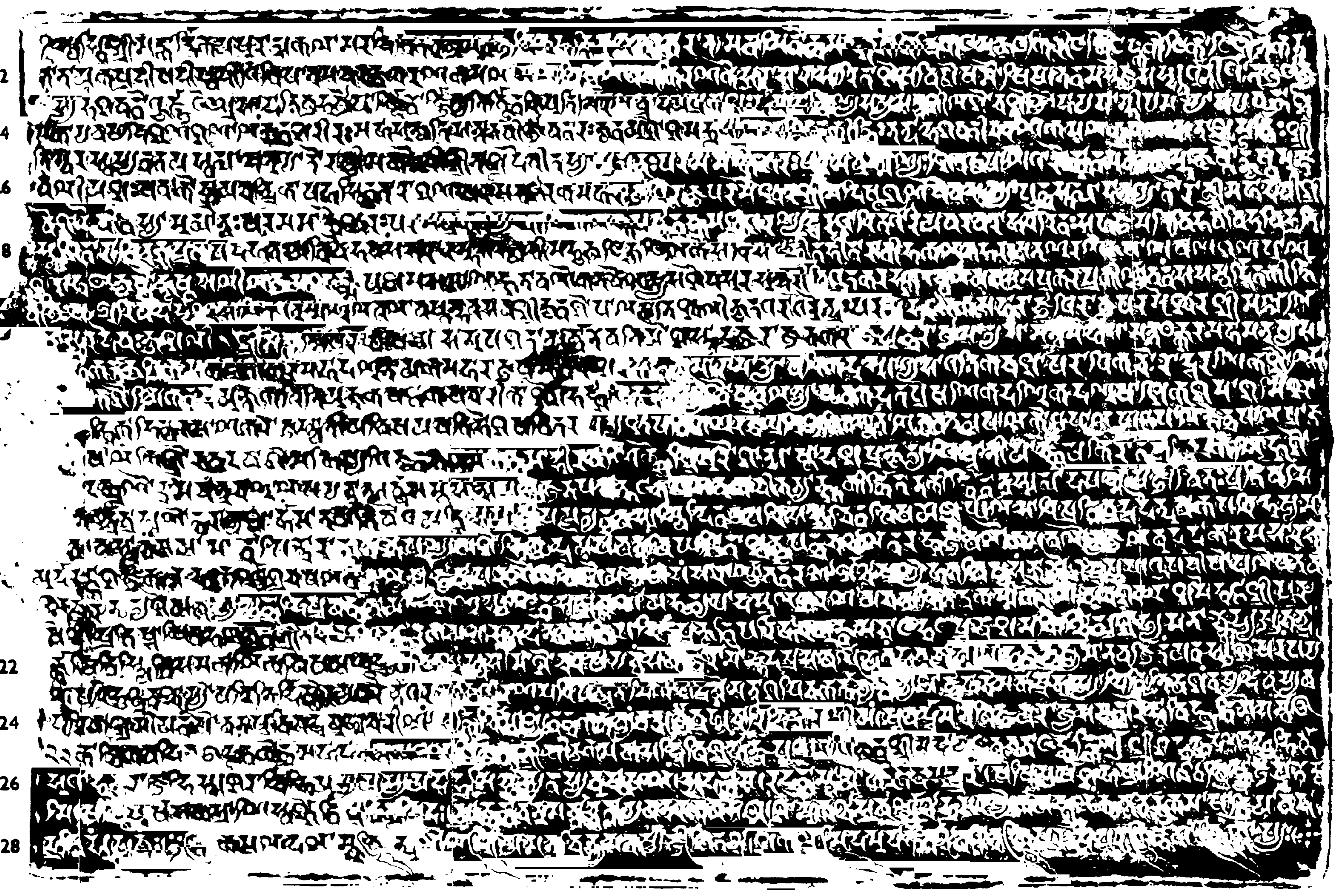
18 na[ṁ*] [tā]vat=sthānaṁ mayā mātā-pittrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē **pavana**-vighaṭṭit-āśvattha-pattra-chañchala-taraṅga-jīvalōkaṁ=avalō[kya ja]la-**vu(bu)dvu(dbu)**-**d-ākāram=asāra[ñch=ā]**-

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[1] The word is also found in the form *rājānaka*, the same as *rāṇaka* of later records.

THREE PLATES FROM PANDUKESVAR — PLATE I

I. PLATE OF LALITASURADEVA, YEAR 22



Scale: One-half

19 **yur**=dṛishṭvā gaja-kalabha-karṇṇāgra-chapalatāñ=cha la[kshmyā jñātvā] **paralō[ka-niḥśrē]**-yas-ārtha[ṁ*] saṁsār-ārṇṇava-taraṇārthañ=cha puṇyē=hana(ni) **Vishu[va*]-saṁkrāntau** ga[ndha]-pushpa-dhūpa-dīp-ōpalēpana-va(ba)-

20 li-charu-nṛitya-gēya-vādya-sattr-ādi-pravarttanāya khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-sa[ṁ*]skaraṇāya bhṛitya-pādamūla-bharaṇāya cha abhinava-karmma-karaṇāya cha **Garuḍā-grāmē** bhaṭṭa-Śrīpuru-

21 **shēṇa** pratishṭhāpita-bhagavat[ē] Śrī-Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭārakāya śāsana-dānēna pratipāditaṁ prakṛiti-parihāra-yuktam=a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-pravēśam=a-kiñchit-pragrāhyam=anāchchhēdyaṁ-(dyam) ā-chandr-ā-

22 rkka-kshiti-sthiti-samakālikaṁ vishayād=uddhṛita-piṇḍaṁ sva-sīmā-gōchara-paryantaṁ sa-vṛiksh-ārām-ōdbhēda-pra[srava]ṇ-ōpētaṁ dēva-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-bhukta-bhujyamāna-varjitaṁ(tam |) yatas=sukha[ṁ] pa(pā)raṁparyē-

23 ṇa paribhuñjataś=ch=āsy=ōpari-nirddishṭair=anyatarair=vvā dharaṇa-vidhāraṇa-paripanthan-ādik-ōpadravō manāg=api na karttavyō=[tō]=nyath=ājñā-hānau mahā-drōha[ḥ] syād=iti | nivēśaṁ(śaḥ) tasya dēvasya Va(Ba)-

24 darik-āśramīya-tapōvana-prativa(ba)ddha-vra(bra)hmachārī(ri)ṇāṁ sa(ya)t-kiñchit=sāthyaṁ-(dhyaṁ) tattra **karttavyaṁ** tat=sa[rvvaṁ] vra(bra)hmachāribhiḥ karaṇīyaṁ(yam) | **pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samva(saṁva)tsarē dvāviṅśa(viṁśa)timē samva(saṁva)t**

25 **22 Kārttika-vadi 15** [|*] dūtak=ōttra mahādānākshapaṭalādhikṛita-śrī-Pīūka[ḥ |*] Mahā-sandhivigrahākshapaṭalādhikṛita-śrīmad-Āryaṭaḥ(ṭa)-vachanā[t*] ṭaṅk-ōtki(tkī)rṇṇa[ṁ*] Śrī-Gaṅgabhadrēṇa [||*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vva-

26 sudhā bhukt[ā*] rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhi[ḥ |*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ-(lam) | [|*][1] Sva-dattām=para-dattāmva(ttāṁ vā) yō harēta vasundharāṁ(rām) | shashṭimva-(shṭiṁ va)rsha-śa(sa)hashrā(srā)ṇi śva-vishṭhyā[2] jāyatē kṛi-

27 mi[ḥ*] |[|*] Shashṭimva(shṭiṁ va)rsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē tishṭhati bhūmidaḥ | āchchhēttā ch=ānumantā chcha(cha) tāny=ēva narakē vasēt|[|*] Gām=ēka(kā)ñ=cha suvarṇṇañ=cha bhūmēr=apy=ēkām=aṅgulaṁ(lam |) hṛitvā narakam=āyāti yāvad=ā-

28 bhūti(ta)-saṁplavaḥ(vam) |[|*] Iti kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-vindu-lōlāṁ śriyam=anuchintya mana(nu)shya-jīvitañ=cha | śa(sa)kalam=idam=udāhṛitañ=cha vu(bu)[ddhvā] na hi puru-shaiḥ para-ki(kī)rttayō vilōpyaḥ(pyāḥ) |[|*][3]

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-3) May there be success ! Hail ! From the prosperous (*city of*) **Kārttikēyapura ;** through the grace of the holy Dhūrjaṭi (Śiva) who has destroyed the strength of the dense darkness that robs all discrimination, by removing it with the shower of filaments which are the abundant wide-spread pure rays of the lotuses which are his feet, red with the intoxication from imbibing the bright lustre of the lights that bring about a uniform white colour, which are the crores of the points of the beautiful crowns and coronets on the innumerable heads of all the lords of the gods, demons and men, bowed down under the weight of the burden of devotion ; (*and*) whose matted hair is washed by the Ganges ;

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[1] Metre : *Anushṭubh* for this and the following three verses.

[2] Read *vishṭhāyāṁ* for *śva vishṭhyā*.

[3] Metre : *Pushpitāgrā.* There is a design here indicating the end of the writing.

(Lines 3-5) (*there was*) the illustrious **Nimbara,** whose splendour shone forth as he overcame the darkness that was his enemies by the strength acquired by his own arms through the grace of Lord Dhūrjaṭie ; whose body was adorned with kindness, courtesy, truthfulness, virtuous disposition, purity, heroism, liberality, profundity of character, propriety of conduct, noble behaviour, wonderful achievements and a multitude of other qualities ; who was an incarnation of the seed of a long lineage of virtuous men (or, who was an incarnation of the seed of the great Santāna tree of the blessed) ; whose fame was pleasant like that of the kings at the advent of the Golden Age ; (*and*) whose person was endowed with fortune (*derived*) from the lotus-feet of the holy Nandā ;

(Lines 5-6) his son, who meditated on his feet, born from the queen, the illustrious *Mahādēvī* Nāśūdēvī, (*was*) the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), extremely hospitable to the Brāhmaṇas, the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara,* the illustrious **Ishṭagaṇadēva,** who eclipsed the array of stars as by the moonlight by the elevation of his banner of fame as he drew out excellent rows of pearls from the frontal globes of furious elephants, cut open with the edge of his sharp sword ;

(Lines 6-11) his son, who meditates on his feet, born from the queen, the illustrious *Mahādēvī* Vēgādēvī, (*is*) the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), extremely hospitable to the Brāhmaṇas, the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara,* the illustrious **Lalitaśūradēva,** who played the part of the excellent boar (i.e. the god Vishṇu in the boar incarnation), fit for the burden, in lifting up the earth that had sunk into the distressing mud of the sin of the Kali age ; who is a fire of prowess to the circle of his enemies who vanish before the omnipresent force of his natural intelligence and greatness ; who frightens the host of his enemies over and over again, as the lion does the elephant cubs by his curling mane, by the terrific frown of his brows when (*his adversaries*) begin to collect great strength ; the seeds of whose fame were made to grow up into garlands, thrown on him in the shape of wreaths of flowers of the bracelets dropping from the trembling wrists of celestial damsels who were distressed with bashfulness at seeing him first embracing the excellent amorous (*lady, viz. the*) fortune of victory, as she was forcibly drawn to him by the superior strength of his mute, yet ringing, sword and arrows ; (*and*) who keeps (*other*) kings of the earth at peace by his rule over it that has been subdued by having recourse to the strength of his bow, bent by his massive arm, just as Pṛithu firmly fixed the chief mountains in their places in order to tend the cow, brought into subjection by means of his bent bow ;

(Lines 11-17) (*he*), being in good health, pays due respect, makes known and issues commands to all the officials assembled in the illustrious district of **Kārttikēyapura,** together with the officers in charge of the townships inhabited by the eighteen kinds of subjects[1] headed by the *Rājans* (feudatory rulers), *Rājanakas* (chieftains), *Rājaputras* (princes), *Rājāmātyas* (ministers), *Sāmantas* (feudatories), *Mahāsāmantas* (great feudatories), *Ṭhakkuras,*[2] *Mahāmanushyas, Mahākārttākṛitikas* (possibly superintendents or managers of state affairs), *Mahāpratīhāras*[3], *Mahādaṇḍanāyakas*[4], *Mahārājapramātāras*[5], *Śarabhaṅgas*[6], *Kumārāmātyas* (*Amātyas* or executive officers enjoying

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[1] The *ashṭādaśa-prakṛiti* is also mentioned in other records (cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 12). The expression *s-āshṭādaśa-prakṛityō(ty-u)pēta* qualifying the land granted by the king is also known (above, Vol. II, p. 220). The word *ashṭādaśa* has been used in these cases in the sense of 'all': cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 330, note 4; Vol. XXX, p. 115.

[2] The word *ṭhakkura* is believed to have derived from the Turkish title *te-gin*. Both *ṭhakkura* and *mahāmanushya* appear to indicate noblemen or zamindars.

[3] Literally the 'great door-keeper'; but the *Mahāpratīhāra* seems to have been the head of not only the palace-guards but also of the king's body-guards.

[4] Literally 'the great leader of forces'. Sometimes the word possibly indicated a judge or magistrate.

[5] *Mahārājapramātāra* is no doubt derived from *pramātṛi* (i.e. a person who gives evidence or proof) found in some records. He was possibly a counsellor to the king in matters judicial.

[6] *Śarabhaṅga* literally means 'wound and fracture'. He was probably the royal surgeon.

the status of a *Kumāra*), *Uparikas* (provincial governors), *Duḥsādhyasādhanikas*[1], *Dāśāparādhikas*[2], *Chaurōddharaṇikas* (officers to look after the apprehension of thieves) *Śaulkikas* (superintendents of tolls), *Gaulmikas* (superintendents of police stations), *Tadāyuktakas*[3], *Viniyuktakas*[3], *Paṭṭakāpachārikas* (officers to investigate offences against royal edicts and charters), *Āsēdhabhaṅgādhikṛitas* (officers in charge of preventing flight from prison or legal restraint), superintendents of the elephant, horse and camel troops, *Dūtas* (envoys), *Prēshaṇikas* (officers in charge of sending messengers), *Dāṇḍikas*[4], *Dāṇḍapāśikas* (police constables), *Gamāgamins* (police officers dealing with exit from and entrance into towns), *Khāḍgikas* (possibly swordsmen or their superintendents), *Abhitvaramāṇakas* (special messengers), *Rājasthānīyas* (governors or landlords), *Vishayapatis* (rulers of districts), *Bhōgapatis* (officers in charge of Jāgīrs), *Tarapatis* (superintendents of ferries), *Aśvapatis* (superintendents of cavalry), *Khaṇḍarakshas*[5], *Pratiśūrikas*[6], *Sthānādhikṛitas* (Thānādārs, i.e. superintendents of police out-posts), *Vartmapālas* (superintendents of roads), *Kōṭṭapālas* (superintendents of forts), *Ghaṭṭapālas* (superintendents of landing places on river banks), *Kshētrapālas* (superintendents of cultivated lands of the Khas Mahal), *Prāntapālas* (wardens of the Marches), *Kiśōravaḍavāgōmahishyadhikṛitas* (superintendents of colts, mares, cows and she-buffaloes), *Bhaṭṭas* (minstrels), *Mahattamas* (village-headmen), cowherds, merchants, (*and*) foremen of guilds, down to the Khaśas, Kirātas, Draviḍas, Kaliṅgas, Gauḍas, Hūṇas, Uḍras, Mēdas, Andhras and Chāṇḍālas, to all habitations, to the entire people, to the regular and irregular soldiers (probably, policemen and peons), servants and others and to other enumerated and unenumerated people living in dependence on our lotus-feet, and to the neighbouring people headed by Brāhmaṇas : Be it known to you :

(Lines 17-24) : Observing that the moving world of the living is as unsteady as the leaves of the fig tree shaken by the breeze and noticing that life is without substance just like a bubble of water and knowing that fortune is as vascillating as the tip of the ear of an elephant cub, for the attainment of beatitude in the next world and in order to cross the sea of mundane existence, I have assigned by the grant of a charter, to increase the merit and fame of my parents and of my own, on the auspicious day when the sun enters the (*autumnal*) equinox, such land as is being enjoyed by Dēnduvāka (*and is*) within the bounds of **Thappalasāri** in the district mentioned above, to the holy lord Nārāyaṇa installed at **Garuḍāgrāma** by *Bhaṭṭa* Śrīpurusha, for providing perfumes, flowers, incense, lights, ointments, offerings, oblation of rice, etc., (*and*) dancing, singing, music, sacrifices, etc., for the repair of what may be broken or cracked and for the maintenance of servants and attendants as well as for the execution of new work ; (*the said land is to be*) endowed with the exemptions arising out of its nature (*as a free gift*), not to be entered by soldiers and policemen, nothing to be accepted (*as rent or tolls from it*), not to be resumed, (*but to belong to the donee*) for as long a time as the moon, the sun and the earth endure, as a piece taken out of the district (*to which it belongs*), as far as its proper boundaries and pasture lands, together with trees, gardens, springs and cascades (*but*) without whatever has been or is in the possession of gods and Brāhmaṇas. Wherefore (*the donee*) enjoying (*the grant*) in comfort in regular succession shall not be

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[1] The *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* says that officers purified by the fear-test should be appointed to *āsanna-kārya*, i.e. emergency work. The *Dussādhyasādhanika* was probably an official of this class.

[2] We know that grants were often made *sa-daśāparādha*, i.e. together with the right to enjoy the fines for the ten offences. The *Dāśāparādhikas* were probably officers who dealt with the ten offences, viz theft, murder, adultery, use of abusive language towards others, untruthfulness, slandering, incoherent conversation, covetousness, desire to do wrong, and tenacity for wrong. Cf. *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 189, note 4.

[3] *Tadāyuktaka* and *Viniyuktaka* appear to be subordinate ruling officers appointed not by the crown but by the governors or viceroys. Cf. *Sel. Ins.* pp. 351, n. 1 ; 354, 357 , 360, note 9.

[4] *Dāṇḍika* may be a judicial functionary but is most probably a police officer as the accompanying *Dāṇḍapāśika* is apparently the same as the modern Oriya *Daṇḍuāsi*, i.e. a village watchman.

[5] The *Khaṇḍaraksha* (cf. *Khaṇḍapāla*) may have been the officer in charge of a small territorial unit, or the royal engineer who looked after buildings falling in ruins.

[6] The *Pratiśūrika* was possibly a superintendent of gladiatorial combats. See below, p. 285

troubled by the above-mentioned peoples or by others in the slightest degree by seizure, restraint, robbery or in any other way. Whoever will act contrary to this will, in violating my order, commit a great offence. Something proper may be done in regard to the dwelling of that god by the *Brahmachārins* attached to the *tapōvana* belonging to **Badarık-āśrama** ; whatever is to be done in this regard should all be done by the *Brahmachārins*.

(L. 24-25) In the **twentysecond year** of the increasingly victorious reign : **year 22, the 15th day of the dark half of Kārttika**. The *Dūtaka* (executor of the grant) in this case is the illustrious Pīūka, the officer in charge of the Department of Gifts. (*The plate has been*) engraved by means of a chisel by the illustrious Gaṅgabhadra from the words (*of the document written by, or, under the order or instruction of*) the illustrious Āryaṭa, the officer in charge of the Department of Peace and War.

(Lines 25-28) Imprecatory and benedictory verses.

II. Plate of Padmaṭadēva, Year 25

This is also a **single** plate inscribed on one side only. It measures about 23·1″ in length and 17·2″ in breadth with a projection about 4·8″ long containing a squarish hole, meant for fixing up the seal, towards the proper right. Like the inscription of Lalitaśūra edited above, this plate also contains 28 lines of writing, the size of the *aksharas* being similar.

The **characters** closely resemble those used in the inscription of Lalitaśūra ; but the date of the charter, as is indicated by internal evidence to be discussed below, must be several decades later. In line 26, there occur the ordinary numerical figures for 2, 3, 4 and 5. The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit and, with the exception of only one benedictory stanza at the end, the entire charter is written in prose of an ornate style. The **orthography** is similar to that of the records of Lalitaśūra, but exhibits considerable influence of local pronunciation. This is indicated by the occurrence of cases like *asva* for *aśva* in line 13, *kisōra* for *kiśōra* and *āhīra* for *ābhīra* in line 14, *yathārahaṁ* for *yathārhaṁ* in line 16, etc. It is also interesting to note that final *n* has in a number of cases been changed to *anusvāra* ; cf. °*gatāṁ* for *gatān* and °*sthāṁ* for °*sthān* in line 10, etc. But the *anusvāra* is replaced by *ñ* in °*anyāñś=cha* in line 16 and *ṅ* in °*viṅśati* in line 26. Some of the orthographical features are common with Lalitaśūra's records discussed above. Noteworthy is the retention of the final *m* before *v* in many cases and the non-observance of the rules of *sandhi* in a number of places.

The **date** of the charter is given as a day (possibly the 3rd) of the **dark half of Māgha in the 25th regnal year** of king Padmaṭadēva who, as we shall presently see, ruled about the **first half of the tenth century A.D.** Line 21 refers to the *uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti* as the occasion of the grant.

The charter was issued from the city of **Kārttikēyapura** by *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara* **Padmaṭadēva** who was the son of *P.M.P.* **Dēsaṭadēva** and *Mahādēvī* Padmallādēvī, the grandson of *P.M.P.* **Ichchhaṭadēva** and *Mahādēvī* Siṅghūdēvī, and the great grandson of **Salōṇāditya** and *Mahādēvī* Siṅghuvalidēvī. Like Nimbara, grandfather of Lalitaśūradēva, Salōṇāditya is mentioned without imperial titles. He is likewise described as devoted to the god Chandraśēkhara (Śiva) and the goddess Nandādēvī. His successors Ichchhaṭadēva, Dēsaṭadēva and Padmaṭadēva are endowed with imperial style and are called *paramamāhēśvara* and *paramabrahmaṇya* just as Nimbara's successors. Padmaṭa was probably named after his mother Padmallādēvī. It will be seen that both Lalitaśūra and Padmaṭa ruled from Kārttikēyapura. There are, however, some indications that the latter ruled several decades later than the former. Attention may be drawn in this connection to the orthographical peculiarities of the present inscription, which have already been discussed above and appear to indicate a later date. There is also some indication in the style. It appears that the description of the

progenitor of Padmaṭa's house as *dāna-dama-satya-śaurya-śauṭīrya-dhairya-ksham-ādy-aparimita-guṇa-gaṇ-akalita-Sagara-Dilīpa-Māndhātṛi-Dhundhumāra–Bharata-Bhagīratha-Daśaratha--prabhṛiti-Kṛitayuga-bhūpāla-charita-sāgara* is an attempt at improvement upon the description of Nimbara, founder of Lalitaśūra's house, as *dayā-dākshiṇya-satya-sattva-śīla-śaucha-śaury-audārya-maryād-āryavṛitt-āścharya-kārya-vary-ādi-guṇa-gaṇ-ālaṁkṛta-śarīra....Kṛitayug-āgama-bhūpāla-lalita-kīrtti*. Expressions like *pushpa-paṭṭa-nivēśaṃ kṛitvā* (i.e. having incised the charter on a heated copper plate) are found in this record but not in those of Lalitaśūra. It may further be noted that the list of officials in this record is slightly bigger than that found in the charters of Lalitaśūra. The two lists are common with the exception of *Mahāsāmantādhipati* (in addition of *Sāmanta* and *Mahāsāmanta*), *Vishyavyāpṛitaka* (in addition to *Vishayapati*) and *Kāṇḍapati* found in the present charter and *Pratiśūrika* mentioned in Lalitaśūra's grant. The *Pratiśūrika* may have been the superintendent of gladiatorial combats in which *pratiśūras* (literally opponents), i.e. prize-fighters, took part. The function of the *Kāṇḍapati* cannot be determined with certainty ; but, if the word *kāṇḍa* may have indicated different branches of such combats, possibly the *Kāṇḍapati* may be taken to have been the same as the *Pratiśūrika.* Whatever that may be, the addition of the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* and the *Vishayavyāpṛitaka* in the list of Padmaṭa's officials seems to suggest that he flourished later than Lalitaśūra. In that case, the house of Lalitaśūra may have been overthrown shortly after his son's rule by Salōṇāditya or his son who was thus the founder of a new line of kings at Kārttikēyapura, although there is no definite proof that all the predecessors of Padmaṭa also ruled from that city.

According to Atkinson[1], a copper-plate grant of **Dēsaṭa,** father of Padmaṭa, is preserved in the temple of Bālēśvar in eastern Kumaun. It was issued from Kārttikēyapura in the 5th year of the *pravarddhamāna-vijayarājya* of that king. Addressed to the officials of the Ēsāla district by Dēsaṭadēva, it records the grant to Vijayēśvara of the village of Yamuna in that district. This plate gives the names of Salōṇāditya and his queen Siṅhavali(or Sindhavali)dēvī followed by those of their son Ichchhaṭadēva and his queen Sindhudēvī, whose son was Dēsaṭadēva. The record was subscribed by the chief civil officer *Bhaṭṭa* Hariśarman, by the chief military officer Nandāditya, and by the scribe Bhadra. Nothing definite can be said about the details, quoted above from Atkinson's account, without examining the original plate.

The inscription records the grant of the following pieces of land situated in **Drumatī** which formed a part of the **Ṭaṅgaṇāpura** *vishaya* as well as in **Yōśi** probably also forming a part of the same *vishaya* : (1) four *pallikās* (habitations) in the possession of four persons named Dīrghāditya, Buddhabala, Śidāditya (Śivāditya?) and Gaṇāditya in Drumatī ; (2) fifteen *bhāgas* (allotments of land) belonging to Paṅgara in Drumatī ; (3) Tōgalā-vṛitti (possibly a piece of land originally offered for the maintenance of a person called Tōgalā) in Yōśi ; (4) a *Karmmānta-sthalikā* (barn) situated in Yōśi near a *saṅkrama* (bridge) on the western bank of the Gaṅgā and between Khaṇṇōntara and Ulikā ; (5) a piece of land, measuring one *Drōṇavāpa* according to the measurement current in the locality, near a *pārāvata* tree at Kākasthalikā-grāma in Drumatī ; (6) a piece of land, measuring one *Drōṇavāpa* according to the measurement of the locality and belonging to Dhanāka, at Randhavaka-grāma in Yōśi.

In a paper entitled *Kulyavāpa, Drōṇavāpa and Āḍhavāpa,* published in the *Bhārata-Kaumudī,* Part II, pp. 943-48, I have suggested that the original Drōṇavāpa as known in ancient Bengal was probably equal to 16 to 20 Bengal Bīghās (between about 5¼ and 6¼ acres) of today. Whether the *Drōṇavāpa* of the present record indicates the same area of land cannot be satisfactorily determined. Literally a *Drōṇavāpa* signified originally an area of land that required one *Drōṇa* measure of seed-grams (or their seedlings) of the staple crop for sowing. It is said that the two pieces of land

[1] Op. cit., p. 471. For Atkinson's note on the records of Padmaṭa and Subhiksharāja, see ibid., p. 472. At p. 474 he says that the grant of Dēsaṭadēva recorded the gift of the village of Yamuna in the possession of Nārāyaṇa-varman in favour of Vijayēśvara.

measuring one *Drōṇavapa* each had been purchased by his own money by one Nandūka who made them a gift in favour of the god Badarikāśrama-bhaṭṭāraka, no doubt the same god who is now called Badarīnātha or Badarī-Nārāyaṇa. These pieces of land together with the others such as the *pallikās*, the *vṛitti* and the *karmānta* were granted by the king in favour of the god Badarikāśrama-bhaṭṭāraka having engraved the charter on a heated copper-plate and having endowed the grant with the customary exemptions and privileges going with free gifts. The executor of the grant was the officer in charge of the Department of Gift, whose name seems to be *Bhaṭṭa* Dhaṇasra. The charter was written by Nārāyaṇadatta, who was the officer in charge of the Department of War and Peace and was engraved by Nandabhadra whose name seems to associate him with Gaṅgabhadra mentioned in the records of Lalitaśūra.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the charter, the location of **Kārttikēyapura** and **Badarik-āśrama** has already been discussed in connection with the grant of Lalitaśūra. **Yōśi** is no doubt the modern Jōshīmaṭh or Jyōtirdhām (lat. 38° 38′ 24″ N., long. 79° 36′ 24″ E.), famous for one of Śiva's Jyōtir-liṅgas, in the Painkhanda Pargana of the Garhwal District. I have not been able to identify the district named **Ṭaṅgaṇāpura** and the subdivision named **Drumatī**, although Ṭaṅgaṇāpura seems to be the district round modern Joshīmaṭh and Drumatī a region not far from it. Ṭaṅgaṇāpura is mentioned along with another *vishaya* called Antaraṅga in the inscription of Padmaṭa's son Subhiksharāja, edited below. In *The Himalayam Districts of the North-Western Provinces of India*, Vol. II, p. 357, Atkinson suggested that the district of Ṭaṅagaṇāpura lay about the upper course of the Ganges and that of Antaraṅga in the Doab between the Bhāgīrathī and the Alaknandā. The people of this region may be identical with the Taṅganas or Ṭaṅganas of early Indian literature.[1] The villages of Kākasthalikā and Randhavaka cannot be identified ; but the latter could have hardly been far away from Jōshīmaṭh. The Gaṅgā or the upper course of the Ganges has also been mentioned in connection with one of the pieces of land. In describing the liberality of king Dēsaṭa, father of Padmaṭa, to the Brāhmaṇas of all countries, mention has been made of four of the traditional divisions of India, viz. Prāchya or the eastern, Udīchya or the north-western, Pratīchya or the western and Dākshiṇātya or the southern. The non-mention of Madhya-dēśa, between the Himalayas and the Vindhyas and between a place in the East Punjab and another in the East U. P., is probably explained by the fact that the king's dominions were included in that land and that only distant countries required to be named. It seems that the Himalayan and Vindhyan regions, often mentioned separately in the Purāṇas as two additional divisions of India, have not been taken cognizance of. It may alternatively be suggested that by the four expressions the Brāhmaṇas living in all the four quarters are merely indicated.

TEXT[2]

1 Siddham[3] svasti [||*] Śrīmat-**Kārttikēyapurāt**=samasta-sur-āsura-pati-makuṭa-kōṭi-sanni-vishṭa-vikaṭa-māṇikya-kiraṇa-vichchhurita-charana-nakha-mayūkh-ōtkhāta--timira--paṭala-prabh-āvad[ā]-

2 t-ātiśaya-śama-śakti-mahīyasō bhagavataś=Chandraśēkharasya charaṇa-kamala-rajaḥ-pavi-ttrīkṛita-nija-tanu-bhuj-ārjjit-ōrjjit-ānēka-ripu-chakra-pratishṭhita-pratāpa-bhāskara-bhā-

3 sita-bhuvan-ābhōg-āvirbhāva-pāvaka-śikh-āvalī-vilīnaḥ sakala-Kali-kalaṅka-samudbhūt-ōdāra-tapō-vadātta(ta)-dēhaḥ śakti-ttraya-prabhāva-saṁvṛiṅhita[4]-hita-hētir=ddāna-dama-satya-

4 śaurya-śauṭīrya-dhairya-ksham-ādy-aparimita-guṇa-gaṇ-ākalita-Sagara-Dilīpa-Māndhātṛi-Dhu-ndhumāra-Bharata-Bhagīratha-Daśaratha-prabhṛiti-Kṛitayuga-bhūpāla-charita-sāga-

[1] Cf. *IHQ*, Vol. XXI, p. 304.
[2] From impressions.
[3] Expressed by symbol.
[4] Read *saṁvṛiṁhita*.

5 **ras=tai(s=trai)lōky-ānanda-jananō** [Na*]ndādēvī-charaṇā(ṇa)-kamala-lakshmī(kshi)taḥ samadhigat-ābhimata-vara-prasā[da*]-dyōtita-nikhila-bhuvan-ādityaḥ śrī-**Salōṇādityas**=tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānu-

6 dhyātō rājñī mahādēvī śrī-Siṅghūvalidēvī tasyām=utpannaḥ paramamāhēśvaraḥ paramavra-(bra)hmaṇyaḥ paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrīmad-**Ichchhaṭadēvas**=tasya

7 puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyātō rājñī mā(ma)hādēvī śrī-Siṅghūdēvī tasyām=utpannaḥ paramamāhē śvaraḥ paramavra(bra)hmaṇyō dīn-ānātha-kṛipaṇ-āttra(tu)ra-śaraṇāgata-vatsalaḥ Prāchy-Ōdīchya-

8 Pratīchya-Dākshiṇātya-dvijavara-mukhyānām=anavarata-hēma-dān-āmṛit-ārdrīkṛita-karas=samast-ārāti-chakra-pramarddanaḥ Kali-kalusha-mātaṅga-sūdanaḥ Kṛitayuga-dharmm-āvatāraḥ paramabhaṭṭāra-

9 ka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrīmad-**Dēsaṭadēvas**=tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyātō rājñī mahādēvī śrī-Padmallādēvī tasyām=utpannaḥ paramamāhēśvaraḥ paramavra(bra)-hmaṇyaḥ parama-

10 bhaṭṭāraka-mā(ma)hārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrīmat-**Padmaṭadēvaḥ** kuśalī | **Ṭaṅgaṇāpura-vishayē** samupagatāṁ(tān) sarvvān=ēva niyōgasthāṁ(sthān) rāja-rājanaka-rājaputtra-rājāmātya-sā-

11 manta-mahāsāmanta-mahāka(kā)rttākṛitika-mahādaṇḍanāyaka-mahāpratīhāra-mahāsāmantādhipati-mahārājaprama(mā)tā[ra*]-śarabhaṅga-kumārāmāty-ōparika-dussādhyasā-

12 dhā(dha)nika-dāśāparādhika-chaurōddharaṇika-śaulkika-gaulmika-tadāyuktaka-viniyuktaka-paṭṭakāpachārika(k-ā)sēdhabhaṅgādhikṛita-hastyaśvōshṭrava(ba)lavyāpṛitaka-dūta-prēshaṇi-

13 ka-dāṇḍika-da(dā)ṇḍapāśika-vishayavyāpṛitaka-gamāgamika-khāḍgik-ābhitvaramāṇaka-rājasthānīya-vishayapati-bhōgapati-kāṇḍapati-tarapaty-asva(śva)pati-khā(kha)ṇḍa-

14 raksha-sthānādhikṛita-vartmapāla-kōṭṭapāla-ghaṭṭapāla-kshēttrapāla-prāntapāla-ṭhakkura-mahāmanushya-kisō(śō)ravaḍavāgōmahishyadhikṛita-bhaṭṭa-mahattam-āhī(bhī)ra-vaṇik-

15 śrēshṭhi-purōgāṁ(gān) s-āshṭādaśa-prakṛity-ādhishṭhānīyāṁ(yān) Khaśa-Kirāta-Draviḍa-Kaliṅga-Gauḍa-Hūṇy-Ō(ṇ-Ō)nra(ḍra)-Mēd-Āndra(ndhra)-Chāṇḍāla-paryantāṁ(ntān) sarvva-sa[ṁ*]vāsāṁ(sān) samasta-ja(jā)napadān=bhaṭa-chāṭa-sēvakā-

16 dīn=anyāñścha(nyāṁś=cha) kīrttit-ākīrttitān=asmat-pāda-padm-ōpajīvinaḥ prativāsinaś=cha Vrā(Brā)hmaṇ-ōttarāṁ(rān) yathāraham[1] mānayati vō(bō)dhayati samājñāpayaty=astu vas=samvi(saṁvi)ditam=upari-sa[ṁ*]-

17 sūchita-vishaya-prativa(ba)ddha-**Drumatī**-prativa(ba)ddha[ṁ*] Dīrghāditya-Vu(Bu)ddhava-(ba)la-Śidāditya[2]-Gaṇādityānāṁ paribhujyamāna-pallikā-chatasraṁ tathā tasminy=ēva[3] Drumatyāṁ Paṅgarasya pa-

18 ñchadaśa-bhāgās=tathā **Yōsi**(śi)-prativa(ba)ddha-Tōgalā-vṛittir=aparam=api[4] karmmānta-sthalik=āsminy=ēva[3] Yōśi-prativa(ba)ddhā Gaṅgā-pachchi(śchi)ma-kūlē saṁkrama-saṁ(sa)-nnikṛishṭā Khaṇṇōn[t]ara-pari[chchhinnā*] Ulikā-pari-

19 chchhinn=āpar[ā] cha tasminn=ēva[3] Drumatyāṁ Kākasthalikā-grāmē pārē(rā)vata-vṛiksha-talima-bhāgē bhūmī tadīya-dēśāchāra-mānēna drōṇ-aika-vāp=āparā cha Yōśi=prativa(ba)-ddha-Ran[dha]vaka-grāmē Dhanāka-

20 satka-bhūmī tadīya-dēśāchāra-mānēna drōṇ-aika-vāpā [|*] Etā(shā) drōṇa-dvaya-vāpā bhūr=Nnandūkēna mūlyēna gra(gṛi)hītvā Va(Ba)darikāśrama-bhaṭṭārakāya pratipāditā [|*] Mayā cha sa[r*]vv=aiv=[ai]tē(shā) pallikā-vṛi[tti]·

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[1] **Read** *yathārhaṁ*.
[2] **The intended name may be Śivāditya.**
[3] **Read** *tasyām=ēva* or *asyām=ēva*.
[4] **Read** *apar=āpi*.

21 karmmānt-ādi-bhūmi-sahitā **Uttarāyana(ṇa)-saṁkrāntō(ntau)** mātā-pittrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇya-yasō(śō)-bhivṛiddhayē pavana-vighaṭṭit-āsva(śva)ttha-pattra-chaṁchcha(ñcha)la-taraṅga[ṁ*]jīvalōkam=avalōkya jala-vu(bu)dvu(dbu)d-ākāra-

22 m=asāraṁ ch=āyur=dṛisht[v*]ā gaja-kalabha-karṇṇāgra-chapalatāñ=cha lakshmyā jñātvā paralōka-niśrēy-ārthaṁ[1] saṁsār-ārṇṇava-tāraṇ-ārthañ=cha va(ba)li-charu-sattra-nai-vēdya-pradīpa-gandha-dhūpa-pushpa-[gēya]-

23 vādya-nṛitya-pūjā-pravarttanāya khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-puna[ḥ]saṁskārāya cha bhagavatēḥ(tē) śrī-Va(Ba)darikāśrama-bhaṭṭārakāya pratipāditāṁ(tā) pushpa-paṭṭa-nivēśaṁ kṛitvā pra-kṛiti-parihāra-yuktā a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-pra-

24 veśy=ā-kiñchit-pragrāhya(hyā) anāchchhēdy=ā-chandr-ārkka-kshiti-sthiti-samā(ma)kālikā vishayād=uddhṛita-piṇḍā ssva(sva)-sīmā-gōchara-paryantā ssa(sa)-vṛiksh-ārām-ōdbhēda-prasravaṇyē(ṇ-ō)pētā rāj-ābhāvya-sakalā(la)-pra-

25 dāya-samētā dēva-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-bhukta-bhujyamāna-varjjitā [|*] yatas=sukhaṁ paribhuñjat-ōpari[2]nirddishṭair=[anyair=*]vvā s[v]alpam=api[3] dharaṇa-vidhāraṇa-paripanthan-ādik-ōpadravā(vō)na kaiśchit=karaṇīyam=a-

26 nyath=ājñā[4]-vyatikrama(mē) mahā-drōha[ḥ] syād=iti [|*] pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-**saṁva(saṁva)tsarē pañchaviṅśa(viṁśa)timē Saṁva(Saṁva)t 25 Māgha-vadi 43**[5] [|*] dūtakō=ttra mahādānākshapaṭalādhikṛita-śrī-Bhaṭṭa-Dhaṇas[r]a[ḥ |*]

27 likhitam=ida[ṁ*] mahāsandhivigrahākshapaṭalādhikṛita-śrī-Nārāyaṇadattēny=utkirṇṇam[6]=idaṁ śrī-Nandabhadrēṇa [||*] Bhō rājānaḥ prārthayaty=ēsha Rāmō bhūyō bhūyaḥ prārtha nīyā narēndrāḥ [|*] sāmā[nyō]=

28 [7]yaṁ dharmma-sētu[r*]=nṛipāṇāṁ kālē kālē pālanīyō bhavadbhiḥ ||[8]

TRANSLATION

(Line 1) May there be success ! Hail ! From the illustrious (*city of*) **Kārttikēyapura** ;

(Lines 1-5) (*there was*) the illustrious **Salōṇāditya** who was established in the purifying rays that manifested over the expanse of the earth as it glittered under the sun of his valour established in the numerous powerful circles of his enemies and acquired by his own slender arms which had been purified by the dust of the lotus-feet of the holy Chandraśēkhara (Śiva) who is greater owing to the excessive strength of quietism as he is beautiful by the lustre resulting from the extirpation of the mass of darkness by the light issuing from the nails of his feet which are covered by the rays of the beautiful gems attached to the crores of crowns of all the lords of gods and demons ; whose body was purified by great penance and stood above all stains of the Kali age ; (*the force of*) whose moving weapons were strengthened by the efficacy of the three powers (viz. the majesty of the king, the power of good counsel and the power of energy) ; who being endowed with a multitude of numerous qualities such as charity, self-control, truthfulness, valour, heroism, patience and forbearance, was the repository of deeds (*such as those*) performed by Sagara, Dilīpa, Māndhātṛi, Dhundhumāra, Bharata, Bhagīratha, Daśaratha and other kings of the Golden Age ; who caused delight in the three worlds ; who was distinguished by the lotus-feet of Nandādēvī ; (*and*) who was the sun in the whole earth that was illuminated by the brightness of the agreeable boon which he obtained (*from the goddess*) ;

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[1] Read °*niśrēyas-ārthaṁ*.

[2] Read *bhuñjata upari*°.

[3] Read *svalpō=pi*.

[4] Read *karaṇīyō=nyath=ājñā*°.

[5] It seems that the writer had at first written *4* which he later crossed and wrote *3*. The engraver possibly failed to notice that the first figure had been cancelled and thus incised both the figures.

[6] Read °*dattēn=ōtkīrṇṇa*°.

[7] This line begins from below the *akshara ṇa* of the word *Nandabhadrēṇa* of the previous line.

[8] Metre : *Śālinī*.

(Lines 5-6) his son, who meditated on his feet, born of the queen, the illustrious *Mahādēvī* Siṅghūbalidēvī, was *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Ichchhaṭadēva** who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva) ; (*and*) who was extremely hospitable to the Brāhmaṇas ;

(Lines 6-9) his son, who meditated on his feet, born of the queen, the illustrious *Mahādēvī* Siṅghūdēvī, was *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Dēsaṭadēva,** who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva) ; who was extremely hospitable to the Brāhmaṇas ; who was compassionate towards the poor, helpless, wretched and afflicted and the seekers of protection ; whose hands were wet with the water taken for making offerings of gold continuously in favour of the leaders of the best Brāhmaṇas from the Prāchya, Udīchya, Pratīchya and Dākshiṇātya countries (or, from the eastern, northern, western and southern quarters) ; who crushed the entire circle of his enemies ; who destroyed the elephant that was the sin of the Kali age ; (*and*) who was an incarnation of the righteousness of the Golden Age ;

(Lines 9-10) his son, who meditated on his feet, born of the queen, the illustrious *Mahādēvī* Padmallādēvī, is *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Padmaṭadēva** who is a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva) ; (*and*) who is extremely hospitable to the Brāhmaṇas ;

(Lines 10-16) (*he*) being in good health pays due respect, makes known and issues commands to all the functionaries, together with the officers in charge of the townships inhabited by all kinds of his subjects assembled in the district of **Ṭaṅgaṇāpura,** headed by the *Rājans, Rājānakas, Rājaputras, Rājāmātyas, Sāmantas, Mahāsāmantas, Mahākārttākṛitikas, Mahādaṇḍanāyakas, Mahāpratīhāras, Mahāsāmantādhipatis, Mahārājapramātāras, Śarabhaṅgas, Kumārāmātyas, Uparikas, Dussādhyasādhanikas, Dāśāparādhikas, Chaurōddharaṇikas, Śaulkikas, Gaulmikas, Tadāyuktakas, Viniyuktakas, Paṭṭakāpachārikas, Āsēdhabhaṅgādhikṛitas, Hastyaśvōshṭrabalavyāpṛitakas, Dūtas, Prēshaṇikas, Dāṇḍikas, Daṇḍapāśikas, Vishayavyāpṛitakas, Gamāgamikas, Khāḍgikas, Abhitvaramāṇakas, Rājasthānīyas, Vishayapatis, Bhōgapatis, Kāṇḍapatis, Tarapatis, Aśvapatis, Khaṇḍarakshas, Sthānādhikṛitas, Vartmapālas, Ghaṭṭapālas, Kshētrapālas, Prāntapālas, Ṭhakkuras, Mahāmanushyas, Kiśōravaḍavāgōmahishyadhikṛitas, Bhaṭṭas, Mahattamas, Ābhīras, Vaṇiks* and *Śrēshṭhins* ; to all habitations (*and*) to all the people down to the Khaśas, Kirātas, Draviḍas, Kaliṅgas, Gauḍas, Hūṇas, Uḍras, Mēdas, Andhras and Chāṇḍālas ; to the soldiers, policemen, servants and others, and to other enumerated and unenumerated living in dependence on my lotus-feet ; as well as to the neighbouring people headed by the Brāhmaṇas : Be it known to you :

(Lines 16-20) Four *pallikās* in the possession of Dīrghāditya, Buddhabala, Śidāditya (Śivāditya) and Gaṇāditya attached to **Drumatī** which is attached to the above-mentioned district ; and also fifteen allotments of Paṅgara in Drumatī in the same (*district*) ; and also the *vṛitti* of Tōgalā attached to **Yōśi** ; also a *Karmānta-sthalikā* ; another (i.e. *Karmāntasthalikā*) in the same (*district*), attached to Yōśi, on the western bank of the Gaṅgā, near the bridge (*and*) demarcated by Khaṇṇōntara and Ulikā ; another (*piece of*) land in the region of the pavement under the Pārāvata tree at Kākasthalikā-grāma in Drumatī in the same (*district*) measuring one *Drōṇavāpa* according to the customary standard of its locality ; and another (*piece of*) land belonging to Dhanāka at Randhavaka-grāma attached to Yōśi, measuring one *Drōṇavāpa* according to the customary standard of its locality. (*Of all the above pieces of land*), the land measuring two *Drōṇavāpas* have been obtained at a price by Nandūka and have been dedicated (*by him*) to Badarikāśrama-bhaṭṭāraka.

(Lines 20-26) I, too, observing the living world to be as unsteady in movement as the leaves of the fig tree shaken by the breeze, and seeing that life is void of substance like a bubble of water, and knowing fortune to be as vacillating as the tip of an elephant cub's ear, have assigned by the grant of a charter and having incised it on a plate of heated copper all this (*land*) together with the

land covered by the *pallikās*, the *vṛitti*, the *karmānta*, etc., on the occasion of the **sun's entry upon his northern course**, in order to attain beatitude in the next world and to cross the **sea of** mundane existence (*and*) to increase the merit and fame of my parents and myself, to the **holy** (*and*) illustrious Badarikāśrama-bhaṭṭāraka for providing, incense, flowers, singing, music and dancing and for worship as well as for the repair of what may be broken or damaged ; (*the said lands are*) to be endowed with the nature and exemptions (*attached to free-holdings*) ; not to be entered by the soldiers and policemen ; free from the taking of anything (*as rent or tolls*) ; not to be resumed (*but to belong to the donee*) for as long a time as the moon, the sun and the earth endure ; as pieces taken out of the district (*to which they belong*) as far as their proper boundaries and pasture land reach; together with and including the trees, gardens, springs and cascades ; along with (*the right to enjoy*) all future dues payable to the king, (*but*) without whatever has been or is in the possession of the gods and Brāhmaṇas. Wherefore (*the donee*) enjoying (*this grant*) in comfort shall not in the slightest degree be troubled by the above-mentioned people or by others with seizure, restraint and robbery or in any other way. Whosoever may act contrary to this will, in violating my order, commit a great offence.

(Lines 26-27). In **the twenty-fifth year** of the increasing reign of victory : **year 25, the 3rd (?) day of the dark half of Māgha.** The *Dūtaka* in this case is the illustrious *Bhaṭṭa* Dhanasra who is the *Mahādān-ākshapaṭal-ādhikṛita*. It is written by the illustrious Nārāyaṇadatta who is the *Mahāsandhivigrah-ākshapaṭal-ādhikṛita* ; it is engraved by the illustrious Nandabhadra.

(Lines 27-28) (One of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas.)

III.—Plate of Subhiksharājadēva, Regnal Year 4

This is a **single** plate measuring about 22·2" in length and about 19·2" in height. Its corners, especially the upper right and the lower left, are damaged with the result that a number of letters at the end of lines 1-7 and at the beginning of lines 39-42 have broken away. Fortunately, however, the lost letters can, in most cases, be restored with confidence. Although the plate is of practically the same size as those discussed above, it contains no less than fortytwo lines of writing. The size of the *aksharas* (about ·3"×·3") is therefore shorter than in the records of Lalitaśūra and Padmaṭa.

The **characters** closely resemble those of the records discussed above, especially that of Padmaṭa whose son, as we shall presently see, the issuer of the present charter was. The inscription contains the ordinary numeral figures for 4 and 5 (line 38) as well as the initial vowels *a* (lines 13, 25-26, 32, 40), *ā* (line 40), *i* (lines 26 27 29, 39), *u* (line 39) and *ē* (line 33) and the final form of *t* (lines 38, 40). The **language** of the record is Sanskrit. With the exception of seven verses indicating the usual imprecation and benediction at the end of the charter, it is written in prose throughout. The peculiarities of language and **orthography** are the same as those of the inscription of Padmaṭa. Both the *visarga* and the *upadhmānīya* have been applied in °*tpannaḥḥ=parama*° in line 11. The *anusvāra* has been wrongly used for the final *n* in *niyōgasthāṁ* in line 13 and has been further modified to *ṅ* in °*nīyāṅ=khaśa*° in line 17. It is substituted by *ṅ* in °*anyāṅ ś=cha* in the same line and by *n* in °*r=vvinsa* in line 26 and in *sansāra* in line 34 and by *ṇ* in *chaṇchala* in line 33. In some cases the *anusvāra* has been used superfluously ; cf. *khaṁṇḍa* in 35, *sukhaṁm=pāra*° in line 37. In *śṛiyaṁ* (line 42) *ṛi* has been used for *ri*. The word *upadrava* has been used in the neuter (line 37) and *satka* (Prakrit *santaka*) is employed in the sense of 'belonging to'. We may note also the use of *traya* for *tri* and *dvaya* for *dvi*. Interesting is the use of *rājānais*° in place of *rājabhis*° (line 39). Although the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed in the prose portion in some cases (cf. *khaṇḍaṁ ashṭa* in line 19) the last word of the second *pāda* of a verse has sometimes been joined in *sandhi* with the first word of the third *pāda* (cf. lines 39-40).

The grant is **dated** in the **fourth regnal year** of king Subhiksharājadēva. The date cannot be verified ; but the record may be assigned to a date about the second quarter of the tenth century.

The charter was issued from the city of **Subhikshapura** by king **Subhiksharājadēva.** There is no doubt that the city was named after the king and was his capital ; but whether it was situated near about the king's ancestral capital Kārttikēyapura cannot be satisfactorily determined.[1] Subhiksharāja is said to have been the son of king **Padmaṭa** and *Mahādēvī* Īśānadēvī. The description of Padmaṭa's ancestry is given almost in the same words as in the inscription of Padamaṭa himself. The description of Padmaṭa is, however, more elaborate in the present record. An interesting epithet of this king claims that in charity he excelled Bali, Vaikartana, Dadhīchi and Chandragupta. This Chandragupta, mentioned along with certain mythical personages, is no doubt the celebrated *Rājā* Vikramāditya of Indian tradition and folklore. Although the activities of all the Gupta Vikramādityas appear to have contributed to the growth of the Vikramāditya saga, the hero of the legends has rightly been identified with king Chandragupta II (376-414 A.D.) of the Gupta dynasty. This is one of the rare cases in which a royal court-poet has preferred the personal name of Chandragupta to the more popular titles Vikramāditya and Sāhasāṅka. The liberality of Chandragupta-Vikramāditya is referred to in traditions recorded in literary works as well as the Sanjan inscription of Amōghavarsha.[2] Unlike his predecessors who were Śaivas, king Subhiksha was a devout worshipper of Vishṇu.

The inscription records the grant of many pieces of land, situated in the *vishayas* or districts of **Ṭaṅgaṇāpura** (already known from Padmaṭa's record) and **Antaraṅga** made by king **Subhiksha** in favour of three deities. The first group of the pieces of land was dedicated to the goddess Durggā-bhaṭṭārikā who is said to have been installed in a locality called Harshapura. This group contained the following pieces of land probably all of them attached to a village called Nāmbaraṅga-grāma : (1) land styled Viḍimalāka belonging to Vachchhaṭika lying within the jurisdiction of Nāmbaraṅga-grāma and measuring six *Nālikāvāpas* ; (2) land of (or, at) Hiṭhusāri measuring eight *Nālikāvāpas* ; (3) land at Vāḍipālāka measuring four *Drōṇavāpas* ; (4) land styled Vanōlaka, belonging to Bhōgaru and measuring three *Nālikāvāpas* : (5) house-site belonging to Śubhaṭṭāka, together with a piece of land called (or, belonging to) Khōnu as well as another plot called Kaṇḍayikā ; (6) land called Śaṭēka, measuring two *Drōṇavāpas* and belonging to Prastara and others ; (7) land styled Yakshasthāna, belonging to Gōvit and Naṅgāka and measuring three *Drōṇavāpas* ; (8) land called Talaśāṭaka, belonging to Vihāṇāka and measuring ten *Nālikāvāpas* ; (9) land called Kshīrakau, belonging to Vannuvāka and measuring three *Drōṇavāpas* ; (10) land called Gāṅgēraka, belonging to the *Śrēshṭhin* Jīvāka and measuring eight *Drōṇavāpas* ; (11) land called Paivitta, belonging to Jīvāka, Sīhāditya and Ichchhabala and measuring three *Drōṇavāpas* ; (12) land called Kaṭaśilla measuring two *Drōṇavāpas* ; (13) land called Nyāyapaṭṭaka, belonging to the people of Nāmbaraṅga and measuring ten *Drōṇavāpas* ; (14) one *hastaka* (probably a piece of land that has fallen in the possession of a person) of Paṅgara who is known also from Padmaṭa's charter ; (15) land called Vāḍibala, belonging to Vachchhabala and others and measuring six *Drōṇavāpas* ; (16) land called Khōrakhōṭṭāṁka, belonging to Śilāditya and measuring six *Nālikāvāpas* ; (17) a *pallikā* (habitation) in the possession of Tuṅgaka that measured six *Nālikāvāpas* and was attached to the *Karmānta* (barn) of Śrīharshapura (probably the same as Harshapura).

The second group of the pieces of land was granted in favour of the god Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭāraka installed on the bank of the Vishṇu-gaṅgā. This group contained the following pieces : (1) land called Anūpa lying within the jurisdiction of Varōshikā-grāma, belonging to Nāhallāka and others and measuring nine *Drōṇavāpas* ; (2) four pieces of land at Anūpa belonging to the sons and granddaughters of Attaka and measuring one *Khārivāpa* ; (3) land called Jātipāṭaka

[1] Atkinson suggested that Subhikshapura was most probably another name for Kārttikēyapura or a suburb thereof (op. cit., p. 483).

[2] Cf. above, Vol XVIII, pp. 242, 248 (verse 48).

together with Ijjara; (4) two pieces of land at Samijjā measuring nine *Drōṇavāpas*; (5) land called Gōvaraka lying within the jurisdiction of Pairī-grāma, belonging to the sons of Attaka and measuring twenty *Drōṇavāpas*; (6) land called Ghasserukā, belonging to the inhabitants of Yōyika-grāma and measuring two *Drōṇavāpas*; (7) land called Śihāra measuring one *Drōṇavāpa*; (8) land called Valīvarddaśilā measuring three *Drōṇavāpas*; (9) land called Ihaṅga measuring five *Drōṇavāpas*; (10) land called Rullaṭhi measuring three *Drōṇavāpas*; (11) land called Tiriṅga measuring three *Drōṇavāpas*; (12) land called Kuṭṭānaśilla measuring three *Drōṇavāpas*; (13) land called Gaunōdārikā measuring three *Drōṇavāpas*; (14) land called Yuga measuring one *Drōṇavāpa*; (15) land called Karkaṭāyāla measuring three *Drōṇavāpas*; (16) two *hastas* (the same as *hastaka* discussed above) of Paṅgara; (17) land called Dālīmūlaka, belonging to Dhaṇāka and measuring two *Drōṇavāpas*; (18) land at Grāmidāraka, belonging to Śirabala and measuring two *Drōṇavāpas*; (19) land called Sūshṭavīmā, belonging to Ichchhavardhana and Śilāditya and measuring five *Drōṇavāpas*; (20) land called Karkarāṭaka, belonging to the inhabitants of the *vishaya* and measuring four *Drōṇavāpas*; (21) land called Chidārikā, belonging to the agriculturist house-holders and measuring three *Drōṇavāpas*; (22) land called Pannakōrālikā, belonging to the villagers of Chaḍavaka and measuring twelve *Drōṇavāpas*; (23) land called Lōhārasamēnā, belonging to Tuṅgāditya and measuring six *Nālikāvāpas*; (24) land called Grāmiyārakanā attached to the *Karmānta* at Yōśi and measuring fifteen *Drōṇavāpas*. These lands were granted together with a *Maṭhikā* meaning a hut, cottage or cell.

The third group of the pieces of land was granted to the god Brahmēśvara-bhaṭṭāraka. This group contained the following pieces of land: (1) Ravvapallikā attached to Sēvāyikā lying to the west of Sīsaṅkaṭa, to the east of Anvārigantika, to the north of the Gaṅgā and to the south of Samēhakagrāma; (2) Gṛihaṇḍakapātikā belonging to Vantāka of Sēvāyikā and measuring seven *Nālikāvāpas*.

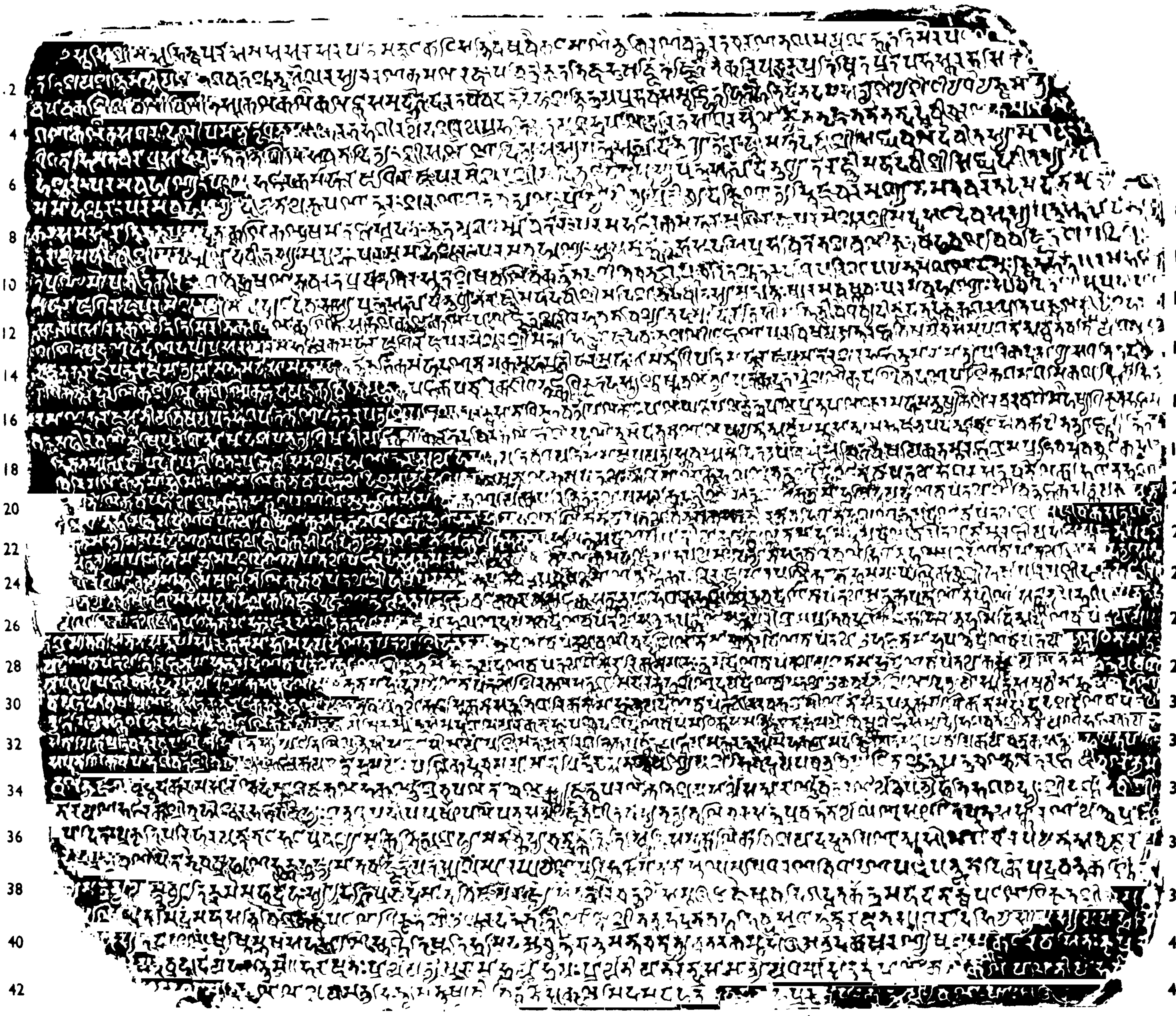
All these lands including two *pallikās* were dedicated by the king in favour of the three gods, viz. Durgādēvī, Nārāyaṇa and Brahmēśvara, for the merit and fame of his parents and himself with the usual exemptions and privileges going with free gifts. The term *Drōṇavāpa* has already been discussed in connection with Padmaṭa's record. The measurement of a *Nālikāvāpa* cannot be explained with the help of Sanskrit lexicons, as the word *nālikā* is not recognised by them like *droṇa* in the sense of a measure of capacity. In Childers' *Pali Dictionary*, s.v. *nāḷi, nālī* (i.e. *nālikā*), it is said, "According to the *Abhidhānappadīpikā*, 484, the *nālī* measure is the same as the *paṅka* (Sanskrit *prastha*); but from the *Prātimoksha Sūtra*, 81, it would seem to be larger. It appears, however, to be of varying size for the Tamil *nāḷi* is said to be smaller than the Sinhalese, and the Sinhalese to contain half as much again as the Magadhese (*Prāt.*, 81)." It seems therefore, that the *nālikā* was originally regarded as the same as *prastha* which is usually taken by Sanskrit lexicons as the one-sixteenth part of the *drōṇa*. A *Nālikāvāpa* of land thus appears to have been $\frac{1}{16}$ of a *Drōṇavāpa* originally. A *khāri* or *khārī* was usually regarded as equal to sixteen *drōṇas*. A *Khārivāpa* of land therefore seems to have originally measured sixteen times a *Drōṇavāpa*. A very interesting feature of tenancy or ownership of soil is indicated by the references to pieces of land said to have belonged to all the inhabitants of Nāmbaraṅga-grāma, to all the people of Yōyika-grāma, to all the inhabitants of a *vishaya* or district, to the agriculturist house-holders of a locality, and to the inhabitants of a locality called Chaḍavaka.

The executor of the grant was the officer in charge of the Department of Gift whose name was possibly Kamalaśīla. The charter was written by Īśvaradatta, officer in charge of the Department of War and Peace, and was engraved by Nandabhadra who is also known from Padmaṭa's grant. Īśvaradatta of this record seems to have belonged to the faimly of Nārāyaṇadatta who was the officer in charge of the Department of War and Peace under Padmaṭa.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the record, the location of Yōśi and Ṭaṅgaṇāpura has already been discussed in connection with Padmaṭa's record. Yōśi is modern Jōshīmaṭh and

THREE PLATES FROM PANDUKESVAR—PLATE II

III. PLATE OF SUBHIKSHARAJADEVA, YEAR 4



Scale : One-half

Ṭaṅgaṇāpura was probably the district round it. The identification of the *vishaya* of **Antaraṅga** and the localities called Harshapura, Nāmbaraṅga-grāma, Varēshikā-grāma, Parī-grāma, Yōyika-grāma, Chaḍavaka, Ravvapallikā, Sīsaṅkaṭa, Anvārigantika, Samēhaka-grāma, etc., is uncertain. The **Gaṅgā** or the upper course of the Ganges has been mentioned as the boundary of a piece of land as in the case of Padmaṭa's charter. The bank of the Vishṇu-gaṅgā has also been mentioned as the place where the god Nārāyaṇa had been installed. The reference is no doubt to Vishṇuprayāg which is a halting place on the bank of the Alaknandā in Pargana Painkhand. "The name Vishnuganga", says the *Garhwal District Gazetteer*, 1921, p. 204, "is also given to the river (Alaknanda) for some distance of its course above this *Chatti* (halting place) owing probably to the existence of the Vishnukund in its waters just below the temple which is built on a tongue of rock between the Dhauli and Alaknanda rivers, one and a half miles from Joshimath."

TEXT[1]

1 Siddham[2] Svasti [||*] Śrīmat-**Subhikshapurāt**=samasta-sur-āsura-pati-makuṭa-kōṭi-sanni-vishṭa-vikaṭa-māṇikya-kiraṇa-vichchhurita-charaṇa-nakha-mayūkh-ōtkhāta-timira-paṭala-[prabh-āvadā]-

2 ta(t-ā)tiśaya[3]-śakti-mahīyaśō(sō) bhagavataś=Chandrasē(śē)kharasya charaṇa-kamala-rajaḥ-pavittrīkṛita-nija-bhuj-ārjjit-ōrjjit-ānēka-ripu-chakra-pratishti(shṭhi)ta-pratāpa-bhāskara-bhāsita-[bhuvan-ābhōg-āvirbhā]-

3 va-pāvaka-śikh-āvalī-vilīna-ssa(sa)kala-Kali-kalaṅka-samudbhūt-ōdāra-tapō-vadātta(ta)-dēhaḥ[4] śakti-ttraya-prabhāva-saṁvṛiṁhi(saṁvṛiṁ)hita-hita-hētir=ddāna-dama-satya-śaurya-śauṭīrya-dhairya-ksham-ādy-a[parimita-guṇa]-

4 gaṇ-ākalita-Sagara-Dilīpa-Māndhātṛi-Dhundhumāra-Bharata-Bhagīratha-Daśaratha-prabhṛiti-Kṛita-yuga-bhūpāla-charita-sāgaras=trailōky-ānanda-jananō Nandādēvī-charaṇa-kamala-la-[kshitaḥ sama]-

5 dhigat-ābhimata-varā(ra)-prasādē(da)-dyōtita-nikhila-bhuvan-ādityaḥ śrī-**Salōṇādityas**=tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyātō rājñī mahādēvī śrī-Siṅghava(ba)lidēvī tasyām=utpannaḥ pa[ramamā]-

6 hēśvaraḥ paramavra(bra)hmaṇyaḥ paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrīmad-**I[chchha]ṭadēvas**=tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyātō rājñī mahādēvī śrī-Siṅghū-dēvī tasyām=u[tpannaḥ para]-

7 mamāhēśvarāḥ(raḥ) paramavra(bra)hmaṇyō dīn-ānātha-kṛipaṇ-āturaḥ(ra)-śaraṇāgata-vatsalaḥ Prāchy-Ōdīchya-Pratīchya-Dākshiṇātya-dvijavara-mukhyānām=anavarata-hēma-dān-amṛit-ā[rdrīkṛita]-

8 kara[ḥ*] samast-ārāti-chakra-pramarddanaḥ Kali-kalusha-mātaṅga-sūdanaḥ Kṛita-yuga-dharmm-āvatāraḥ paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrīmad-**Dēsaṭadēvas**=tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyā-

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[1] From impressions.

[2] Expressed by symbol.

[3] Padmaṭa's record reads here ° *atiśaya-śama-śakti* °.

[4] The sign for *visarga* here and in most other cases below resembles the Bengali type of *anusvāra*.

9 tō rājñī mahādevī śrīmat-Padmallādēvī tasyām=utpannaḥ paramamāhēśvaraḥ paramavra(bra)hmaṇyaḥ svayam-utkhāta-bhāsvad-asi-prabhā-vitāna-śava(ba)līkṛita-vā(bā)hu-va(ba)la-vivarjjit-āśēsha-dig-dē[ś-āṁ]-

10 ta-praṇām-ōpanīta-kari-turaga-vibhūshaṇ-ānavarata-pradāna-tiraskṛit-āśēsha-Va(Ba)li-Vaikarttana-Dadhīchi-Chandragupta-charitaś=chatur-udadhi-parikhā-paryanta-mēkhalā-dāmnaḥ kshitēr=bharttā paramabhaṭṭā[ra*]ka-

11 mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrīmat-**Padmaṭadēvaḥ**(va)s=tasya(sya) puttras=tat-pād-ānudhyātō rājñī mahādēvī Śrīmadi(d-Ī)śānadēvī tasyām=utpannaḥ(nna)ḥ=paramavaishṇavaḥ paramavra(bra)hmaṇyaḥ suvidita-śāstra-pradīp-ā[lō]-

12 ka-dūr-āpasārita-Kali-titimira[1]-nikara-hēl-ākulita-sakala-kalā-kalāp-ālaṅkṛita-śarīra[ḥ*] bhuvana-vikhyāta-durmmad-ārāti-sīmantinī-vaidhavya-dīkshā-dāna-daksh-aika-guruḥ pratipakṣa-lakshmī-haṭha-haraṇa-

13 khaṇḍita-prachaṇḍa-dōrddaṇḍa-darppa-prasaraḥ paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrīmat-**Subhiksharājadēvaḥ** kuśalī | **Ṭaṅgaṇāpura**-vishayē **Antaraṅga**-vishayē cha samupagatāṁ(tā)n=sarvvān=ēva niyōga[sthāṁ(sthān) rāja]-

14 rājānaka-rājaputtra-rājāmātya-sāmanta-mahāsāmanta-mahāka(kā)rttākṛitika-mahādaṇḍa-nāyaka-mahāpratīhāra-mahāsāmantādhipati-mahārājapramātāra-śarabhaṅga-kumā-rāmāty-ōparika-duḥsādhyasa(sā)dhanika-dā[śāpa]-

15 rādhika-chaurōddharaṇika-śaulkika-gaulmika-tadāyuktaka-(vvi)niyuktaka-paṭṭakāpachārik-āśē(sē)dhabhaṅkā(ṅgā)dhikṛita-hastyaśvōshṭa(shṭra)va(ba)lavyāpṛitaka-dūta-prēśa(sha)-ṇika-dāṇḍika-da(dā)ṇḍapāśika-gamāgamika-khāḍgik-ābhitva-

16 ramāṇaka-rājasthānīya-vishayapati-bhōgapati-kāṇḍapati-tarapaty-aśvapati-khaṇḍaraksha-sthānādhikṛita-vartmapāla-kōṭṭapāla-ghaṭṭapāla-kshēttrapāla-prāntapāla-ṭhakura-mahāmanushya-kiśau(śō)ravaḍavāgōmahishyadhikṛita-bhaṭṭa-ma-

17 [ha]ttama(m-ā)hī(bhī)ra-vaṇik-chchhrēshṭhi-purōgān=s-āshṭādaśa-prakṛity-adhishā(shṭhā)-nīyān=Khaśa[2]-Kirāta-Draviḍa-Kaliṅga-Gauḍa-Hūṇ-Ōndra(dra)-Mēd-Āndhra-Chāṇḍāla-paryan-tān=sarvva-samvā(saṁvā)sān=samasta-jānapadān=bhaṭa-chāṭa-sēvakādīn=anyāṅś=cha[3] kī-rttit-ākī-

18 rttitān=asmat-pāda-padm-ōpajīvinaḥ prativāsinaś=cha Vrā(Brā)hmaṇ-ōttarān=yathārha-[ṁ*] mānayati vō(bō)dhayati samājñāpayaty=astu vas=samvi(saṁvi)dita[m*] upari-saṁsūchita-vaishayika-**Na(Nā)mva(mba)raṅga-grāma**-prativa(ba)[ddha]-Vachchhaṭika-satka-

19 Viḍimalāka-nāmā bhūmiḥ shaṇāṁ nālikānāṁ vāpā[4] [|*] tathā **Hiṭhusāryā[ṁ]**[5] bhūkhaṇḍaṁ(ṇḍam) ashṭa-nālika(kā)-vāpa[m |*] tathā Vāḍipālākē bhūkhaṇḍaṁ cha-turṇṇāṁ drōṇānāṁ vāpa[6] [|*] tathā Bhōgaru-satka-Vanōlak-ābhidhāna-bhūkhaṇḍa-[ṁ*][7]

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1 Read *timira*.

2 Read° *yān Khaśa*.

3 Read °*anyāṁś=cha*.

4 Read *shaṇ-ṇālikā-vāpā*.

5 The *akshara ryāṁ* is incised on an erasure.

6 Read *chatur-drōṇa-vāpam*.

7 We may also suggest *bhūkhaṇḍa-trayaṁ nālikā-vāpam* and similar corrections in the other cases below; but the corrections shown in the text appear to be preferable.

20 **ttraya(tri)-nō(nā)likā-vāpaṁ tathā Śubhaṭṭāka-satka-śaraṇaṁ Khōnu-bhūmi-samaddhi-(nvi)taṁ Kaṇḍayikā-parichitaṁ** tathā Prastar-Āka-Bhutrīṇāṁ[1] satka-Śaṭēka-nāmā **bhūmi[ḥ*]** dviya(dvi)-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā |) tathā Gōvitna(n-Na)ṅgāka-satka-Ya[ksha]-sthān-ā-

21 bhidhāna-bhūmi[ḥ*] ttraya(tri)-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā |) tathā Vihāṇāka-satka-Talaśāṭak-ābhidhānanā[2] bhūmi[ḥ*] daśa-nālikānāṁ vāpaṁ[3] tathā Vannuvāka-satka-Kshīrakāv-abhidhāna-bhū-khaṇḍa[ṁ*] ttraya(tri)-drōṇa-vāpaṁ tathā śrēshṭi(shṭhi)-Jīvāka-satka-Gaṅgēra-

22 ka-nāmā bhūmi[ḥ*] ashṭa-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā) | tathā Jīvāka-Sīhāditya[4]-Ichchhava-(ba)lānā[ṁ*] satka-Paivitta-nāmā bhūmi[ḥ*] ttraya(tri)-drōṇa-vāpā [|*] tathā Kaṭaśilla-nāmā bhūmi[ḥ*] dvaya(dvi)-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā |) tathā Nāmva(mba)-raṅgīya-samasta-ja(jā)napadāna(nāṁ)

23 satka-Nyāyapaṭṭaka-nāmā bhūmi[ḥ*] daśa-drōṇa-vāpā [|*] tathā Paṅgara-hastakam=ēkaṁ tathā [Vachchha]va(ba)la-Viva[nna]-Kama-Darjjiyāka-Pratham-Ādityānāṁ satka-Vāḍiva(ba)l-ābhidhāna-bhūmi[ḥ*] shaṭdrō(ḍ-ḍrō)ṇa-vāpā [|*] tathā Śilāditya-satka-

24 Khōrakhōṭṭāṁka-nāmā bhūmi[ḥ*] shaṇṇāṁ nālika(kā,nāṁ vāpaṁ[5] tathā **Śrīharsha-pura**-karmmānta-prativa(ba)ddha-pūrvva-parimāṇa-Tuṅgaka-paribhujyamāna-pallika(kā |) ētā bhūmayaḥ pallikā chcha(cha) Śrīharshapuri(rī)ya-śrī-Durggā-bhaṭṭārikā-

25 yā(yai |) tathā Varōshikā-grāma-samva(mba)ddha-Nāhallāka-Vijjaṭa-Dujjaṇ-Ātuṅga-Nichaya-Tuṅga-Chāvaṭaka-Varāha-Siṭṭaka-satk-Ānūp-ābhidhāna-bhū khaṇḍaṁ nava-drōṇā(ṇa)-vāpaṁ tathā Attaka-puttrāṇāṁ naptrīṇāṁ [cha*] satk-Ānūpē bhū-khaṇḍa-chatu[shṭa]-

26 yaṁ khāri-vāpaṁ tathā [Jā]tipāṭaka-nāmā bhū[ḥ*] Ijjara-samanvitaṁ(tā |) **tathā** Samijjāyāṁ bhūkhaṇḍa-dvayaṁ nava-drōṇa-vāpaṁ tathā Attaka-puttrāṇāṁ satka-Pairī-grāma-prativa(ba)ddha-Gōvarak-ābhidhāna-bhūmirvvinsa(r=vviṁśati)-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā |) **tathā** Yōyi-

27 **ka**-grāma-nivāsinānāṁ[6] satka-Ghassērukā-nāmā bhūmi[ḥ*] dvaya(dvi)-drōṇa-vāpaṁ-(pā |) tathā Śihāra-nāmā bhūḥ drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā |) tathā Valīvardda[śi]lā-nāmā bhū[ḥ*] tt[r]aya(tri)-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā |) tathā Ihaṅga-nāmā bhū[ḥ*] pañcha-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā |) tathā Rullaṭhi-nāmā bhū[ḥ*] [ttra]-

28 ya(tri)-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā |) tathā Tiriṅga-nāmā bhū[ḥ*] ttraya(tri)-drōṇa-vāpaṁ-(pā |) tathā Kuṭṭāṇaśilla-nāmā bhuḥ ttraya(tri)-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā |) tathā Gaunōḍārikā-nāmā bhū[ḥ*] ttraya(tri)-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā |) tathā Yuga-nāmā bhū[ḥ] drōṇa-vāpaṁ-(pā |) tathā Karkkaṭāyālā-nāmā bhū[ḥ*] ttraya(tri)-drōṇa-

29 vāpaṁ(pā |) tathā Paṅgara-hastē(sta)-dvayaṁ tathā Dhaṇāka-satka-Dālīmūlaka-nāmā bhūḥ dvaya(dvi)-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā |) tathā Śirava(ba)la-satka-Grāmidārakē bhū-khaṇḍa[ṁ*] dvaya(dvi)-drōṇa-vāpaṁ (paṁ |) tathā Ichhavardhana-Śilādityayōs=satka-Sūshṭavīmā[7]-bhūḥ pañcha-drōṇa-

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[1] The intended reading may also have been °*Bhūtīnām* or *trayāṇām*

[2] Read °*dhānā*.

[3] Read *nālikā-vāpā* |

[4] The rules of *Sandhi* have been ignored here.

[5] Read *shan-nālikā-vāpā*.

[6] Read *nivāsinām*.

[7] It is difficult to determine if °*vīmā* is a mistake for *nāmā*.

30 vāpaṁ(pā |) tathā vishayiṇānāṁ[1] satka-Karkkarāṭaka-bhūḥ chaturṇṇāṁ **drōṇānāṁ** vāpa[ṁ][2] [|*] tathā kuṭusvi(mbi)kānāṁ satka-Ridhārikā-nāmā bhūḥ ttraya(tri)-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā |) tathā Chaḍavaka-grāmīṇānāṁ satka-Pannakōrā[li]kā-nāma-bhūḥ dvādaśa-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā |) tathā

31 Tuṅgāditya-satka-Lōhārasamēnā[3]-bhūḥ shaṭ-nalikānāṁ vāpā[4] [|*] tathā Yōshi-karmmānta-samva(samba)ddha-Gāmiyārakanā[5]-bhūḥ pañchadaśa-drōṇa-vāpaṁ(pā |) Maṭhikā-samanvitā ētā bhūmayō Vishṇugaṅgā-sammēdyē[6] bhagavatō(tē) śrī-Nārāyaṇa-bhaṭṭārakāya [|*] Tath[ā*]

32 Sē[v]āyikā-prativa(ba)ddha-Ravvapallik-ābhid ānā(na)sy=āghāṭāni(ṭāḥ) likhyante [|*] Sīsaṅkaṭa-sīmāyāṁ[7] paśchimataḥ Anvārisantika-pūrvvataḥ Gaṅgāyām=uttarattas[8]= Samēhaka-grāma-dakshiṇatas=tathā Sēvāyikāyā Vantāka-satka-Gṛihaṇḍakapāṭik[ā]

33 sapta-nālikā-vāpā bhagavatē Śrī-Vra(Bra)hmēśv ra-bhaṭṭārakāya [|*] Ētō(tā) bhūmayōḥ(yaḥ) pallikē dvē cha mayā mātā-pittrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē pavana-vighaṭit-āsvattha-pattra-chancha(ñcha)la-taraṅga-jīvalōkya(ka)-m=a-

34 valōkya jala-vu(bu)dvu(dbu)d-ākāram=asārañ=cha dṛiṁ(dṛi)shṭvā gaja-kalabha-karṇ-āgra-chapalatāñ=cha lakshmyā jñātvā paralōka-niśra(śrē)yas-ārthaṁ sansā(saṁsā)r-ārṇṇava-taraṇ-ārthañ=cha punyē(ṇyē)=hani bhagavadbhyaḥ śrī-Durggādēvī-śrī-

35 Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭāraka-śrī-Vra(Bra)hmēśvarabhaṭṭārakēbhyaḥ gandha-dhūpa-dīpa-pushp-ōpalēpana-sanmā(mmā)rjjana-gīta-vādya-nṛitya-va(ba)li-charu-sattra-pravarttan-ārtha[ṁ*] khaṁ(kha)ṇḍa-sphuṭita-puna[ḥ*]saṁskā(ska)raṇ-ārthañ=cha prati-

36 pāditāḥ prakṛiti-parihāra-yuktā [a*]-nā(chā)ṭa-bhaṭa-pravēśyā ma(a)-kiñchit-pragrāhyā ma(a)nāchchhēdyā[ḥ*] chandr-ārkka-kshiti-sthiti-samakālikā viśa(sha)yād=uddhṛita-piṇḍānsva(s=sva)-sīmā-gōchara-paryantānsa(s=sa)vṛiksh-ārām-ō-

37 dbhēda-prasravaṇ-ōpētā ndē(dē)va-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-bhukta-bhujyamāna-varjjitā yatas= sukhaṁ mpā(pā)ramparyēṇa paribhuñjamānānā[ṁ*] svalpam=api[9] dharaṇa-vidhāraṇa-paripanthan-ādik-ōpadravan=na[10] kaiśchit=kar[tta*]-

38 vyam=atō=nyath[11]=ājñā-vyatikramē mahā-drōhah syād=iti [|*] Pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-**saṁvatsarē chaturthē Samva(Saṁva)t 4 Jē(Jyē)shṭha-vadi 5** [|*] Dūtakō-ttra mahādānākshapaṭalādhikṛita-śrī-Kama[la]-

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[1] Read *vishayiṇāṁ*.

[2] Read *chatur-drōṇa-vāpā*.

[3] It is difficult to determine if we have to suggest *Lōhārasamē-nā[mā*]*.

[4] Read *shaṇ-ṇālikā-vāpā*.

[5] It is difficult to determine if we have to suggest *Grāmiyāraka-nā[mā*]*.

[6] The intended word may be *sammēdhya*, 'a sacred locality', or *sambhēda*, 'a confluence'.

[7] Read *°sīmnaḥ* or *sīmāyāḥ*.

[8] Better read *Gaṅgāyā uttarata°*.

[9] Read *svalpō=pi*.

[10] Read *°dravō na*.

[11] Read *karttavyō=tō=nyath°*.

39 ....[1][|*] Likhitam=idaṁ mahāsandhivigrahākshapaṭalādhikṛita-śrī-Iśvara[2]dattēna [|*] [U]tkīrṇṇā(rṇṇa)ñ=cha śrī-Nandabhadrēnā(ṇa) [||*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājānais[3]=Sagar-ādibhir=yasya[4] yasya yadā bhūmi-

40 [s=tasya] tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) |[|*][5] Shashṭhimva(shṭiṁ va)rsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē tishṭhati bhūmida[ḥ |*] āchchhēttā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakamva(kē va)-sēt [||*] Anudakēshv=araṇyēshu śushka-kōṭara-vāsinaḥ [|*] kṛishṇa-[sa]-

41 [rpā hi jā]yantē vra(bra)hma-dāyaṁ haranti mē(yē) || Bhō rājānaḥ prārthayaty=ēsha Rāmā(mō) bhūyō bhūyaḥ prārthanīyā narēndrā[ḥ] [|*] sāmānyō=yaṁ dharmma-sētur=nṛipāṇāṁ kālē kālē pālanīyō bhava[dbhiḥ ||][6]

42 [Iti kamala-da]l-āmvu(mbu)-vindu-lōlā[ṁ] śṛi(śri)yam=anuchintya manushya-jīvitañ=cha [|*] sakalam=idam=udāhṛitañ=cha vu(bu)ddhvā na hi purushai[ḥ*] para-kīrttayō vilōpyāḥ ||[7]

TRANSLATION

(Line 1) May there be success ! Hail ! From the illustrious (*city of*) **Subhikshapura** ;

(Lines 1-8) (Similar to lines 1-9 of Padmaṭa's charter.)

(Lines 8-13) his son, who meditated on his feet, born of the queen, the illustrious *Mahādēvī* Padmallādēvī, (*was*) *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Padmaṭa-dēva** who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva) ; who was extremely hospitable to the Brāhmaṇas ; who surpassed all the activities of Bali, Vaikarttana, Dadhīchi and Chandragupta by continuously making offerings of elephants, horses and ornaments presented (*to him by various kings*) with obeisance from the end of the countries of all the directions that were rendered by himself devoid of prowess of the arms and were divided into various parts by the expansion of the radiance of his unseathed shining sword ; who was the lord of the earth which has the girdle on the hips extending as far as the moat of the four oceans ;

his son, who meditates on his feet, born of the queen, the illustrious *Mahādēvī* Īśānadēvī, is *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Subhiksharājadēva** ; who is a devout worshipper of Vishṇu ; who is extremely hospitable to the Brāhmaṇas ; whose body is adorned with all the groups of arts acquired with ease and who has removed far away the collection of the darkness (*of ignorance*) due to the Kali age by the lustre of the light of the scriptures completely mastered (*by him*) ; who is the unique preceptor, expert in imparting initiation into widowhood to the women of the ferocious enemies who are famous in the world ; who destroyed the expansion of the arrogance of the strong staff-like arms of the enemies by forcibly carrying away their fortune ;

(Lines 13-18) (List of officials, similar to that in Padmaṭadēva's record.)

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[1] The remnants of the last *akshara* suggest *la*. The intended reading may therefore have been *Kamalaśila-[ḥ*]*.

[2] Read °*śr-Iśvara*°.

[3] Read *rājabhis=Sa*°.

[4] Read °*dibhiḥ | yasya*.

[5] Metre : *Anushṭubh* for this and the following two verses.

[6] Metre : *Śālinī*.

[7] Metre : *Pushpitāgrā*. There is a design here to indicate the end of the writing.

(Lines 18-33) (The various pieces of gift land dedicated to three deities as detailed in the introductory discussion above.)

(Lines 33-38) (The purpose of the grant and the privileges going with rent-free holdings as in the corresponding sections of the records of Lalitaśūra and Padmaṭa.)

(Lines 38-39) In the **fourth year** of the increasing reign of victory : **year 4, the 5th day of the dark half of Jyēshṭha**. The *Dūtaka* in this case is the illustrious Kamala[śīla] who is the *Mahādānākshapaṭalādhikṛita*. It is written by the illustrious Īśvaradatta who is the *Mahāsandhivigrahākshapaṭalādhikṛita* and is engraved by the illustrious Nandabhadra.

(Lines 39-42) (Imprecatory and benedictory verses.)

No. 39—TWO VALABHI GRANTS FROM MOTA MACHIALA

(3 *Plates*)

A. S. GADRE, BARODA

The two copper-plate grants which are being published now were brought to the notice of Shri S. R. Rao, the then Assistant to the Director of Archaeology, Baroda, in January 1953 when he was conducting trial excavations at **Mōṭā Māchīālā** which is a small village about seven miles to the north-east of Amreli, the headquarters of the District of that name in the Bombay State. The information regarding the plates was supplied by Shri Jani, a pottery-marksman employed during the excavations. Shri Rao brought the inscribed plates to me when I was camping at Amreli. I examined them on the spot and purchased them from their owners for the Archaeological Department, Baroda. My thanks are due to Shri Rao and Shri Jani for bringing these records to my notice.

The grants belong to the Maitraka rulers of Valabhī, A to Dhruvasēna I and B to Dharasēna II. Grant B had a thick coating of rust and many scratches on it. Both the plates were chemically treated by Shri Mathur, an Assistant of the Archaeological Chemist in India, who was working on the preservation of the wall paintings in the Tambekar Wada at Baroda. This made it possible for me to photograph the plates. I am highly indebted to him.

The **characters** of the records belong to the Southern Class of alphabet. Noteworthy are the forms of the *jihvāmūlīya* and *upadhmānīya* occurring in Grant B (line 16 and 18). The final consonants are represented with a horizontal bar on the top (cf. *t* in line 23 and *m* in lines 24-25 of A). As regards **orthography**, the consonant following *r* in a conjunct is doubled. The doubling is resorted to before *y* also (cf. *pād-ānuddhyāta* in line 11 of A). Among the instances of wrong spelling may be mentioned the use of *ri* for *ṛi*. The **language** of both the records is Sanskrit. The imprecatory portion at the end is as usual in verse, the rest being in prose. Both the charters purport to make gifts to Brāhmaṇas. Many of the villages and areas mentioned in them could not be identified. But these seem to have been situated around Mōṭā Māchīālā where the plates were found.

A. *Grant of Dhruvasēna I, Year 206*

The **two** plates of this grant, which are engraved on their inner sides only, have two holes at the top for rings with which they were orginally secured. Both the rings are now missing. The plates measure $11\frac{3}{16}'' \times 6\frac{1}{8}''$ each. They were found in a very good state of preservation.[1]

The charter was issued from **Valabhī** by the Maitraka king **Dhruvasēna I.** It bears the date : **Saṁ 206, Āśvayuja śu. 5** and purports to record the grant of a piece of cultivated land (*sītā*) known as Thuṇṭakakōlika[2] in the eastern part of the village of **Suvarṇakīya** (or, less probably Kasuvarṇakīya) included in **Śinabaraṭaka-sthalī.** The land was 100 *pādāvartas* (Bighās)[3] in area. The gift was made to the Brāhmaṇas Gaṅgaśarman, Gaṅgadēva and Chunuka[4] of the Śāṇḍilya *gōtra*, who were students of the Vājasanēya school of the Śukla-Yajurvēda.

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[1] The plates were purchased for Rs. 20 from Bhimaji Nanji of Mōtā Māchīālā. *Māchīālā* is generally spelt *Māchhīyā'ā*

[2] [The inscription reads *Ṭhēṁṭaka* which seems to be the name of a person of the Kōlika community. This person seems to have been the possessor of the land.—Ed.]

[3] See *Journal of the University of Bombay*, Vol. III, part i, pp. 77-78, note 5. [The exact area of a *pādāvarta* is unknown.—Ed.].

[4] [See below.—Ed.]

The *Dūtaka* who executed this grant was ***Pratīhāra*** **Mammaka** and the scribe **was** Kikkaka.

Dhruvasēna I succeeded his brother Drōṇasiṁha. Including the present grant, seventeen of his charters are known so far. His earliest known grants are those of year 206 (525 A.D.) and the latest of year 226 (545 A. D.). Taking into consideration the latest known grant of his predecessor and the earliest known record of his successor, a reign of about 30 years from 519 A.D. to 549 A.D. may be attributed to him.

Of the **geographical** names mentioned in this record, Śinabaraṭaka-sthalī seems to have been a small revenue sub-division and may correspond to a modern Thāṇā. Dr. H. G. Sastri[1] has identified Śinabaraṭaka with Simarana, 7 miles north of Kundala in Saurashtra. I do not agree with this identification. The donees resided at Kāśahrada which is of course Kāsandrā, 12 miles north-west of Ahmedabad.

TEXT

First Plate

1 Svasti [|*] **Valabhītaḥ** prasabha-praṇat-āmitrāṇāṁ **Maitrakāṇā(ṇā)m**=atula-bala-sapatna-maṇḍal-ābhōga-

2 saṁsakta-saṁprahāra-śata-labdha-pratāpaḥ pratāp-ōpanata-dāna-mān-ārjjav-ōpārjjit-ānu-rāgō=nu-

3 rakta-maula-bhṛitya-mitra-śrēṇī-bal-āvāpta-rājya-śriḥ(śrīḥ) paramamāhēśvaraḥ śrī sēnāpati-**Bhaṭakkaḥ** tasya su-

4 tas=tat-pāda-rajō-ruṇa-nakha-pavitrīkrita-śī(śi)rāḥ śirō-vanata-śatru-chūḍā-maṇi-prabhā-vichchhurita-pāda-nakha-

5 paṁkti-dīdhitiḥ di(dī)n-ānātha-jan-ōpajīvyamāna-vibhavaḥ paramamāhēśvaraḥ sēnāpati-**Dharasēnas**=tasy=ānujaḥ

6. tat-pād-ābhipraṇāma-praśasta-vimala-mauli-maṇiḥ Manv-ādi-praṇīta-vidhi-vidhāna-dharmmā Dharmmarāja iva vihi-

7 ta-vinaya-vyavasthā-paddhatir=akhila-bhuvana-maṇḍal-ābhōga-svāminā paramasvāminā svayam=upahita-rājy-ā-

8 bhishēka-mahā-vigrā(śrā)ṇan-āvapūta-rāja-śrīḥ paramamāhēśvarō mahārāja-**Drōṇasiṁhaḥ** siṁha iva tasy=ānu-

9 jaḥ sva-bhuja-balēna para-gaja-ghaṭ-āni(nī)kānām=ēka-vijayi(yī) śaraṇ-aishiṇām śaraṇam=avabōddhā śāstr-ārttha-tatvā(ttvā)nāṁ

10 Kalpatarur=iva suhṛit-praṇayināṁ yath-ābhilakshi(shi)ta-phal-ōpabhōgadaḥ paramabhāgavataḥ paramabhaṭṭāraka-

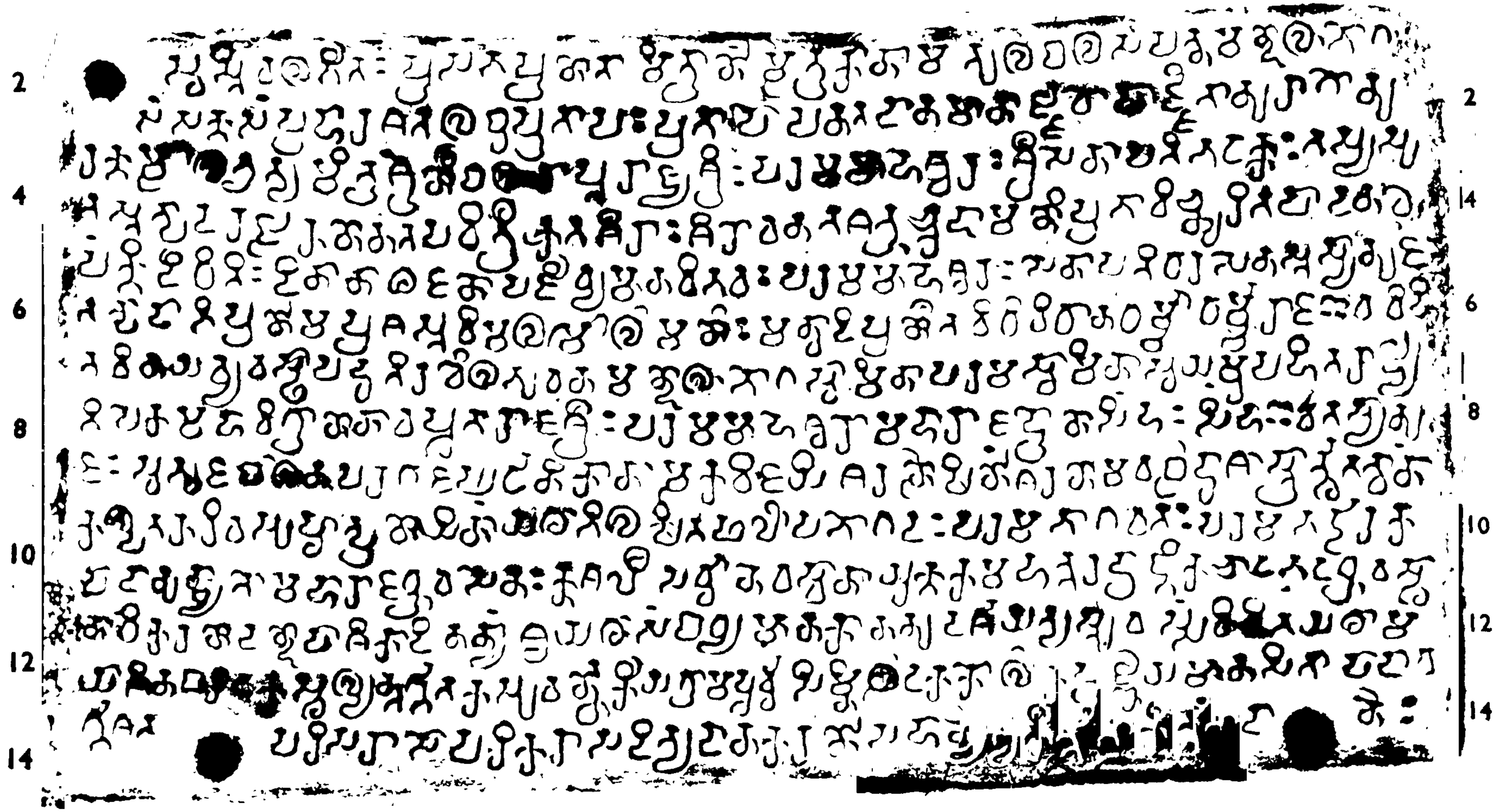
11 pād-ānuddhyātō[2] mahārāja-**Dhruvasēnaḥ** kuśalī sarvvān=ēva svān=āyuktaka-mahattara-drāṅgika-chāṭa-bhaṭa-dhruvasthā-

12 nādhikaraṇa-daṇḍapāśik-ādi(dī)n=anyāṁś=cha yathā-saṁbadhyamānakān=anudarśayaty=astu vas=saṁviditaṁ yathā ma-

[1] *Maitrak-kālīn Gujrāt*, Part II, Appendix 5, p. 33.

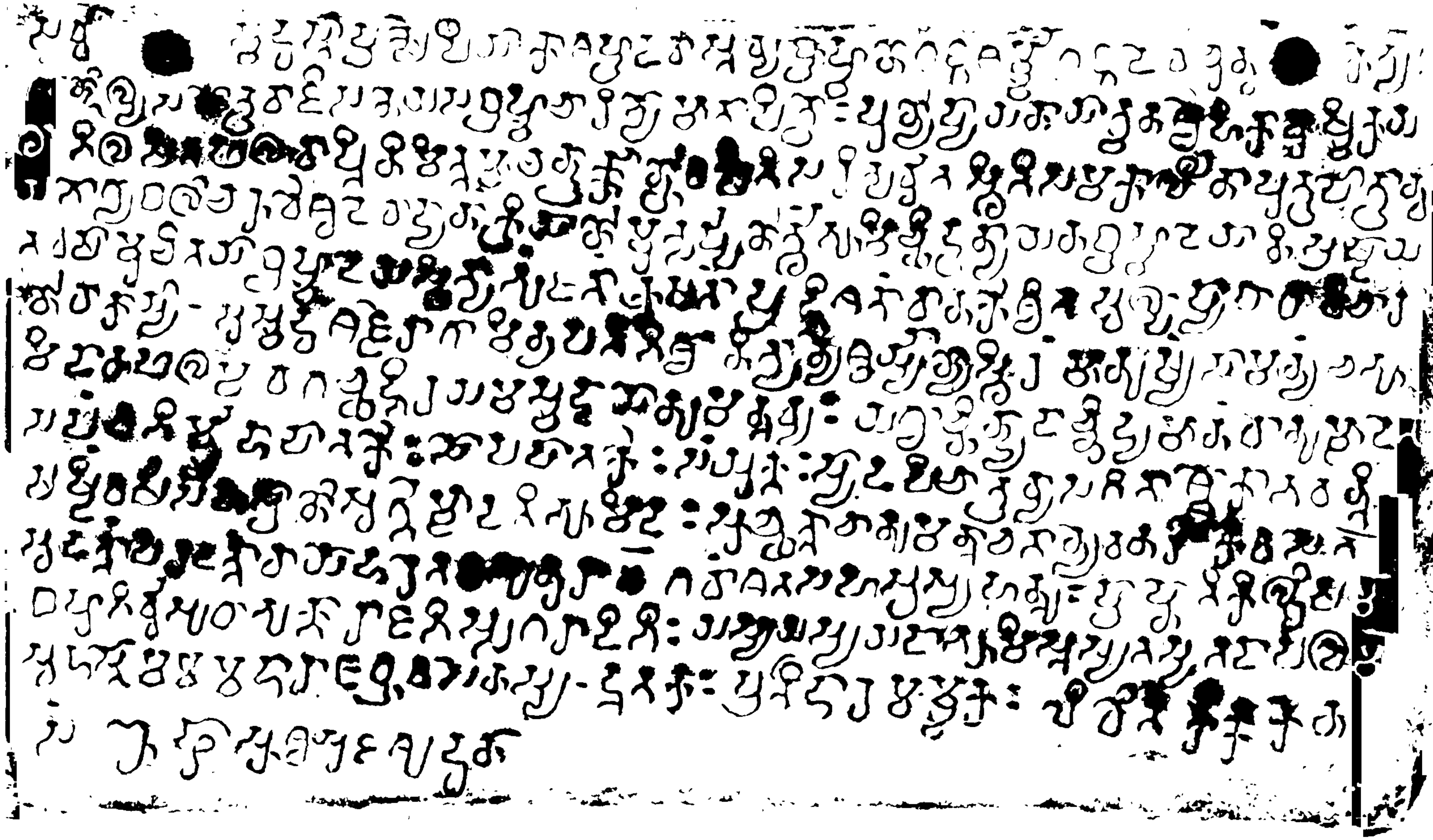
[2] [Dhruvasēna acknowledged the suzerainty of a *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* whose identity is difficult to determine although originally the Maitrakas must have owed allegiance to the Imperial Guptas.—Ed.].

A. GRANT OF DHRUVASENA I, YEAR 206



Scale: Nine-tenths

ii



13 yā **Śinabaraṭaka-sthaly**-antarggataka-**Suvarṇṇakīya-grāma-pūrvva**-si(sī)mni Thuṁṭaka[1]-kōlika-prajñāyamāna-si(sī)tā pādāva-

14 rgga(rtta)-śata-parisarā s-ōparikarā sa-ditya[2]-dāna-karaṇā sah=ānyaiś=cha kīrttit-ākīrttit-ādānaiḥ

Second Plate

15 sarvva-svad[3]-dhast-āpara-kshēpī(pa)[ṇī*]yā **Kāśahrada**-vāstavya-Brāhmaṇa-Gaṅgaśarmma-Gaṅgadēva-Chunukēbhyaḥ[4]

16 Śāṇḍilya-sagōtra-Vāji(ja)sanēya-sabrahmachāribhyō mātā-pitrōḥ puṇy-āpyāyanāy=ātmanaś=ch=aihik-āmushmika-ya-

17 th-ābhilashita-phal-āvāpti-nimittam=ā-chandr-ārkk-ārṇṇva-kshiti-sarit-parvvata-sthiti-samakālīnā putra-pautr-ānva-

18 ya-bhōgyā bali-charu-vaiśvadēv-ādyānāṁ kriyāṇām=utsarpaṇ-ārtthaṁ bhūmi-chchhidra-nyāyēna brahmadēyā nisra(sṛi)shṭā ya-

19 ta ēshām=uchitayā brahmadēya-sthityā bhuṁjatāṁ kṛishatāṁ pradiśatāṁ vā na kaiśchit svalp=āpy=ābādhā vichāra-

20 ṇā vā kāryyā | asmad=vaṁśajair=āgāmi-nṛipatibhiś=ch=ānityāny=aiśvaryyāṇy=asthiraṁ mānushyaṁ sāmānyaṁ cha bhū-

21 mi-dāna-phalam=avagachchhadbhir=ayam=asmad-dāyō=numantavyaḥ [|*] yaś=ch=āch-chhindyād=āchchhidyamānaṁ v=ānumōdēta

22 sa paṁchabhir=mmahā-pātakaiḥ s-ōpapātakaiḥ saṁyuktaḥ syād=api ch=ātra Vyāsa-gi(gī)tāś=ślōkā bhavanti |

23 Shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmidaḥ [|*] āchchhēttā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt [||*]

24 Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harēta vasundharām [|*] gavāṁ śata-sahasrasya hantuḥ prāpnōti kilbisham [||*]

25 Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā pa(pha)lam [||*]

26 sva-hastō mama mahārāja-**Dhruvasēnasya** | dūtakaḥ pratīhāra-Mammakaḥ likhitaṁ Kikkakēna [|*]

27 **Saṁ 200 6 Āśvayuja-śuddha 5** [||*]

B. *Grant of Dharasēna II, Year 252*

This charter consists of two plates written on the inner sides. They are secured with rings passing through two holes made at the top of the plates. The plates measure each 12¼"×8⅝". When the plates were received for examination, the right side ring was missing but the left side

[1] [The reading of this name is *Thēṁṭaka*.—Ed.].

[2] [This may be a modification of *datti*.—Ed.].

[3] [The reading of these letters is *sarvv-āsvad*'.—Ed.].

[4] [The reading is °*Chundhakēbhyaḥ*.—Ed.].

ring with the seal held the plates together. The extant ring has an oval **seal** which bears in **relief** the usual bull emblem of the Maitrakas with the legend *Śrī-Bhaṭakkaḥ* in relief.[1]

The charter, **dated Saṁ 252 Vaiśākha-ba 15**, was issued from **Valabhī** by **Dharasēna II** who succeeded his father Guhasēna. The last known date of Guhasēna is the year 248 (567 **A.D.**) and the earliest known date of Dharasēna's successor Śīlāditya I is the year 286 (605 A.D.). Hence Dharasēna II may be assigned a reign of about 30 years, i.e. from 570 to 600 A.D. The gift recorded in the charter was made by the king for the merit of his parents as well as of himself. The document was written by Skandabhaṭa and the executor of the grant was Chchibbira.

The charter purports to record the gift of the following plots of land and irrigation wells to a Brāhmaṇa named Rudra who was a student of the Maitrāyaṇīya-Vārāhaka *śākhā* of the Yajurvēda and belonged to the Lāmakāyana *gōtra* :

(*a*) a piece of land 200 *pādāvartas* in area on the northern border of the village **Bhaṭṭivaṭa,** as also a step-well irrigating[2] thirtytwo *pādāvartas* of land on the eastern border of the same village ;

(*b*) a step-well irrigating[2] 20 *pādāvartas* of land in the southern border of **Śavinīpadraka, and**

(*c*) a plot of tilled land known as Pēraka[3] in the northern border of the village of Bahudhanaka as also a piece of 100 *pādāvartas* of land in the western border of **Bhabbāla-paṭaka.**

These places cannot be identified. Dr. H. G. Sastri, however, has tried to identify Bhaṭṭivaṭa[4] with Bhaḍabhaḍiyā, a village some 2 miles to the south-west of Hāthab.

TEXT

First Plate

1 Svasti [|*] **Vala[bhītaḥ]** prasabha-praṇat-āmitrāṇāṁ **Maitrakāṇām**=atula-bala-sapatna-maṇḍal-ābhōga-saṁsakta-saṁprahāra-śata-labdha-pratāpaḥ pratāp-ōpanata-

2 dāna-mān-ārjjav-ōpārjjit-ānurāgō=nurakta-mau!a-bhṛita-mitra-śrēṇi-bal-āvāpta-rāja-śriḥ(śrīḥ) paramamāhēśvaraḥ śrī-sēnāpati-**Bhaṭārkkas**=tasya sutas=ta-

3 t-pāda-rajō-ruṇ-āvanata-pavitrīkṛita-śirā[ḥ] śirō-vanata-śatru-chūḍā-maṇi-prabhā-vichchhurita-pāda-na[kha]-pa[ṁ]kti-dīdhi[ti]r=ddīn-ānātha-kra(kṛi)paṇa-jan-ōpajīvyamā[na]-vibha-

4 vaḥ paramamāhēśvaraḥ śrī-sēnāpati-**Dharasēnas**=tasy=ānujas=tat-pād-ābhishra(pra)ṇāma-praśastatara-vimala-mauli-maṇir=Mmanv-ādi-praṇi(ṇī)ta-vidhi-vidhāna-dharmmā **Dharmmarāja** iva

5 vihita-vinaya-vyavasthā-pa[d*]dhatir=akhila-bhuvana-maṇḍal-ābhōg-aika-svāminā parama-svāminā svayam=upahita-rājy-ābhishēkō mahā-viśrāṇan-āvapūta-rāja-śriḥ(śrīḥ) paramamā-

6 hēśvaraḥ śrī-mahārā[ja-**Drō]ṇasiṁhaḥ** siṁha iva tasy=ānuja[ḥ*] sva-bhuja-bala-parākramēṇa para-gaja-ghaṭ-āni(nī)kānām=ēka-vijayī śaraṇ-aishiṇāṁ śaraṇam=avabōddhā śāstr-ā-

7 rttha-tatvā(ttvā)nāṁ Kalpa[tarur=i]va suhṛit-praṇayinā[ṁ] yath-[ā]bhilaśi(shi)ta-kāma-phal-ōpabhōgada[ḥ*] paramabhāgavataḥ mahārāja-śrī-**Dhruvasēnas**=tasy=ānujas=tach-charaṇ-āravinda-pra-

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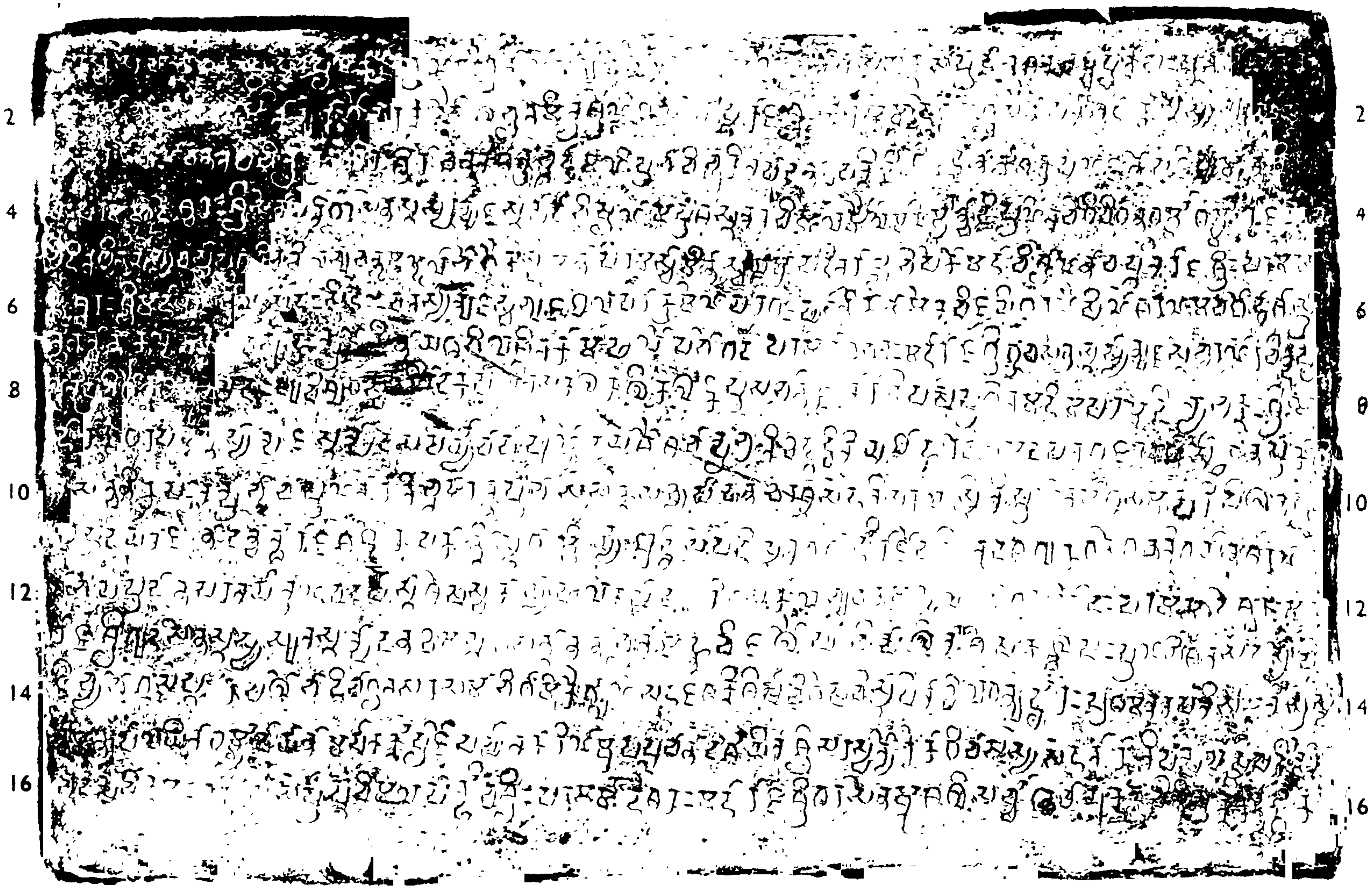
[1] The plates were purchased for Rs. 25 from Koli Amba Soma of Mōṭā Māchīālā.

[2] [The reference is to the area covered by the step-well.—Ed.]

[3] [Pēraka seems to be the name of a person who was enjoying the income of the land.—Ed.]

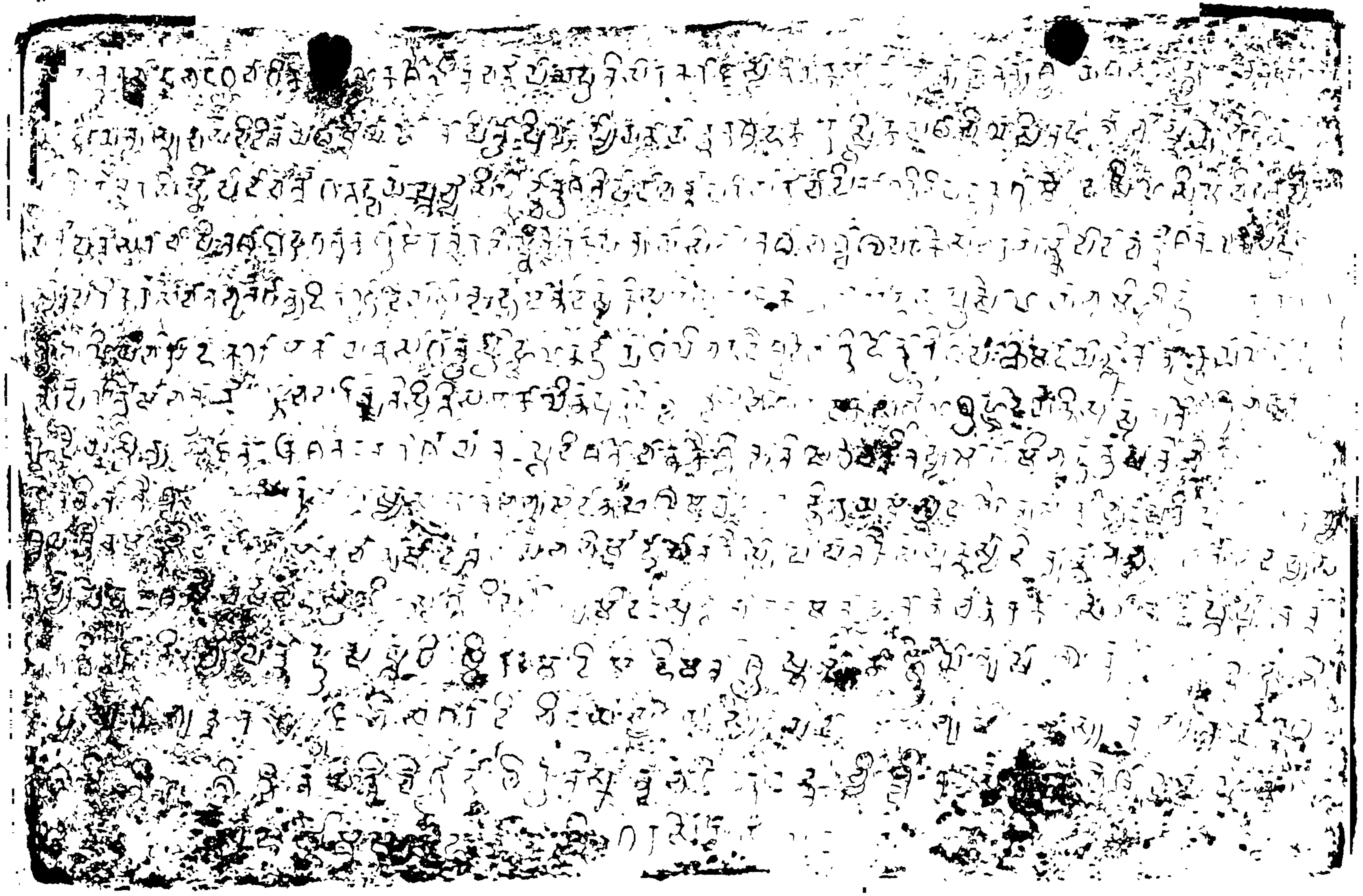
[4] *Maitrak-kālīn Gujrāt*, Part II, Appendix 5, p. 36.

B. GRANT OF DHARASENA II, YEAR 252



Scale. Three-fourths

ii



8 **pati**-pravidhaut-āśēsha-kalmashaḥ su-viśudha(ddha)-sva-[charit-ō]daka-kshālita-sakala-**kali-kalaṅka**[ḥ*] prasabha-nirjjit-ārāti-paksha-prathita-mahima(mā) param[ā]dityabh**aktaḥ** śrī-ma-

9 **hārāja-Dharapaṭṭas**=tasy=ānujas[1]=tat-pāda-saparyy-āvāpta-puṇy-ōdaya[ḥ*] śau(śai)śavāt=prabhṛiti khaḍga-dvi[tī]ya-bāhur=ēva sa-mada-para-gaja-ghaṭ-āsphōṭana-prakāśi-

10 ta-satva(ttva)-nikashaḥ tat-prabhāva-praṇat-ārāti-chūḍā-ratna-prabhā-saṁsakta-savya-pāda-nakha-raśmi-saṁhati[ḥ*] sakala-smi(smṛi)ti-praṇi(ṇī)ta-mārgga-samyak-paripālana-pra-

11 jā-hṛidaya-ra[ṁ]janād=anvarttha-rāja-śabdō ru(rū)pa-kānti-sthai[ryya*]-gāmbhīryya-buddhi-saṁpadbhi[ḥ] Smara-śaśā[ṅk-ā*]drirāj-ōdadhi-Tra(Tri)daśaguru-Dhanēśān=atiśayāna[ḥ*] .śaraṇ-āga-

12 t-ābhaya-pradāna-paratayā tra(tṛi)ṇavad-apāst-āśēsha-sva-kāryya-phalaḥ pāda-chāri(r=ī)va sakala-bhuvana-maṇḍal-ābhōga-pramōdaḥ paramamāhēśvaraḥ mahā-

13 **rāja**-śri(śrī)-**Guhasēnas**=tasya sutas=tat-pāda-nakha-mayū[kha]-santāna-ni[r*]vṛita(tta)-Jāhnavi(vī)-jal-augha-vikshālit-āśēsha-kalmashaḥ praṇayi-śata-sahasr-ōpa-

14 **jīvya**-bhōga-saṁptaru(pad-rū)pa-lōbhād=iv=ā-śra(śri)ta[ḥ*] sarasam=ābhigāmikair=gguṇai[ḥ*] sahaja-śakti-śikshā-viśēsha-vismāpit-ākhila-dhanurddharaḥ prathama-narapati-samatisṛi-[shṭā]-

15 nām=anupālayitā dharmmya-dāyānām=apākaktā(rttā) praj-ōpaghāta-kāriṇām=upaplavānāṁ darśayitā Śri(Śrī)-Sarasvatyōr=ēk-ādhivāsasya saṁhat-ārāti-paksha-lakshmī-parikshō-

16 bha-daksha-vikramaḥ kram-ōpasaṁprāpta-vimala-pārtthiva-śrīḥ paramamāhēśa(śva)raḥ mahārāja-śrī-**Dharasēnaḥ**=kuśali(lī) sarvvān=ev=āyuktaka-viniyuktaka-drāṅgika-

Second Plate

17 mahattara-chāṭa-bhaṭa-dhruvādhikaraṇika-śaulkika-vartta(rtma)pāla-pratisāraka-rājasthānīya-kumārāmāty-ādi(dī)n=anyāṁś=cha yathā-saṁbadhyamānakān samā-

18 jñāpayaty=astu va[ḥ*] saṁviditaṁ yathā mayā mātā-pitrōḥ(trō)ḥ=puṇy-āpyāyanāy=ātmanaś=ch=aihik-āmushmika-yath-ābhilashita-phal-āvāptayē **Bhaṭṭivaṭa**=

19 grāmē uttara-si(sī)mni pādāvartta-[śa]ta-dvayaṁ(yam) || pūrvva-sīmni dvātriṅśati[2]-pādāvarta-parisarā vāpī tathā **Śavinipadraka**-grāmē dakshiṇa-si(sī)mni viṅśa(viṁśa)ti-pādā-

20 vartta-parisarā vāpī tathā **Bahudhanaka**-grāmē uttara-s[ī]mni [P]ēraka-pratyayā[3] si(sī)tā | tathā **Bhabbāla**-paṭakē avara-sīmni pādāvartta-śataṁ(tam) || s-ōdraṅga-[4]

21 s-ōparikaraṁ sa-vāta-bhūta-dhānya-hiraṇy-ādēyaṁ s-ōtpadyamāna-vishṭiki(kaṁ) samasta-rājakīyānām=a-hasta-prakshē[pa*]ṇa(ṇī)yaṁ bhūmi-chchhidra-nyāyēna Mai-

22 trāyaṇi(ṇī)ya-Vārāhaka-Lāmakāyana-sagōtra-Brāhmaṇa-Rudrāya bali-charu-vaiśvadēv-āgnihōtr-ātithi-pañcha-mahāyājñikānā[ṁ*] kṛi(kri)yāṇāṁ samu-

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[1] [Read *tasy=ātmaja°*.—Ed.].

[2] Read *°triṁśat°*.

[3] [The reading is *pratyāyā*.—Ed.].

[4] The letters *ōsaṁ* appear before this *sō*. Read *s-ōdraṅgaṁ s-ōpari°*.

23 **tsarpaṇ**-ārtham=ā-chandr-ārkk-ārṇava-sarit-kshiti-sthiti-sama-kālīnaṁ putra-pō(**pau**)**tvā**-(ttr-ā)nvaya-bhōgyaṁ(gyam) udaka-sarggēṇa brahmadēyaṁ nisṛishṭaṁ yatō=sy=**ōchitayā** **bra**-

24 **hmadēya**-sthity[ā] [bhuṁ]jataḥ kṛiśa(sha)taḥ karirśa(rsha)yataḥ pradiśatō vā **na kaiśchit**= **pr**a**tishēdhē** varttitavyam=āgāmi-bhadra-nṛipatibhiś=ch=āsmad-vaṅśa(vaṁśa)-

25 **jair**=ani[tyāny=aiśvaryyāṇy=asthiraṁ mā]nushya[ṁ] [sāmān]yaṁ cha **bhūmi-dāna-phalam**= avagachchhadbhir=ayam=asmada(d-dā)yau(yō)=numantavyaḥ [pari]pālayitavya-

26 ś=cha |[*] yaś=ch=ai[nam=ā]chchhiṁdyād=āchchhidyamānaṁ] v=ānumōdēta sa paṁchabhir= mmahā-pātakais=s-ōpapātakai[ḥ*] saṁyukta[ḥ*] syād=ity=uktaṁ cha **bhagavatā Vēdavyāsē**-

27 na Vyāsēna [|] Śa(Sha)shṭi-varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē tishṭhati bhūmidaḥ [|*] a(ā)chchhēttā ch=ānumantā cha tānē(ny=ē)va narakē vasēt | Pūrvva-ta(da)ttāṁ

28 dvijātibhyō yatnād=raksha -Yudhishṭhira | mahīṁ mahīmatāṁ śrēshṭha dānāch=chhrēyō= nupālanaṁ(nam) [|*] Bahubhi-

29 r=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhi[ḥ*] Sagar-ādibhiḥ [|*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya **tasya** tadā pha-

30 lam=iti || likhitaṁ saṁdhivigra(gra)hādhikṛita-Skandabhaṭēna | Dū° Chchibbiraḥ **Saṁ 200 50 2 Vaiśākha-ba 10 5** [|*]

31 [**sva**]-hastō mama mahā[rāja]-śrī-**Dharasēnasya** || ||

TWO VALABHI GRANTS FROMMOTA MACHIALA

SEAL OF DHARASENA II



(from a Photograph)

No. 40—PEDDABAMMIDI PLATES OF VAJRAHASTA III, SAKA 982

(*2 Plates*)

R. C. MAJUMDAR, NAGPUR

This set of four copper plates was found at **Peddabammiḍi** in the Narasannapet Taluk of the Srikakulam District, Andhra. They were forwarded by the Deputy Commissioner of Commercial Taxes, Guntur, to the Government Epigraphist for India. I edit the grant from a set of excellent estampages kindly supplied by the latter. The plates are now in the possession of the Andhra University, Waltair.

Each of the plates is 8" long and slightly less wide in the middle (3") than at the ends (3·2"). They are held by a circular ring with a diameter of 3·5". The **seal** soldered to the ring has on its surface the emblems of a bull, a conch, the moon, a goad, a fly-whisk, a flag and a tortoise. The plates and the ring with the seal weigh respectively 94 and 54 *tolas*. The outer side of the first plate has no writing. The inner side of the first plate and both sides of the second and third plates have eight lines of writing each. The fourth plate has seven lines of writing on the first side. The second side of this plate has traces of writing; but, though individual letters can be read here and there, no sense of this part can be made out; hence no attempt has been made to read it.[1] There are thus altogether 47 lines of legible writing which are in a good state of preservation.

The **alphabet** belongs to the same type of the Gauḍīya script as is used in the Nadagam,[2] Madras Museum[3] and Narasapatam[4] plates and many other Eastern Gaṅga grants.[5] Interesting are the forms of *ñch* and *ñchh*. The sign for *v* has been used to indicate *b*.

The **language** is Sanskrit and the legible portion of the inscription is written in prose with the same twelve verses in the introductory portion, which are found in several other copper-plate grants of the king who issued the charter. As a matter of fact, the whole of the introduction (lines 1-41) is a verbatim reproduction of that in the Nadagam and Madras Museum plates and varies very slightly from that in the Narasapatam plates.

With regard to **orthography**, we may note that the class nasal is used instead of *anusvāra*, although there are a few exceptions. Many of the consonants are doubled after *r*. *T* is sometimes doubled before *r*; but usually we have the form *tra*. There are many mistakes in the text of the document. Often one letter is put for another and the vowel signs are omitted or wrongly put. Sometimes letters and even words are omitted while the *visarga* sign is frequently omitted.

The grant was issued from a place, the name of which begins with *ka* and ends in *nagara*. The second letter is doubtful, and there is no room for a third letter before *nagara*. The name may be a mistake for *Kaliṅganagara*.

The grant was issued by *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* **Vajrahasta** (III), the overlord of the three Kaliṅgas and a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, and records the grant of the village of **Santarama** (line 42) in favour of Pallaya, son of Dādōrēvāna and his wife Dalēmavā (lines 45 46). The village was situated in the district (*vishaya*) of **Kōluvarttani**, a name which also occurs in the Nadagam plates (line 57). The epithet *sva-paurusha-paritōshita*, applied to the donee,

[1] [See below, p. 308, note 4.—Ed.].

[2] Above Vol. IV, p. 183.

[3] Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 94.

[4] Ibid., Vol. XI, p. 147.

[5] Cf., for example, the plates published in *JAHRS*, Vol. VIII, pp. 163 ff.

perhaps alludes to some deeds of valour performed by him, and the grant may be a reward for that. The illegible portion presumably contained the boundaries of the land granted together with the imprecatory verses.[1]

The grant was made in the **Śaka year 982** (line 44) on **Thursday** the fifth of the bright fortnight in the month of **Makara**. The date regularly corresponds to the **28th December, 1060 A.D.**[2] The donee is said to belong to the Vēsyā family (line 45). *Vēsyā* may be taken as an error for *vēśyā* (prostitute), for the interchange of *ś* with *s* frequently occurs in this record. But it is hardly likely that a man's ancestry should be traced to a prostitute in a public document. So it may be suggested that the word stands for *Vaiśya*.[3]

TEXT[4]

[Metres : verses 2, 6, 12 *Anushṭubh* ; verses 7, 8 *Gīti* ; verses 5, 9 *Mālinī* ; verses 1, 3, 11 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 4 *Vaṁśastha* ; verse 10 *Vasantatilakā*.]

First Plate

1 Ōṁ[5] svasti [||] [śrī]matām=akh[i]la-bhuvana-vinuta-naya-vinaya-dayā-dāna-dākshiṇya-satya-śaucha-

2 śauryya-dhairyy-ādi-guṇa-ratna-pavitrak[ā*]ṇām=Ātrē[ya*]-gōtrāṇāṁ vimala-viśā(chā)r-āsā(chā)ra-puṇya-śa(sa)-

3 lila-pra[kshā]lita-Kali-kāla-kalma[shā(sha)]-mashīṇāṁ mahā-**Mahēndr-āchala**-śikhara-prati-

4 shṭhitasya sa-char-āchara-gurōḥ sakala-bhuvana-nirmmāṇ-aika-sūtradhāra-

5 sya śaśāṅka-chūḍāmaṇērbhhha(r=bbha)gavatō Gōkarṇṇasvāminaḥ prasādā[t*]

6 samāsādit-aikaśansa(ṅkha)bhērī-pañchamahāśavda(bda)-dhavalachchhattra-hēmachā-

7 mara-varavṛishabhalāñchhana-samujva(jjva)la-samasta-sāmrājya-mahimnām=anē-

8 ka-samara-saṅghaṭṭa-samupalavdha(bdha)-vijaya-lakshmī-samāliṅgit-ōtaṁ(ttuṁ)ga-bhu-

Second Plate, First Side

9 ja-daṇḍa-maṇḍitānāṁ **Trikaliṅga**-mahībhujāṁ **Gaṅgānām**=anvayam=alaṅka-

10 rishṇō[ḥ*] Vishṇōr=iva vikram-ākrānta-dharā-maṇḍalasya **Guṇamahārṇṇava**-maha(hā)-

11 rājasya putraḥ ||0|| Pūrvvaṁ bhūpatibhir=vvibhajya vasudhā yā pañchabhiḥ pa-

12 ñchadhā bhuktā bhūri-parākramō bhuja-va(ba)lāt=tām=ēka ēva svayaṁ(yam |) ē-

13 kīkṛitya vijitya sa(śa)ttru-nivahān śrī-**Vajrahastaś**=chatuśchatvāri-

14 ṁśa[ta*]m=aty-udāra-charitaḥ sarvvām=arakshīt=samāḥ || [1*] Tasya tanayō **Guṇḍama-ra(rā)**-

[1] [See below.—Ed.].

[2] I am indebted for this calculation to Prof. V. V. Mirashi.

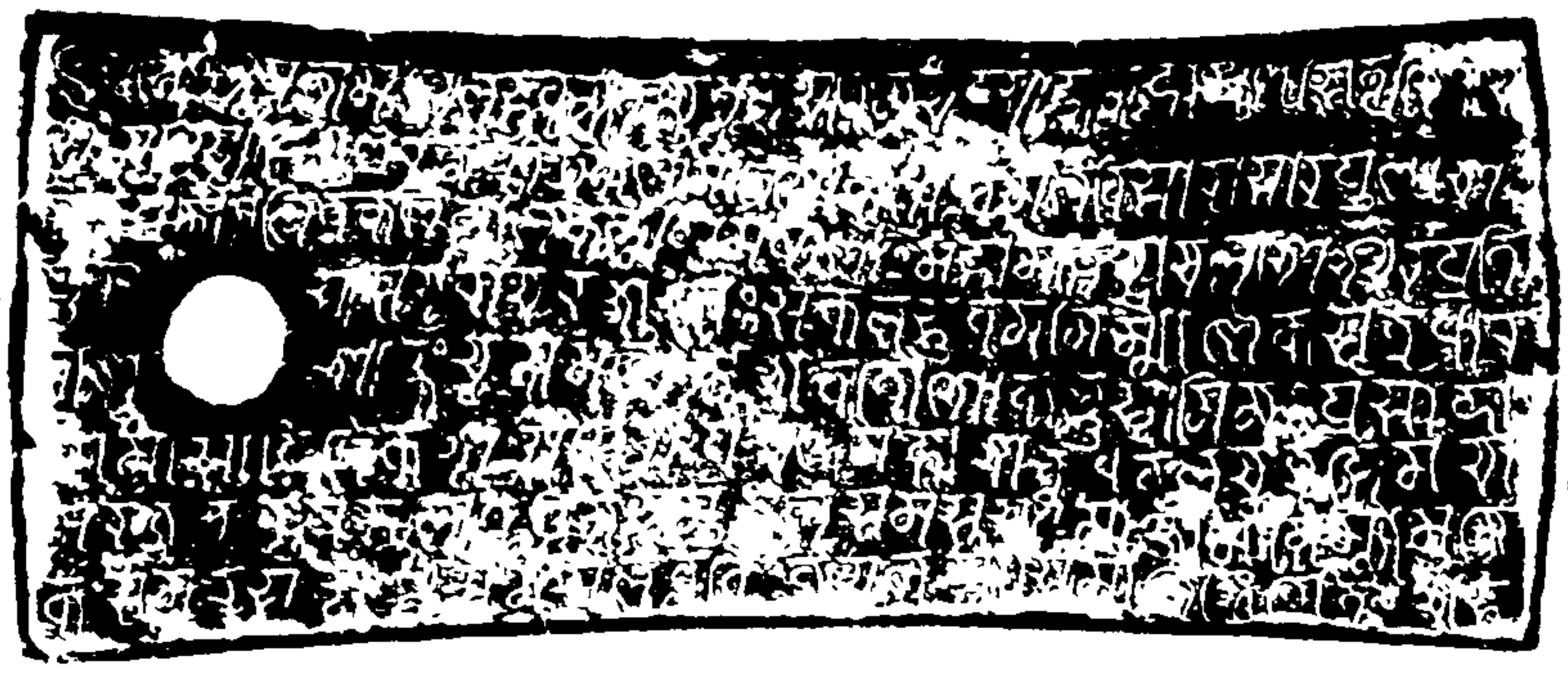
[3] *Vaiśya-kula-vaṁśa* is referred to in line 13 of a record of Madhukāmārṇava (*JAHRS*, Vol. VIII, p. 181). [See above, Vol. XXIII, p. 69.—Ed.]

[4] From a set of impressions.

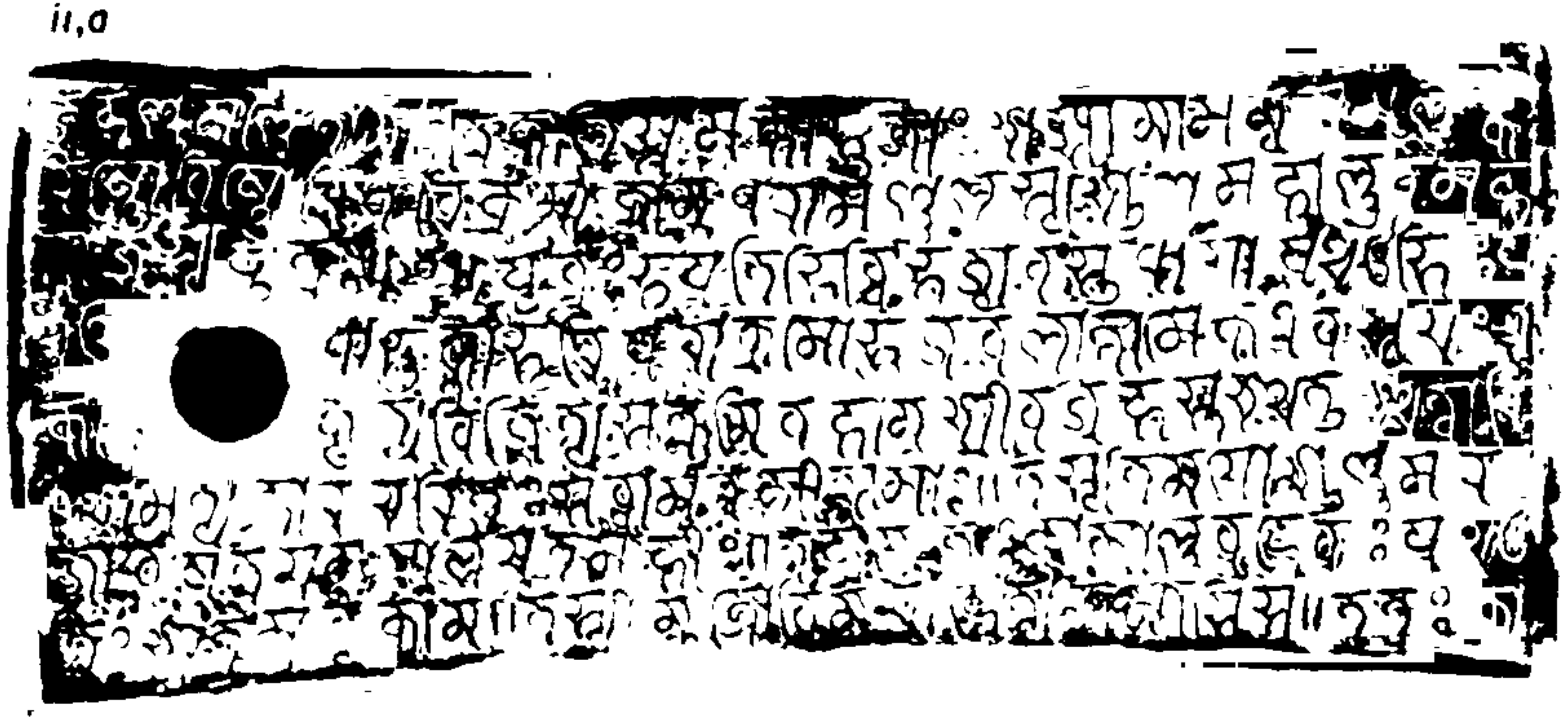
[5] Expressed by symbol.

PEDDABAMMIDI PLATES OF VAJRAHASTA III, SAKA 982—PLATE I

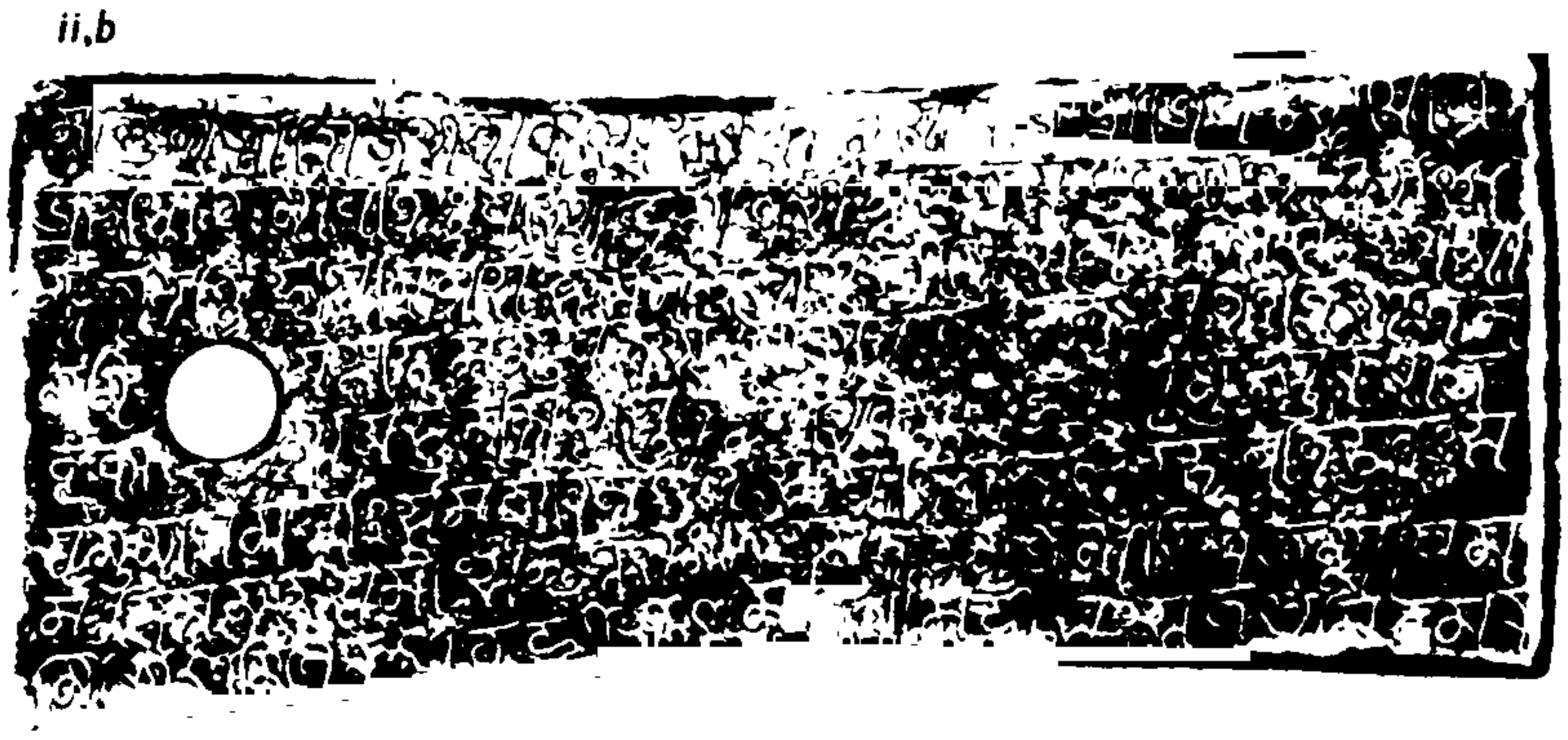
i



ii,a

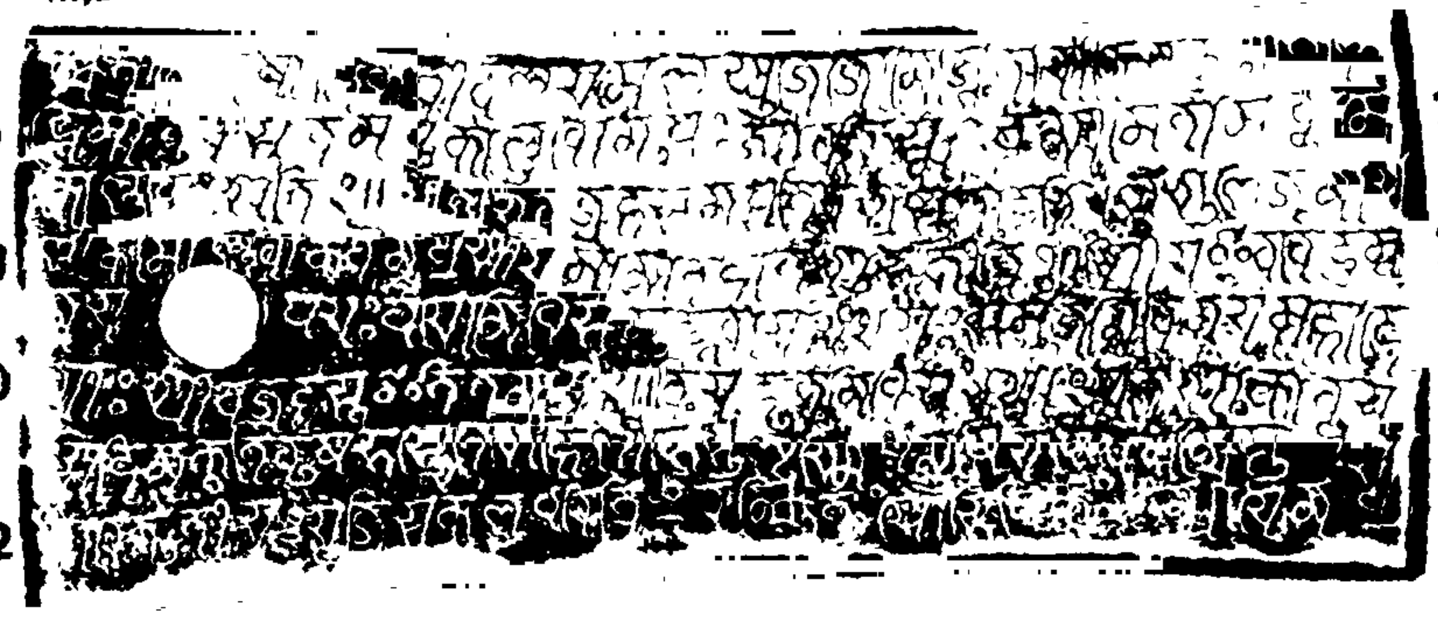


ii,b

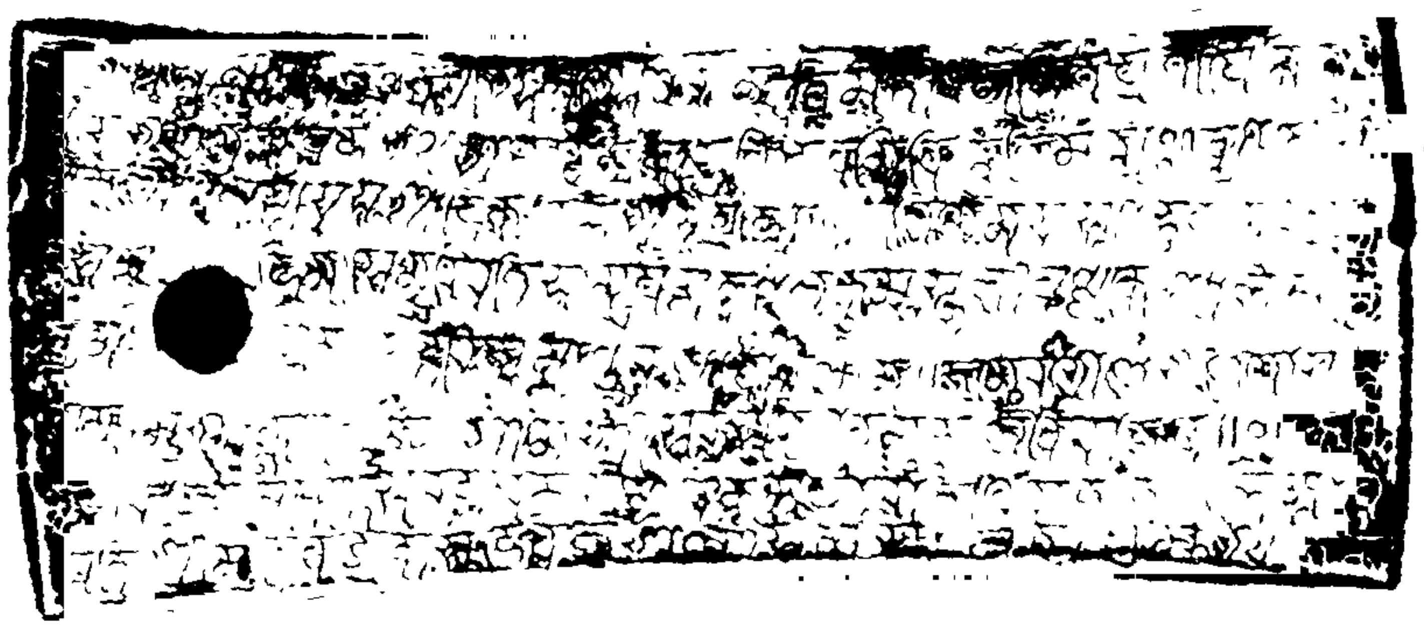


Scale: Three-fourths

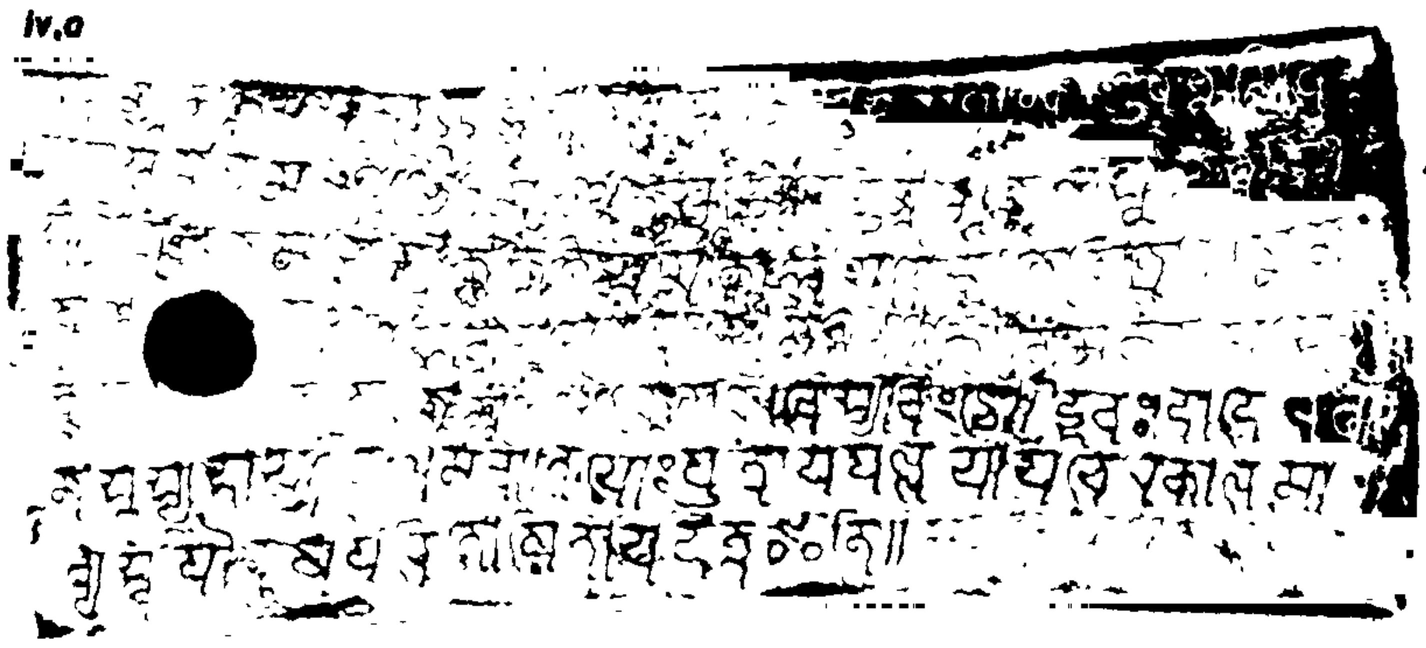
iii,a



iii,b



iv,a



15 jā(jō) [ha(va)][r*]sha-trayam=apālayata mahīṁ(hīm) || tad-anujaḥ **Kāmārṇavadēvaḥ** pañcha-

16 triṁśatam=avda(bda)kān || tasy=ānujō **Vinayāditya[ḥ*]** samās=tisra[ḥ*] || tataḥ Kā-

Second Plate, Second Side

17 mārṇavāj=jātō jagatī-Kalpabhūruhaḥ || yō=rājad=rājitaḥ(ta)-chchhāyō **Va-**

18 **jrahastō**=vanī[1]-patiḥ [|| 2*] praśchyōda(ta)n-mada-gandha-luvdha(bdha)-madhupa-vyālīḍha-gaṇḍā-

19 n=gajān=artthibhyas=samadāt=sahasram=atulō yas=tyāginām=agraṇī[ḥ |*] saḥ(sa) śrīmā-

20 n=**Aniyaṅkabhi(bhī)ma**-nṛipatir=Ggaṅg-ānvay-ōttaṁsakaḥ pañchatriṁśatam=a-

21 vda(bda)kān=samabhunakpri(k=pṛi)thvīṁ stutaḥ pārthivaiḥ || [3*] Tad-agra-sūnuḥ Surarāja-

22 sūnunā [samaḥ] samastāṁ sa(śa)ma(mi)t-āri-maṇḍalaḥ [|*] sma pāti **Kāmārṇava-**bhūpatir=bhuvaṁ sa-

23 mṛiddhima(mā)n=ardha-samāṁ samujva(jjva)laḥ || [4*] Tad-anu tad-anujanmā Chi-ttajanm-ōpama(mā)-

24 nō guṇa-nidhir=aṇa(na)vadyā(dyō) **Guṇḍam-ākhyō** mahīsa(śa)ḥ [|*] sakalam=idam=ara-

Third Plate, First Side

25 kshat=trīṇi varshāṇi dhātrī-valayam=alaghu-jē(tē)jō-nirjjit-ārāti-chakraḥ || [5*] **Tatō**

26 dvē(dvai)māturas=tata(sya) **Madhukā[mā*]rṇavō** nṛipaḥ [|*] ā(a)vati sm=**āvanīm=**ētām=avdā(bdā)mē(n=ē)-

27 kāṇṇa(n-na)-viṁśatiṁ(tim) ||0|| [6*] Atha Vajrahasta-nṛipatēr=agra-sutād=akhila-guṇi-**jan**-āgra-

28 [ga*]ṇya[ḥ |*] Kāmārṇavā[t*] kavē(vī)ndra-pragīyamān-āvadāta-śubha-kīrttiḥ || [7*] Śriya iva Vaidumva(mb-ā)-

29 nvaya-payaḥ-payōnidhi-samudbhavāyāś=cha [|*] yaḥ samajani Vinaya-mahādē-

30 vyāḥ śrī-**Vājrahasta** iti tanā(na)yaḥ || [8*] **Viyad-ṛitu-nidhi-saṁkhyāṁ** yāti **Śāk-āvda(bda)**-sa-

31 ṅghē dinakṛiti Vṛishabha-sthē tē[2] Rōhiṇī-bhē su-lagnē [|*] Dhanushi cha sita-pakshē **Sūryya-**

32 **vārē** tṛitīyaṁ(yā)-yuji sakala-dharitri(trī)ṁ rakshituṁ yō=bhishiktaḥ || [9*] Nyāyē(yyē)na

Third Plate, Second Side

33 **yatra** samam=ācharituṁ tri-vārgga(varggaṁ) ma(mā)rggēṇa rakshati mahīṁ **mahita-pratāpē** [|*] nirvvyā-

34 **dhayaś=cha**[3] nirāpadaś=cha śachachha-prajā[4] bhuvi bhavanti vibhu(bhū)timattyaḥ || [10*] Vyāptē Ga-

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[1] The Narasapatam plates read *mahī*°.

[2] This *akshara* is redundant.

[3] After this, read *niraghāś=cha* as in other inscriptions.

[4] Read *śaśvat=prajā*.

35 **ṅga-kul-ōttamasya** yasa(śa)śā(sā) dik-cha[kra*]va(vā)la(lē) śachi(śi)-pradyōta(t-ā)malinēna yasyā(sya) bhuvaniḥ(na)-prahlā

36 da-sampādinā [|*] se(sai)ndūrair=ati-sāndra-paṅka-paṭalē(laiḥ) kumbha-sthalī-paṭṭakēśā-(shv=ā)limpanti

37 punaḥ punaś=cha haritām=ādhu(dhō)raṇā vāraṇān || [11*] Ā(A)nura(rā)gēṇē(ṇa) guṇinō yasya

38 vakshō-mukh-āvja(bja)yōḥ [|*] āśī(sī)nē Śrī-Sarasvatyāv=anukūlē virājata[ḥ*] ||0|| [12*] Ka[si]-

39 nagarā[1] paramamāhēsva(śva)ra-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-Trikaliṅgādhi-

40 pati-śrīmadvaVajra[2]hastadēva[ḥ*] kuśalī samast-āmātya-pramukha-jana-

Fourth Plate, First Side

41 padān=sam[āhū]ya samājñāpayati viditam=astu bhavā(va)tāṁ **Kōluvarttani-vi-**

42 **shayē Santaram-ākhya-grāmaś**=chatuḥ-sīm-āvachchhinnas=sa-jala-sthala[ḥ*] [sa*]-[rvva]-pī

43 ḍā-vivarjjitam=ā-chandr-ārkka-ksha(kshi)ti-sama-kālaṁ yāvan=mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaḥ

44 puṇya-yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē **kara-vasu-nidhi-Śākāvdē(bdē) Makara-māsa-śu-**

45 **kla-paksha-paṁchamyāṁ Guru-vārē** || Vēsyā(Vaiśya)-vaṁś-ōdbhavaḥ |[3] **Dādōrēvā-**

46 nas=tasya bhāryyā Dalēmavā | tayōḥ putrāya Pallayāya chira-kālam=ārā-

47 dhya sva-paurusha-paritōshitāya datta iti ||[4]

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[1] The intended reading is *Kalinga-nagarāt.* The Narasapatam plates have *sa dēvaḥ* || before this.

[2] Read *śrīmad-Vajra°.*

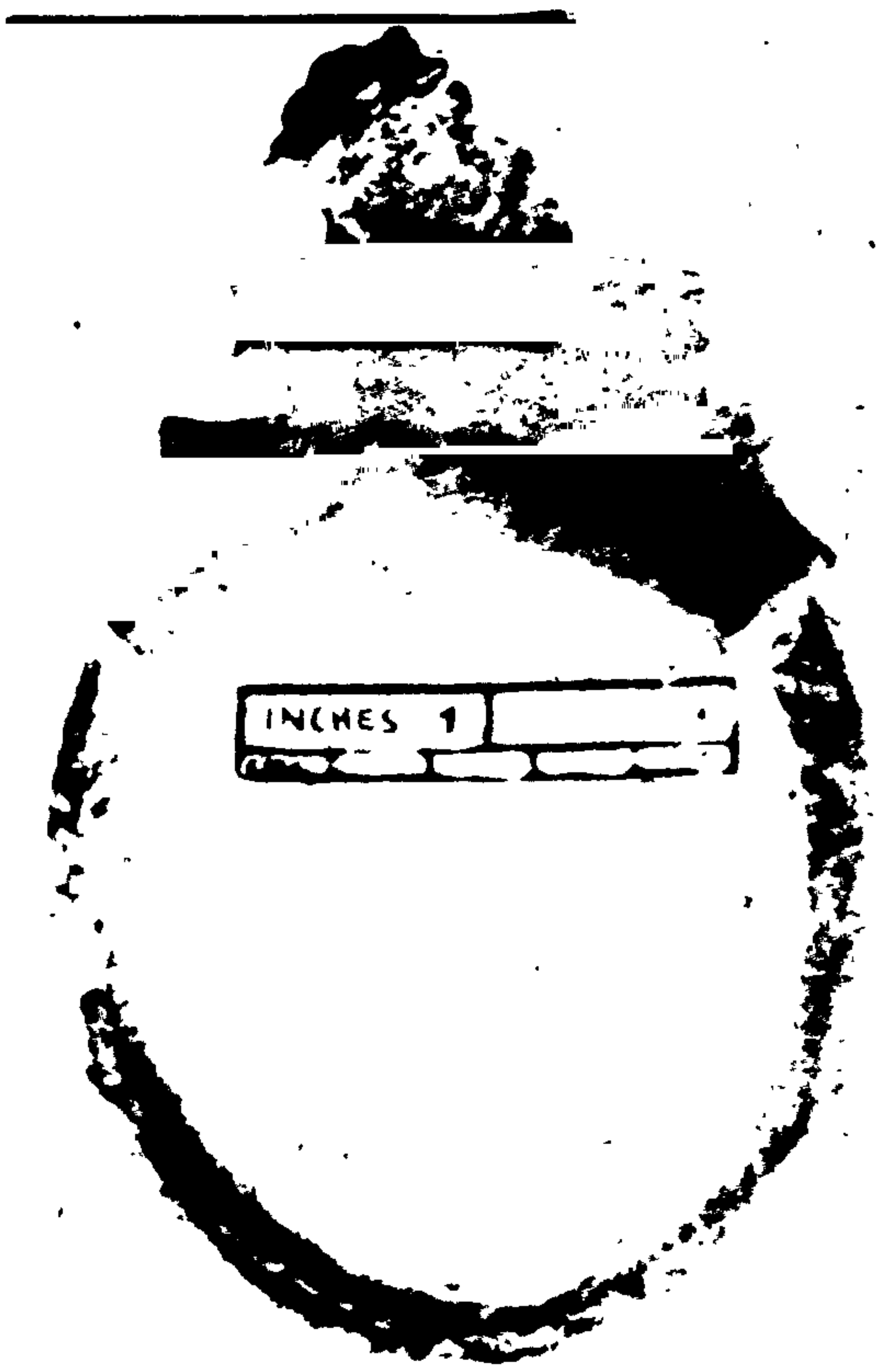
[3] The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[4] There are traces of eight letters after this. [The entire passage from *Vēsyā°* to *iti* was incised after having erased what had been previously engraved. The name of the donee's father in lines 45-46 is written as *Drādōrēva* || *na,* although the subscript *r* in the first *akshara* and the *ā-mātra* in the second appear to be traces of the original engraving. The actual name may have been Dādē-Rēvana. In *chērikāla* (for *chirakāla*) in line 46, the *i-mātrā* of *ri* similarly belongs to the original writing. Traces of the eight *aksharas* after the end of the re-engraved record in line 47 read *tābhyām Pōtaya-Kētayā°* which is followed on the reverse of the plate (in lines 48-49 of the original record, which were erased) by *°bhyām udaka-purvvāṁ(pūrvvaṁ) tāmra-śāsanaṁ kritvā pradattam=asmābhir=bhāvibhir=bhūmipālai.....*This shows that the grant of the village of Santaram (possibly not *Santarama*) had originally been made in favour of Kētaya and Pōtaya but that later it was transferred to Pallaya and the sentence mentioning him as the donee was reengraved after having erased the original writing. The word *tābhyāṁ* at the beginning of this sentence shows that the previous sentence, on which *Vēsyā.....iti* was later incised, contained a description of Pōtaya and Kētaya, the original donees of the charter. Pallaya pleased the king by his valour (*paurusha*) and the latter gave him the village after having honoured him for a considerable time (*chirakālam=ārāddhya*). For *sva-paurusha-paritōshitāya* read *°paritōshakāya* or *°paritōshayitrē*, Cf. above, vol. XXIII, p. 73, text, line 53.—Ed.]



Scale: Three-fourths

SEAL





From Photographs

No. 41—BHARAT KALA BHAVAN PLATE OF HARIRAJA, V. S. 1040

(*1 Plate*)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

About the middle of 1955, I received from Rai Krishnadasji, Founder and Honorary Curator of the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan now attached to the Hindu University, Banaras, a pencil-rubbing of this inscription for examination. As the inscription was found to be interesting, I requested Rai Krishnadasji to secure the plate for the Kalā Bhavan and let me have an opportunity to examine and publish the inscription. Accordingly I received the plate for examination about the end of 1956. My sincere thanks are due to Rai Krishnadasji for the kindness shown to me. The find-spot of the plate and the story of its discovery are unknown. But it is stated that the plates were purchased from a resident of Tikamgarh in the former Orchha State, now in Madhya Pradesh.

This is a **single** copper plate measuring 13·8″ in length and 6·6″ in height. The plate is thin (about ·05″ in thickness) without either any seal affixed to it or any emblem incised on it.[1] There is, however, a small hole (about ·15″ in diameter) at the centre of the top margin, apparently meant for hanging the plate from some suspender. There are altogether thirteen lines of writing on the obverse of the plate, the reverse being blank. The inscription is in a good state of preservation. The weight of the plate is 59 *tolas*.

The **characters** are early Nāgarī of the tenth century A. D. and closely resemble some of the contemporary inscriptions of the region such as those of the early Chandēllas.[2] As regards the **palaeography** of the record, it may be pointed out that some of the letters and signs of the original draft were misunderstood by the engraver. The letter *ṇ* has been endowed with a top *mātrā*. In a few cases, the letters *m* and *s* have the same form (cf. *samast-ā*° in line 4 and *rāhugrasē...mātā* in line 6) although the usual forms of these *aksharas* have been employed elsewhere. The letter *r* has two different forms, one of them being undistinguishable from *ch* (cf. *nikara-ruchira-chamara* in line 3 and *samara......tara-taraṇir=iva* in line 4). The *ch*-like form of *r* has, however, been used only in a few cases. The *akshara v* looks like *ch* in some cases (cf. *iva* in line 5). The form of *ksh* in *dakshiṇa*° in line 9 is interesting. The *daṇḍa* has often been put so close to the *aksharas* that it looks like the *ā-mātrā* of the preceding or the *ē-mātrā* of the following consonant. It may be observed that medial *ē* of both the *śirō-mātrā* and *prishṭha-mātrā* types has been used in the inscription.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit and it is written in an admixture of prose and verse. Interesting from the **orthographical** point of view is the representation of the class nasal by the *anusvāra* generally. Final *m* has often been changed to *anusvāra* wrongly. The influence of local pronunciation is noticed in the use of *s* for *ś* in many cases and of *j* for *y* in *jō* in line 12. There is one case, where *ś* has been used for *s* (cf. *śrōtaḥ* in line 10). The inscription is **dated in V.S. 1040.** There are no details regarding the day when the grant was issued excepting the fact that it was made on the occasion of a solar eclipse. There was a solar eclipse in V.S. 1040 if the year is regarded as expired and Kārttikādi. This eclipse occurred on the 30th July 984 A.D.

[1] It may be noticed that some contemporary records like the Nanyaura plate (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp 201-04 and Plate) of Chandēlla Dhaṅga, dated V.S. 1055 (998 A.D.) were similarly issued without any seal or representation of any royal emblem. The copper-plate grants of the Later Chandēllas generally bear the representation of Lakshmi or Gajalakshmī which was the emblem of the family but no seal of the usual type.

[2] Cf. the Nanyaura plate referred to above.

The inscription begins with the *Siddham* symbol followed by two stanzas in the *Upajāti* metre. Verse 1 speaks of the *bhūpādhipa* (king of kings) **Nīlakaṇṭha** who belonged to the Pratihāra dynasty. Verse 2 mentions the *adhirāja* **Harirājadēva** who was the son of Nīlakaṇṭha and defeated many enemies. These two stanzas are followed in lines 2-5 by a passage in prose, which describes Harirāja's achievements in vague terms. Then comes the date referred to above and this is followed by the grant portion of the document (lines 6 ff.). It is stated that *Mahārājādhirāja* Harirāja, while he was staying at **Sīyaḍōṇī**, took his bath in the waters of the **Vētravatī** on the occasion of a solar eclipse and granted two *hala* measures of land in the village of **Tauḍā-grāma** (or Katauḍā-grāma) attached to **Lalitapuravāla** together with a site for no less than ten houses in the village of **Tithāsēvani-grāma**. The grant was made in favour of the Brāhmaṇa Dēda who belonged to the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, the three *pravaras* and the Vājasanēya *śākhā*. The donee was the son of Śānti and grandson of Dharma. In lines 12-13, there are some of the ordinary imprecatory and benedictory stanzas. The document ends with the representation of king Harirāja's signature (*śrī-Harirāja-dēvasya*). This type of authentication of a document is often found in its copy engraved on the copper plates. But in the present case the above passage is preceded by the passage *kakārēṇa saha*, the meaning of which is not clear. We know that the *akshara śrī* or the expression *sahī* is found in many records in the place of the kings' full signature. Similarly some documents show the representation of a spear-head instead of the royal sign-manual. Can it be suggested that Harirāja's practice was to write the *akshara ka* instead of his full name ? The passage, however, suggests that the letter *ka* was written by Harirāja in addition to his name.

The Pratihāra king Nīlakaṇṭha and his son Harirāja are both already known from an inscription from Chanderi in the Guna District (in the former Gwalior State) of Madhya Bhārat. This epigraph has not yet been published ; but it has been noticed in Bhandarkar's List, No. 2107, and has been assigned on palaeographical grounds to the eleventh or twelfth century A.D. The inscription belongs to the reign of Pratihāra Jaitravarman and mentions Nīlakaṇṭha who was followed in succession by Harirāja, Bhīmadeva, Raṇapāla, Vatsarāja, Svarṇapāla, Kīrttipāla, Abhayapāla, Gōvindarāja, Rājarāja, Vīrarāja and Jaitravarman.

The record under study shows that Harirāja was ruling independently over the area around Sīyaḍoṇī, modern Siron Khurd about ten miles to the north-north-west of Lalitpur the headquarters of the Sub-division of that name in the Jhansi District of U.P., while the Chanderi area, which is in the same neighbourhood and where his descendant Jaitravarman is known to have ruled, may also have formed a part of his dominions. An inscription[1] from Siron Khurd itself shows how that area formed an integral part of the dominions of the Gurjara-Pratihāra emperors of Kanauj at least down to V.S. 1005 (948 A.D.). In a Khajuraho inscription[2] of V.S. 1011 (954 A.D.), Chandēlla Dhaṅga, who ruled over the territory to the east of the kingdom of the contemporary Pratihāra ruler Harirāja, acknowledges the Gurjara-Pratihāra emperor Vināyakapāla as his overlord. Some records of Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III, such as the Karhad plates[3] of Śaka 880 (959 A.D.), refer to the hold of the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj on the forts of Chitrakūṭa (Chitor in Rājasthān) and Kālañjara (in the Banda District of U.P.) which soon came to be a stronghold of the Chandēllas. But the hold of the Gurjara-Pratihāra emperors over these southern areas of their empire gradually declined under Rāshṭrakūṭa pressure. Although the Rāshṭrakūṭas themselves disappeared from this scene with the death of Kṛishṇa III about 967 A.D., the Gurjara-Pratihāras appear to have failed to re-establish their hold in the Gwalior-Bundelkhand region. The Mau stone inscription[4] of Madanavarman shows that, before his death about 1002 A.D., Chandēlla Dhaṅga

[1] Above, Vol. I, pp.162 ff.
[2] Ibid., pp. 127 ff.
[3] Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 284 (verse 30).
[4] Ibid., Vol. I, p. 197 (verse 3).

'obtained exalted sovereignty (i.e. became an independent monarch) after having defeated on the battle-field the king of Kānyakubja (i.e. the Gurjara-Pratihāra emperor)'. The Pratihāras of the Jhansi-Guna region must have been originally, like the Chandēllas, feudatories of the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj and they may have actually represented a branch of the imperial family. Pratihāra Nīlakaṇṭha, who may have been originally a viceroy of the Jhansi-Guna area under the emperor of Kanauj, seems to have assumed independence, like his Chandēlla contemporary Dhaṅga, in the second half of the tenth century when the Gurjara-Pratihāra power was declining.

In Dhaṅga's Khajuraho inscription,[1] his father Yaśōvarman is described as 'a scorching fever to the Gurjaras '. These Gurjaras have been usually indentified with the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Kanauj,[2] since in another verse[3] of the record Yaśōvarman is stated to have easily conquered the Kalañjar-ādri (i.e. the hill-fortress of Kālañjara) which is known to have been fromerly an integral part of the dominions of the Gurjara-Pratihāras.[4] This suggestion, however, seems to be unwarranted in view of Dhaṅga's acknowledgment of the suzerainty of the Gurjara-Pratihāra emperor Vināyakapāla in the same record. The suggestion that Yaśōvarman captured Kālañjara from the Rāshṭrakūṭas[5] is equally unlikely as in that case the name of the Rāshṭrakūṭas should have been included in the long list of Yaśōvarman's adversaries as given in verse 23 of the record. This list (which is apparently exaggerated but no doubt points at least to some genuine successes of the Chandēlla monarch) includes the Gauḍas, Khaśas, Kōśalas, Kaśmīras, Mithilas, Mālavas, Chēdis, Kurus and Gūrjaras, and Kālañjara seems really to have been conquered by him from one of these powers. The inscription under study shows that the Pratihāra house represented by Nīlakaṇṭha and Harirāja ruled in the immediate neighbourhood of the territory of the Chandēllas in the Khajuraho-Mahoba region. It is therefore possible that the Gurjara adversaries of Yaśōvarman were no other than these Pratihāras. It is also not unlikely that Kālañjara may have been conquered from this branch of the Gurjara-Pratihāras. Soon afterwards, however, these Pratihāras appear to have become feudatories or subordinate allies of the Chandēllas. According to the Khajuraho inscription of 954 A.D., Dhaṅga's dominions extended in the west upto Gōpagiri (Gwalior) and Bhāsvat on the Mālavanadī (possibly Bhilsa on the Betwa).[6] This claim may be somewhat exaggerated ; but during the rule of Dhaṅga's grandson Vidyādhara, the Kachchhapaghātas of Dubkund in the Sheopur District of the former Gwalior State are known to have acknowledged the suzerainty of the Chandēllas,[7] although that area originally formed a part of the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire.[8] The Muslim historians seem to include the fort of Gwalior in the dominions of the same Chandēlla ruler who was the contemporary of Sulṭān Mahmūd of Ghaznā.[9] Epigraphic records of the Later Chandēllas, such as the Deogarh rock inscription[10] (V.S. 1154=1098 A.D.) of Kīrtivarman, the Augasi plate[11] (V.S. 1190=1134 A.D.) and Mau inscription[12] of Madanavarman and the Semra plates[13] (V.S. 1223=1167 A.D.) of Paramardin show that at least the valley of the Betwa formed an integral part of their kingdom.

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[1] Op. cit., p. 126 (verse 23).
[2] Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 676.
[3] Above, Vol. I, p. 128 (verse 31).
[4] The Barah plate of Gurjara-Pratihāra Bhōja I records the revival of a grant of an *agrahāra* in the Udumbara *vishaya* of the Kālañjara *maṇḍala* in the Kānyakubja *bhukti* (above, Vol. XIX, p. 15).
[5] Ray, op. cit., p. 674.
[6] Above, Vol. I, p. 129, verse 45.
[7] Ray, op. cit., pp. 822 ff., 829 ff.
[8] Cf. above, Vol. I, pp. 154 ff. ; Bhandarkar's List, No. 2110.
[9] Ray, op. cit. p. 692.
[10] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 237-29 ; Ray, op. cit., p. 700.
[11] Ibid., Vol. XVI, pp. 202, 207-10. The grant was issued when the king was staying at Bhailasvāmin (Bhilsa).
[12] Above, Vol. I, pp. 195-207.
[13] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 205-08.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, the location of **Siyaḍōṇi has already** been discussed. Whether Harirāja had his headquarters at this place or was merely camping there temporarily cannot be determined. The river Vētravatī is the modern Betwa. Taking a bath and making grants on the occasion of an eclipse are highly meritorious according to Hindu scriptures.[1] The gift land was situated in Tauḍā-grāma (or, Katauḍā-grāma) and Tithāsēvanī-grāma, the first of which is clearly stated to have been attached to Lalitapuravāla. Lalitapura is no doubt modern Lalitpur in the Jhansi District, U.P. But whether *vāla* is the designation of an administrative unit like *vishaya* or the name of another locality like Lalitapura (the two forming a composite geographical name) is difficult to determine. I am not sure about the location of the villages.

TEXT[2]

1 Siddham[3] [||*] Visva(śva)-pratītā Pratihāra-vaṁsē(śē) va(ba)bhūva bhūp-ādhipa-**Nīlakaṁṭhaḥ** ||(|) bhrāmyaṁ(mya)nn=aviśrātna[4]m=anō(nau)pamēyaṁ su(śu)bhraṁ yasō(śō) yasya jagat=samagraṁ(gram) || [1*] Tēn=ā-

2 jani prāp[t]a-jan ānurāgaḥ sutō=dhirājō **Harirājadēvaḥ** | mah-āhavē yēna nitāṁtam=āptā vijitya sainyaṁ dvishatāṁ jaya-śrīḥ || [2*] Kalyāṇa-ka-

3 naka-kātti(nti)-kamanīya-kāminī-kara-kamala-kalita-śaśadhara-kara-nikara-ruchira-chamara-marud-vījyamān-āṁgaḥ |[5] nisi(śi)t-āsi-dhā[vā(r-ō)]tpāta-pra-

4 hata-ripu-jana-vi[lā]sinī-nayana-galat-sakajjala-jala-syā(śyā)mītya(kṛi)ta-samara-bhūmiḥ | tī[vra]tara-taraṇir=iva pratāpa-tāpiva(ta)-samast-ā-

5 rāti-varggaḥ | Madana iva taruṇī-jana-nayan-ānaṁda-jananaḥ | sasa[6]-prabh-āvahasita-sakala-kal-āvikala-kaushu(mu)dī-karaḥ || Saṁ-

6 **vatu(vat) 1040** a[dy]=ēha[7] **Sīyaḍōṇyāṁ** mahārājādhirāja-srī(śrī)-**Harirājadēvēna Vētravatyāṁ** snātvā[8] rāhu-grasē(stē) divākarē māttā(tā)[9]-pi-

7 trōr=ātmanaś=cha putya-sasō[10]-bhivṛiddhayē | Bhāradvāja-gōtrāya | Vājisanēya-sākhīṇē[11] | tṛi(tri)-pravarāya | Dharmma-pautrāshā(ya) Sā(Śā)nti-pu-

8 trāya | Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-Dēdāya | **Lalitapuravāla**-saṁvaṁ(ba)dhyamānaka-**Tauḍā-grāmē**[12] hala-dvaya-prakalpitā bhūmiḥ pradattā **Tithāsēva-**

9 **nī-grāmē** gṛiha-dasā(śā)nāṁ sthānaṁ[13] | āghāṭāḥ | pūrvva-dig-bhāgē ārōpita-pāshāṇaṁ-(ṇaḥ) || dakshiṇasyāṁ tadāgaṁ[14] | paśchima-disā(śā)-

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[1] See above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 64.

[2] From the original plate and impressions.

[3] Expressed by symbol.

[4] Read °*śrānta*°. Originally *nna* had been engraved and the superscript *n* (instead of the subscript *n*) was later modified so as to make it look like *t*.

[5] This *daṇḍa* and some others below are superfluous.

[6] Read *śaśa*.

[7] Originally *ayēha* had been engraved and *yē* was later somehow transformed into *dyē*.

[8] The subscript *n* here looks more like the sign of medial *ā*.

[9] The subscript *t* here looks more like the sign of medial *ā*.

[10] Read *puṇya-yaśō*°.

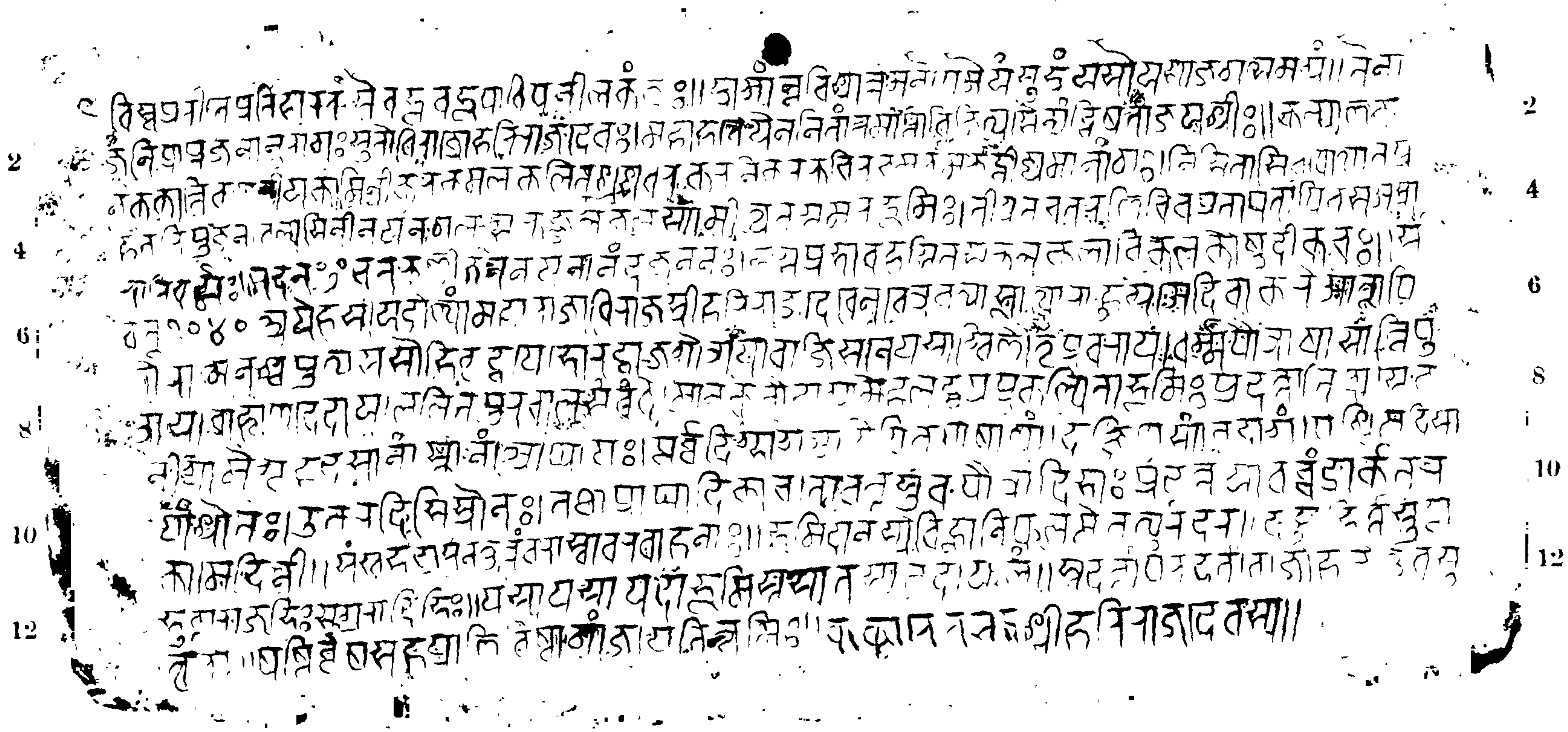
[11] Read *Vājasanēya-śākhinē*.

[12] Or, °*māna-Katauḍā-grāmē*.

[13] Read *sthānam*. The idea is *sthānaṁ cha pradattam*.

[14] Read *taḍāgam*.

BHARAT KALA BHAVAN PLATE OF HARIRAJA, V. S. 1040



Scale: Two-thirds

10 **yāṁ** śrō(srō)**taḥ** | uta(tta)ra-disi(śi) srōna(ta)ḥ | tathā prāghādikā[1] cha | tāvata(vat) suva(ta)-pautr-ādibhyaḥ[2] pradattaṁ[3] yāvach=chaṁdr-ārka-ta(tā)re-

11 **kā-mēdinī**[4] || Saṁ(Śaṁ)kha[ṁ*] bhadr-āsana[ṁ*] tu(chha)traṁ var-āsvā(śvā) vara-vāhanaḥ ||(|) bhūmi-dānasya chihnāni phalam=ētat=Puraṁdara || [3*] Da(Ba)hubhir=vvasuddhā-(dhā)

12 **bhuktā** rājabhiḥ Saga[5]r-ādibhiḥ ||(|) yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ-(lam) || [4*] Sva-dattā[ṁ] para-datāṁ(ttāṁ) vā jō(yō) harētu(ta) vasu-

13 **tdha**(ndha)rā[m*] ||(|) shashṭir=v[v]a[r*]sha-sahaprā(srā)ṇi vishṭhagāṁ(yāṁ) jāyati(tē) **kṛimiḥ** || [5*] **kakārēna**[6] sa[ha] śrī-Harirājadēvasya[7]||

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[1] The intended reading seems to be *prāghāṭikā* which may indicate a boundary mark such as a pillar.

[2] The idea is *suta-pautr-ādi-kramēṇa upabhōgāya.*

[3] This refers to *idaṁ śāsanam.*

[4] Read °*mēdinyaḥ tishṭhanti.*

[5] These two *aksharas* look like *sugra* in the original.

[6] Read *kakārēṇa*. Originally *chhā* was engraved for *kā*. The real meaning of the expression is doubtful.

[7] This is the representation of the king's signature on the original document copied on the plate.

No. 42—KAUVATAL PLATES OF SUDEVA, YEAR 7[1]

A. N. LAHIRI, OOTACAMUND

These copper plates[2] were received from Pandit Lochan Prasad Pandeya, Secretary, **Mahakosal** Historical Society, Raigarh, who seems to have secured them from a gentleman residing **at Kauvatal** in the old Sarangarh State.

The set consists of **three** rectangular plates, each measuring about 7·4″ × 4·2″. They are strung together on a circular copper ring, the thickness and diameter of which are ·6″ and 3·375″ respectively. The ring passes through a square hole bored in the middle of the left margin at a distance of about 1·5″ from the left edge. The square hole measures ·5″ on one of its sides. The inner side of the first plate and both sides of the remaining two plates contain writing. There are altogether 25 lines. Each of the first four inscribed faces of the plates has six lines of writing, while the fifth has only one line. The **seal** soldered to the ring is 3″ in diameter. It has a circular border and is divided in almost equal halves by two straight lines. In the upper half Lakshmī stands facing front on a lotus with her right hand bent upwards and the left hand hanging downwards ; on her two sides are two elephants pouring water over her ; and in the left and right fields are a *chakra* and a *śaṅkha* respectively. In the lower half is the legend in two lines, below which there is the representation of what looks like a *pūrṇa-kumbha*. The three plates weigh 75 *tolas*, while the seal together with its ring weighs 25 *tolas*.

The **characters** are of the box-headed variety of what Fleet calls the 'Central India Alphabet'.[3] The average size of the letters is about ·3″. Medial *ī* is denoted by a dot in the middle of the base of the circle denoting *i* as in the Thakurdiya plates[4] of Mahā-Pravararāja. The final form of *t* occurs in lines 18 and 20 and the *jihvāmūlīya* in line 18. The numerical signs for 7 and 10 occur in line 24. Of **orthographical** interest is the spelling of words like *sāmaṁnta* for *sāmanta*, *tridaśa* for *tridaśa*, *tāmbra* for *tāmra*, *siṅgha* for *siṁha*, etc. Consonants are generally doubled in conjunction with *r*, although there are a few exceptions.

This is one of the six[5] known records of Mahā-Sudēvarāja (i.e. Sudēva-mahārāja) of the Śarabhapura family and bears the date : **year 7, Mārgaśīrsha-di 10.** The charter was issued from **Śrīpura.** The **object** of the record is to grant the village of **Sunikā** situated in **Hakirī-bhōga** to *Bhaṭṭa* Purandarasvāmin of the Pārāśara *gōtra* and Vājasanēya *śākhā*. The wordings of the grant are almost identical with those of the other records of Sudēva. The name of the gift village and that of the division in which it was situated are written on an erasure in line 4 while the name of the donee's *gōtra* in line 9 and the latter part of his own name in line 10 are similarly written on erasures. This may be due to the scribe who had at first committed an error but later noticed and corrected it.

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[1] [The inscribed faces of the plates and the seal attached to the record have been illustrated in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1945-46, Plate facing p. 12.—Ed.]

[2] The inscription was first noticed by Pandit Pandeya in *IHQ*, 1945, pp. 294-95, and discussed by Dr. D. C. Sircar in the same journal, 1946, pp. 62-63. They were also noticed in *Ancient India*, No. 5, p.49, and in *A.R.Ep.*, 1945-46, p. 12, No. 53 of App. A, and Plate.

[3] *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 18-19.

[4] Above, Vol. XXII, Plates between pp. 22 and 23.

[5] The five published records are : (1) Khariar plates, year 2 (above, Vol. IX, pp. 170 ff.) ; (2) Sarangarh plates (ibid., pp. 281 ff.), (3) Arang plates, year 7 (ibid., Vol. XXIII, pp. 22 ff.), (4) Sirpur plates, year 7 (ibid., Vol. XXXI, pp. 103 ff.); and (5) Raipur plates, year 10 (*CII*, Vol. III, pp. 197 ff.).

Unlike Sudēva's other records, issued from Śarabhapura, the present grant was issued from **Śrīpura.** Śrīpura seems to have been the new capital of Sudēva. King Sudēva, the donor, is mentioned as the son of **Mahā-Durgarāja** (i.e. Durga-mahārāja). Mānamātra was so far known to be the father's name of both Sudēva and Pravara of the Thakurdiya plates. Mānamātra was therefore another name of Mahā-Durgarāja. The *dūtaka* was *Mahāsāmanta* Indrabalarāja who was the *sarvādhikārādhikṛita* (Chief Minister) of Sudēva. This Indrabalarāja has been identified by some scholars with the Pāṇḍuvaṁśī king of that name.[1] It is interesting to note that the powers of the Śarabhapurīya kings were soon afterwards usurped by the Pāṇḍuvaṁśīs. For it was from Śrīpura that Mahāśiva Tīvara, grandson of Indrabala, issued his charters. The engraver of the record was Gōlasiṁha, already known from the Thakurdiya plates,[2] also issued from Śrīpura.

Of the **geographical** names occurring in this inscription Śrīpura is modern Sirpur in the Raipur District of the Madhya Pradesh. The location of Sunikā and Hakirī-bhōga is unknown.

TEXT[3]

Seal

Kram-ādhigata-rājyasya vikram-ōtkhāta-vidvisha[ḥ] [|*]
śrīmat-**Sudēvarājasya** sthiraṁ jagati śāsanaṁ(nam ||)

First Plate

1 Ōṁ[4] svasti [|*] **Śrīpurād**=vikram-ōpaṁ(pa)nata-sāmaṁ(ma)nta-makuṭa-chūḍā-maṇi-prabhā-prasēk-[ā]-

2 mbu-dhauta-pāda-yugalō ripu-vilāsinī-sīmaṁ(ma)nt-ōddharaṇa-hētur=vvasu-vasudhā-

3 gō-pradaḥ paramabhāgavatō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānuddhyātaḥ śrī-**Mahā-Durggarāja**-putra-

4 śrī-**Mahā-Su[dē]varājaḥ Hakirī-bhōgīya-Sunikāyāṁ**[5] prativāsi-

5 nas=samājñāpayati | Viditam=astu vō yath=āsmābhir=ayaṁ grāmaḥ Tṛi(Tri)daśa-

6 pati-sadana-[su]kha-pratishṭhākarō yāvad=[r]avi-śaśi-tārā-kiraṇa-pratihata-

Second Plate, First Side

7 ghōr-āndhakāraṁ jagad=avatishṭhatē tāvad=upabhōgyaḥ sa-nidhiḥ(dhi)s=s-ōpanidhi-

8 r=a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-pravēśyaḥ sarvva-kara-visarjja(rjji)taḥ mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha

9 puṇy-ābhivṛiddhayē Pārāsa(śa)ra-gōtrāya[6] Vājasanēyinē Bhaṭṭa-Pura[ṁ*]-

10 darasvāminē[7] tāmb[r]a(mra)-śāsanēn=ātisri(sṛi)shṭaḥ [|*] tē yūyam=ēvam=upa-

11 labhyā(bhya) ājñā-śravaṇa-vidhēyā bhūtvā yath-ōchitaṁ bhōga-bhāgam=upanaya-

12 ntaḥ sukha[ṁ*] prativatsyatha [|*] bhavi[shya]taś=cha bhūmipālān=anudarśayati [|*]

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[1] *IHQ*, 1945, p. 275; 1946, p. 63.

[2] Above, Vol. XXII, No. 6.

[3] From impressions.

[4] Expressed by symbol.

[5] The passage *Hakirī-bhōgīya-Sunikāyāṁ* is engraved on an erasure.

[6] The *anusvāra* above *ya* seems to have been cancelled. The letters *Pārāsara* are written on an erasure.

[7] The letters *dara* are incised on an erasure.

Second Plate, Second Side

13 Dānād=viśishṭam=anupālanajaṁ purāṇā dharmmēshu niśchita-dhiya[ḥ*]

14 pravadanti dharmma[ṁ](rmmam|) tasmā[d*]=dvijāya suvishu(śu)ddha-kula-śrutāya dattā-[ṁ*]

15 bhuvaṁ bhavatu vō matir=ēva gōptuṁ(ptum ||) Tad=bhavadbhir=apy=ēśā(shā) dattir=anupā-layi-

16 tavyā [|*] Vyāsa-gītāṁś=ch=āstra(tra) ślōkān=udāharanti [||*] Agnēr=apatyaṁ

17 prathamaṁ suvarṇṇaṁ bhūr=vvaishṇavī sūryya-sutāś=cha gāvaḥ [|*] dattās=trayas=tē-

18 na bhavaṁ(va)nti lōkā yaḥ=kāñchanā(naṁ) gāñ=cha mahī[ñ=cha] dadyāt [||*] Shashṭhī-(shṭi)-varsha-

Third Plate, First Side

19 sahasrāṇi svarggē m[ō]dati bhūmidaḥ [|*] āchchhēttā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva

20 narakē vasēt [||*] Bahu[bh]ir=vvasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhi[ḥ |*] yasya ya-

21 sya yadā bhumis=tasya ta[s]ya tadā phalaṁ(lam||) Svadattā[ṁ*] paradattā[ṁ*] vā yatnā-

22 d=raksha Yudhishṭhira [|*] mahī[ṁ*] mahimatāṁ śrēshṭha dānāch=chhrēy=ōnupālana-

23 m=iti(m|| iti) | sarvvādhikārādhikṛita-śrī-mahāsāmaṁ(ma)nta Indrabalarāja-|[1]

24 ś=ch=ātra dūtakaḥ [|*] pravarddhamāna-vijaya-savvansara[2] 7 Mārg[g]aśīrsha-di 10 [||*]

Third Plate, Second Side

25 U[t*]kīrṇṇaṁ Gōlasiṅghē(siṁhē)na[|]

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[1] The punctuation mark is superfluous.

[2] Read *saṁvatsarē*.

No. 43—KALAHANDI PLATES OF ANANTAVARMAN VAJRAHASTA, GANGA YEAR 383

(*1 Plate*)

P. BANERJEE, NEW DELHI

This set of **three** copper plates belongs to the Maharaja of **Kalahandi** in Orissa. The plates were published by Mr. Satyanarayana Rajaguru in the *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 10-27. According to Mr. Rajaguru, they were originally found in a village called **Chīpurupalli** about sixteen miles to the east of Parlakimedi in the Ganjam District, Orissa. The plates were received for examination by the Government Epigraphist for India from the Maharaja of Kalahandi in 1952-53. I edit them from a nice set of inked impressions kindly supplied to me by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The plates measure $7\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{5}{8}''$ each. They were strung originally on a ring with a seal; but the ring had already been cut open before the inscription reached the Government Epigraphist for India. The **seal** attached thereto is very much obliterated. Of the three plates, the first and third are written on their inner side only, while the second contains writing on both the sides. There are altogether 24 lines of writing in the inscription. The last line contains only three *aksharas*.

The **characters** belong to the Kaliṅga alphabet of about the 9th century A.D. and resemble those of the Alamanda plates[1] of Anantavarman (Gaṅga year 304), Indian Museum[2] plates of Dēvēndravarman (Gaṅga year 308), Chicacole[3] plates of Satyavarman (Gaṅga year 351), Tekkali plates[4] of Anantavarman (Gaṅga year 358), etc. Some of the letters show varying forms; cf. *k* in °*kāriṇaḥ* in line 1, *sakala*° in line 3, and *kamala*° in line 4; *m* in *Amara*° in line 1, *Mahēndrā*° in line 2, *Bhūpēndravarmma*° and *Anantavarmma*° in line 11, *vālmika*° in line 17, and *Mahāvagrāma* in line 23; *r* in *gurō* in line 3, *vara* and *charaṇa* in line 7 and *taruḥ* in line 16, etc. The script is a curious admixture of northern and southern forms. The letters *b* and *v* are denoted throughout by the same sign. The **language** of the inscription is corrupt Sanskrit. The whole of it has been composed in prose. As regards **orthography**, the *anusvāra* and *visarga* have very frequently been omitted. There are mistakes such as the use of *i* in the place of *ī*, of *ṛi* in the place of *ri*, of *ś* in the place of *sh*, etc.

The **object** of the inscription is to record a grant of some land to a Brāhmaṇa called Nārāyaṇa Jaḍyālākshētra, son of Nārāyaṇa probably belonging to the village of Mahāvagrāma.[5] The donor was **Anantavarman Vajrahasta**, son of Bhūpēndravarman of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty. The charter is **dated in the year 383** of the augmenting and victorious reign of the Gaṅga dynasty. There is a good deal of controversy regarding the initial year of the Gaṅga era. But several scholars now hold that the Gaṅga era started sometime between 494 and 498 A.D. If this view is accepted, the date of the present inscription would fall in the period 877-81 A.D.

No other inscription of Anantavarman Vajrahasta, the donor of the present grant, has come to light as yet, nor is his name mentioned in any other grants known so far. Regarding his

[1] Above, Vol. III, pp. 17 ff.

[2] Ibid., Vol. XXIII, pp. 73 ff.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 10 ff.

[4] Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 174 ff.

[5] [See below, p. 322, note 2.—Ed.]

ancestry nothing more is known from the present record beyond that he was a son of Bhūpēndravarman. Fortunately, however, the name of Bhūpēndravarman is found in a few other inscriptions, e.g., the Chidivalasa plates[1] and Nāpitavāṭaka grant.[2] The first of these records is dated in the Gaṅga year 397 and the second, though undated, has been assigned to the same age.[3] These two grants were issued by Dēvēndravarman, son of Bhūpēndravarman who is apparently identical with his namesake of the present record. The identification is supported by the dates of the records as well as the close similarity in the phraseology of their introductory portions. Thus Bhūpēndravarman appears to have had two sons, viz. Anantavarman Vajrahasta and Dēvēndravarman. The latter, as the date of the Chidivalasa plates would show, was the younger brother and successor of Anantavarman Vajrahasta of the present charter.

From the Chidivalasa plates we learn that Bhūpēndravarman was called also Mārasiṁha and his father's name was Vajrin. In the opinion of Mr. Somasekhara Sarma, Bhūpēndravarman was identical with Rājēndravarman of the Mandasa plates[4] of the Gaṅga year 342 as the names *Rājēndra* and *Bhūpēndra* are synonymous. Mr. Sarma identifies Vajrin with Vajrahasta of the Parlakimedi plates.[5] He further observes that this Vajrahasta was none other than Anantavarman of the Alamanda plates of the Gaṅga year 304 as the style and phraseology of these inscriptions would tend to show.[6] Mr. Sarma proposes the following genealogy:

Rājēn avarman

- Anantavarman (Alamanda plates, Gaṅga year 304) *alias* Vajrahasta or Vajrin
  - Rājēndravarman[9] (Gaṅga year 314; Mandasa plates, Gaṅga year 342) *alias* Bhūpēndravarman
- Dēvēndravarman (Indian Museum plates,[7] Gaṅga year 308; Tekkali[8] plates, Gaṅga year 310)
  - Satyavarman (Chicacole plates,[10] Gaṅga year 351)

Children of Rājēndravarman alias Bhūpēndravarman:

- Anantavarman Vajrahasta (the present record of Gaṅga year 383)
- Dēvēndravarman (Chidivalasa plates, Gaṅga year 397; Nāpitavāṭaka grant); may be the same as his namesake of the Nirakarpur plates discussed below

Child of Dēvēndravarman (Chidivalasa plates) and Satyavarman:

- Anantavarman (Tekkali plates,[11] Gaṅga year 358).

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[1] *JAHRS*, Vol. II, pp. 149 ff.; *JAS*, Letters, Calcutta, Vol. XVIII, No. 2, pp. 77 ff.

[2] *Bhārati*, Vol. XIV, part ii, pp. 67-74.

[3] Loc. cit.

[4] *A.R.Ep.*, 1918, p. 137 ff.

[5] Above, Vol. III, pp. 221 ff.; *JAHRS*, Vol. XIII, pp. 102 ff.

[6] *JAHRS*, Vol. XIII, p. 103.

[7] Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 73 ff.

[8] Ibid., Vol. XVIII, pp. 312 ff.

[9] *A.R.Ep.*, 1917-18, p. 137, App. A., No. 13; ibid., 1923-24, pp. 97-98. [See also *JOR*, Vol. IX, pp 59 ff.—Ed.]

[10] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 12 ff.

[11] Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 174 ff.

In the absence of any definite proof, the suggestion of Mr. Sarma can only be regarded as tentative. Though *Bhūpēndra* and *Rājēndra* are synonymous, it cannot be held as certain on that ground that they were one and the same person. As noted above, the Chidivalasa plates mention Mārasiṁha as the second name of Bhūpēndravarman. But nowhere in the inscriptions discovered so far he has been called Rājēndra. Again, though it is quite possible that Vajrin was identical with Vajrahasta of the Parlakimedi plates as suggested by Mr. Sarma, it is difficult to agree with his suggestion that he is identical also with Anantavarman of the Alamanda plates. It is equally plausible that Vajrin or Vajrahasta and his son Bhūpēndravarman reigned somewhere between the date of Anantavarman of the Tekkali plates of the Gaṅga year 358 and that of Anantavarman Vajrahasta of the present record of the Gaṅga year 383. This will not go against the question of phraseological affinities between the Parlakimedi plates of Vajrahasta and those of the Tekkali plates of Anantavarman (Gaṅga year 358) or of the present grant. Nothing definite, however, can be said until further evidence comes to our aid. It may be noted that the Nirakarpur plates[1] mention one Dēvēndravarman and his father Bhūpēndravarman. The *praśasti* portion of the inscription shows similarity to that of the present record as well as of the Chidivalasa plates mentioned above. This would suggest that they were identical with their namesakes of the Chidivalasa plates and the Nāpitavāṭaka grant.

The donor of the Nirakarpur plates was Udayakhēḍī, son of Ugrakhēḍī and grandson of Dharmakhēḍī of the Kadamba family of Kaliṅga, which owed allegiance to the Gaṅga rulers. Besides the Nirakarpur plates, the Kadambas are mentioned also in several other inscriptions. The Parlakimedi plates[2] of Vajrahasta mention one Ugrakhēḍī who is described as the ornament of the Kadamba dynasty and as born in the family of Nidusanti. This Ugrakhēḍī was the governor of an area including a village called Hōssaṇḍi[3] which was given to one *Rājaputra* śrī-Kāmadi[4] by Dāraparāja, son of Chōla Kāmadirāja, in the reign of king Vajrahasta of Kaliṅga. The Parlakimedi plates are not dated. But, as shown above, the Gaṅga king Vajrahasta mentioned therein was perhaps identical with Vajrin, father of Bhūpēndravarman and grandfather of Anantavarman Vajrahasta and his brother Dēvēndravarman. If this is accepted, Ugrakhēḍī of the Parlakimedi plates was probably identical with the Kadamba chief of the same name mentioned in the Nirakarpur plates[5] of Dēvēndravarman. Again, the Nirakarpur plates show that Udayakhēḍī, son of Ugrakhēḍī and grandson of Dharmakhēḍī, was a contemporary perhaps of Bhūpēndravarman, his son Anantavarman Vajrahasta (of the present grant) and the latter's brother Dēvendravarman.[6]

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[1] *JBRS*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 1 ff.

[2] Above, Vol. III, pp. 221 ff.

[3] [The correct reading of the name is *Hōmmaṇḍi* which was wrongly deciphered by Kielhorn. It is given as *Hōmaṇḍi* in an endorsement on the outer side of Plate III of the grant. Cf. *JAS*, Letters, Vol. XVIII, p. 78, note.—Ed.]

[4] [The correct reading of the name seems to be *Kāmaḍi*. Apparently the same name is given as *Kōmaṇḍi* in the endorsement, according to which he received the hamlet of Vapavaḍā (spelt *Vapavāṭa* in the main charter) attached to Hōmaṇḍi from *Rāṇaka* Udayakhēḍika who was the son and successor of Ugrakhēḍī of the main charter according to the Nirakarpur plates.—Ed.]

[5] *JBRS*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 1 ff.

[6] It may be mentioned in this connection that one Dharmakhēḍī and his father Bhīmakhēḍī are mentioned in the Santa-Bommali plates (*JAHRS*, Vol. III, pp. 171 ff.) of the Gaṅga year 520 and the Mandasa plates (*A.R. Ep.*, 1918, pp. 138 ff.; *JBORS*, Vol. XVII, p. 184) of the Śaka year 976. A Kadamba chieftain of the name of Dharmakhēḍī is also mentioned in the Vizagapatam plates (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 144 ff.) of Dēvēndravarman, dated in the Gaṅga year 254. The Kambakaya plates (*A.R.Ep.*, 1927-28, App. No. 9; *Journ. Bomb. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. IV, pp. 27-28; *JAHRS*, Vol. X, pp. 916 ff.) of Śaka 1103 also refer to the Kadamba chiefs named Dharmakhēḍī and Udayāditya. From the widely separated dates of these inscriptions, it is reasonable to hold that, though some of these Kadamba chieftains bear the same names, they are not to be considered as identical because of the identity of their names alone but should be placed in different periods. [There is difference of opinion among scholars about the dates of the Mandasa and Kambakaya plates.—Ed.]

The writer of the charter was Sarvadēva. The name of one Sarvadēva occurs as the engraver of the Chicacole plates[1] of Dēvēndravarman (Gaṅga year 251) also. Mr. Rajaguru thinks that the date of the Chicacole plates should be construed as 351 and the two Sarvadēvas are to be treated as one and the same person.[2] But there is a difficulty in accepting this suggestion. We know that Satyavarman, son of Dēvēndravarman of the Indian Museum and Tekkali plates dated respectively in the Gaṅga years 308 and 310, issued his charter in the Gaṅga year 351. Thus it is difficult to place Dēvēndravarman of the Chicacole plates in the year when Satyavarman was ruling.

The names of the **localities** mentioned in the inscription cannot be identified. It is interesting to note that to the names of the donee and his father are also attached the names of the localities to which they belonged. These names are given as Nārāyaṇa Jaḍyālākshētra and Mahāva-grāma-gōtra Nārāyaṇa.[3] Jaḍyālā as the name of a village is mentioned in the text of the present inscription (line 13). The practice of affixing the name of a village or locality to its resident is even now prevalent in different parts of India and outside.

TEXT[4]

First Plate

1 Ōṁ[5] Svasty=Amarapur-ānukāriṇa[ḥ*] sarv-atya(rtu)-sukha-ramaṇi(ṇī)ya(yā)d=vijaya-

2 vata[ḥ*] **Kaliṅgā(ṅga)nagar**-ā[dhi*]vāsaka(kāt) Mahēndr-āchal-āmala-si(śi)khara-prati-

3 shṭi(shṭhi)tasya sa-[char-ā*]chara-gurō[ḥ*] sakala-bhuvana-nirmāṇ-aika-sūtradhārasya

4 śaśāṅka-chu(chū)ḍāmaṇi(ṇē)r=bhagavatō Gōkarṇasva(svā)minaś=charaṇa-kamala-yugala-pra-

5 ṇāmād=vigata-kali-kalaṅkō=nēk-āhava-saṁkshōbha-jā(ja)nita-jaya-śavda(bdaḥ)

Second Plate, First Side

6 pratāp-āvanata-samasta-sāmanta-chakra-chūḍā-maṇi-prabhā-mañjari-

7 puñja-rañjita-vara-charaṇa[ḥ*] sita-kumuda-kund-ē[n*]dvā(dv-a)vadāta-diśdē(g-dē)śa-vini-

8 rgata-yaśasa[6] paramamāhēśvarō mātā-pitri-pād-ānyu(nu)dhyātō dhvasta(st-ā)-

9 rāti-kul-āchalō naya-vinaya-dayā-dāna-dākshinyaḥ(ṇya)-śau[r*]y-audāryya-

10 satya-tyāg-āddhi(di)-guṇa-sampad-ādhāra-bhūtō **Gaṅg**-āmā(ma)la-kula-

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[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 276.

[2] *JBRS*, Vol. XXV, pp. 10 ff.

[3] [See below, p. 322, note 2.—Ed.]

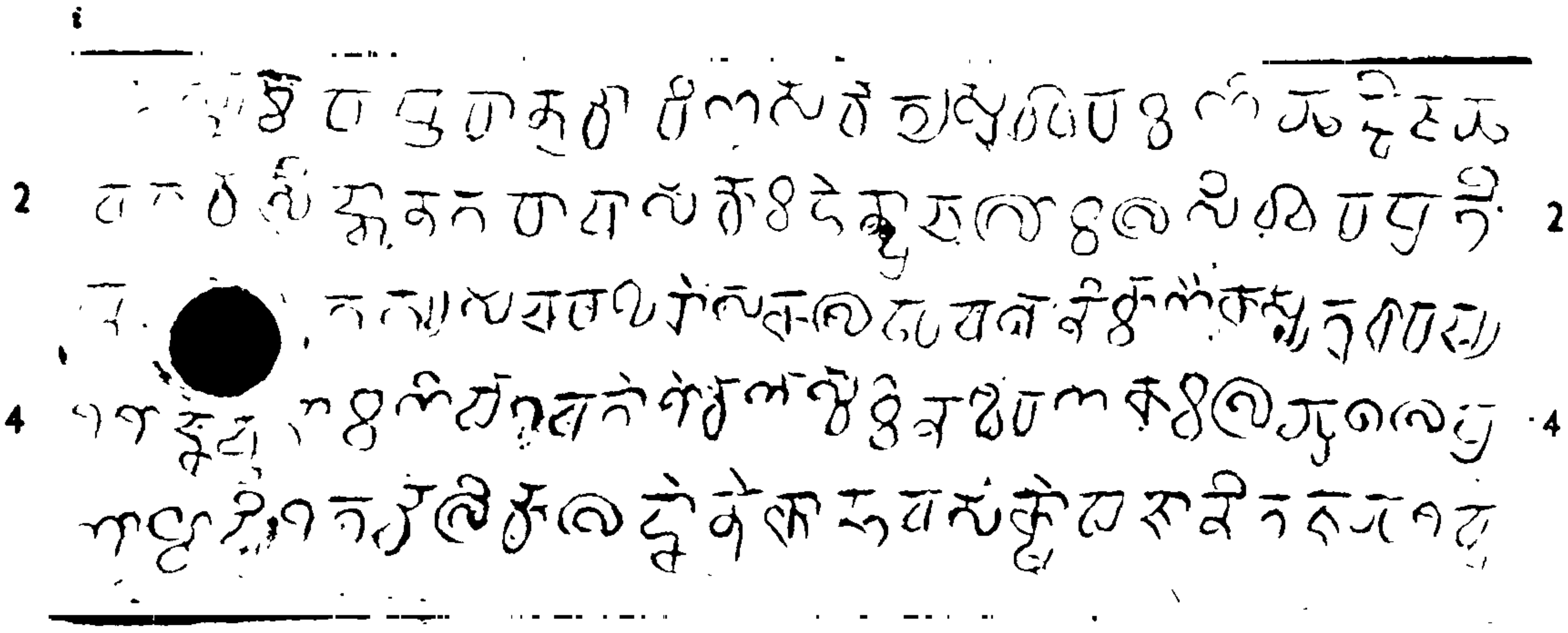
[4] From inked impressions.

[5] Denoted by symbol. Rajaguru does not read this symbol. The minor errors in his transcript of the inscription have not been noted in every case.

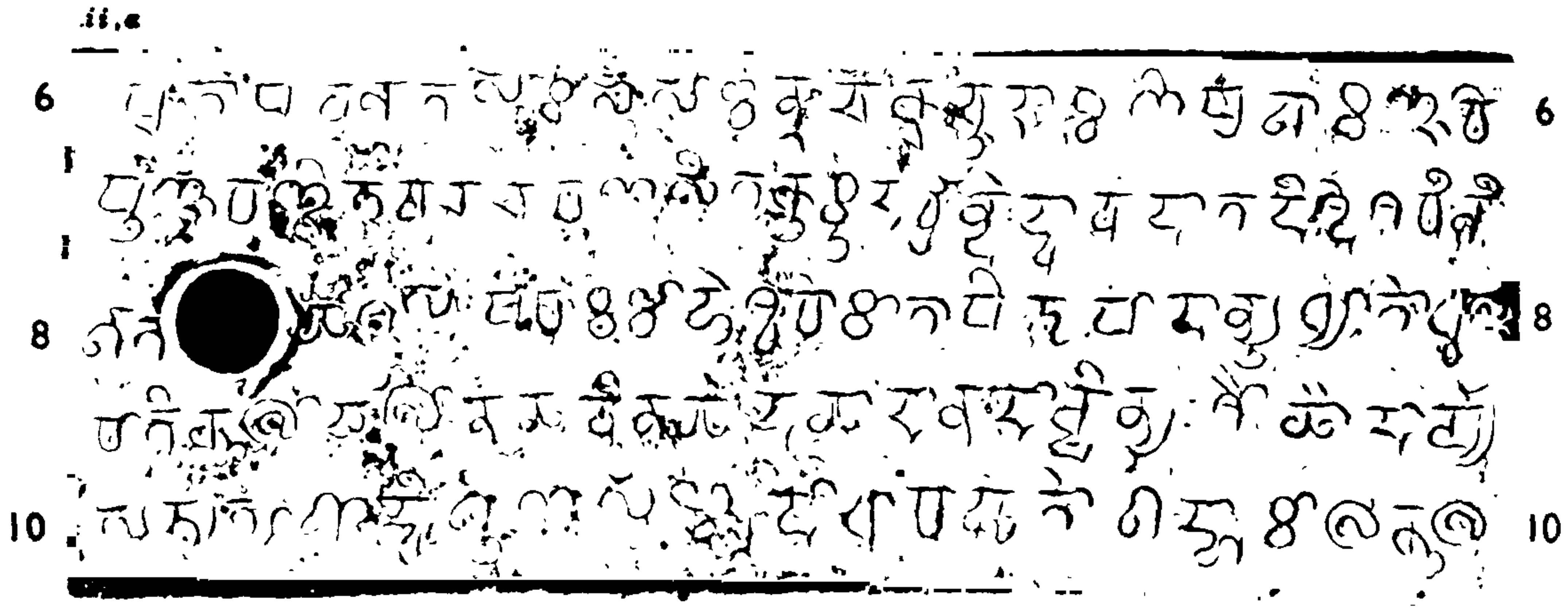
[6] Read *yaśāḥ*.

KALAHANDI PLATES OF ANANTAVARMAN VAJRAHASTA, GANGA YEAR 383

i

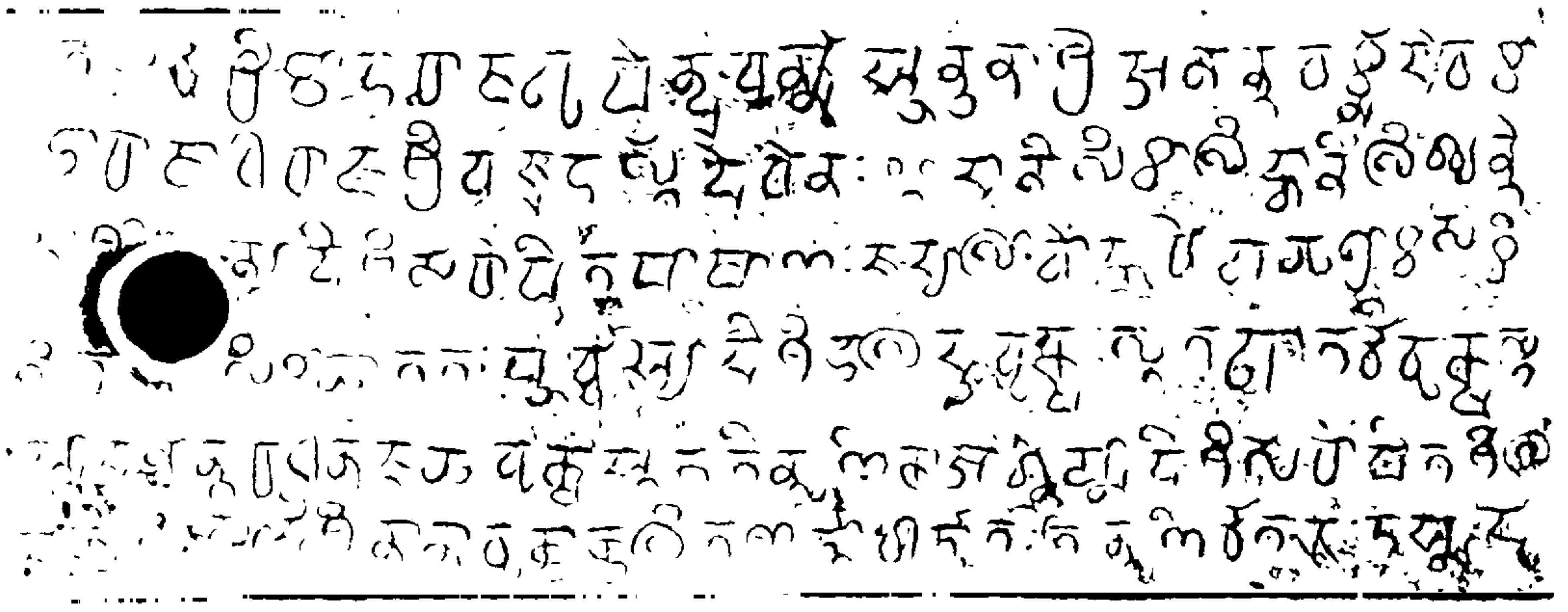


ii.a

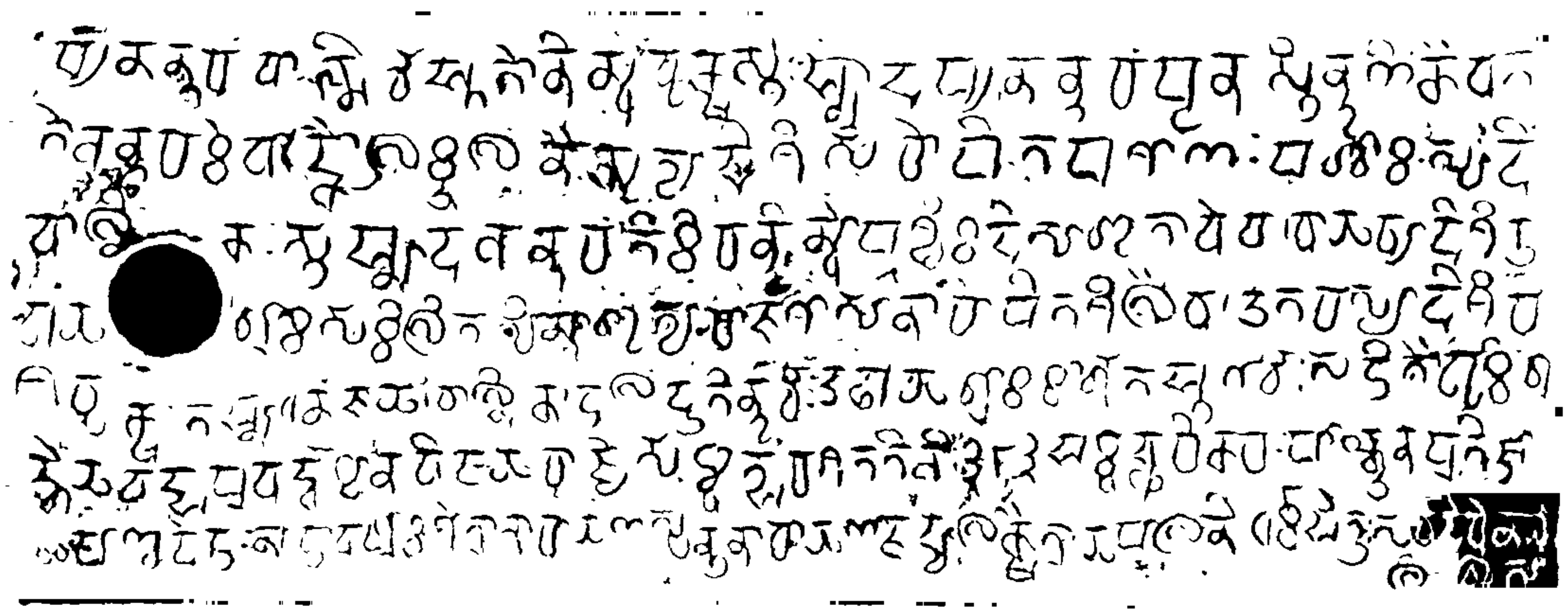


Scale: Nine-tenths

ii,b



iii



Second Plate, Second Side

11 tilaka-śrī-mā(ma)ha(hā)rāja-**Bhūpēndravarmma**[1]-sūnunā śrī[2]-**Anantavarmmadēva**-mā(ma)-

12 hārājādhirāja-śrī-**Vajrahastadēvēnaḥ(na)**[3] idāni(nīṁ) sīmā-liṅgāni likhyantē [|*]

13 I(Ai)śānyā[ṁ*] diśi sa[ṁ*]rōpita-pāshāṇaḥ Jaḍyālā-Vōṅkhar-ōbhaya-grāma-sammi-

14 lita-sīmāyāṁ tataḥ Pūrvvasyāṁ diśi halaṁdū-vṛikshaḥ(ksha)s=tata(tō) bhātakī-vṛikshas=ta-

15 smād=anantaraṁ dhanaṁjaya-vṛikshas=tata[ḥ] tintṛi(ntri)ṇikā [|*] A(Ā)gnēymā(yyāṁ) diśi sa[ṁ*]rōpita-śilā [|*]

16 Dakshiṇasyā[ṁ] diśi nānā-vṛiksh-ākulita-śārttā gartt=ātaḥ[4] tintṛi(ntri)ṇika(kā)-taruḥ tasmād=a-

Third Plate

17 py=anantaraṁ vā(va)lmi(lmī)kas=tatō nimva(mba)-vṛikshas=tasmād=apy=anantaraṁ pṛi-(pu)nas=tintṛi(ntri)ṇik=aiva ta-

18 tō=nantaram=ēv=āṅkōla-mūla[m |*] Nai[r*]ṛityā[ṁ*] diśi sa[ṁ*]rōpita-pa(pā)śā(shā)ṇaḥ [|*] Paśchimasyā[ṁ](māyāṁ) di[śi*]

19 vā(va)lmi(lmī)kaḥ(ka)s=tasmād=anantaraṁ timira-nimvō(mbaḥ) paśchima-dis-āśṛitā-vēya-vōyavya[5] diśi u-

20 bhaya-grāma-sa[ṁ*]milita-sīm-āśṛi(śri)tẏa(ta)-rāja-śāsan-ārōpita-śil=aiva | Uta(tta)rasyā[ṁ*] diśi vi-

21 śa(sha)-vṛikshaḥ tasmā[d*]=dhananṁjaya[ḥ*] | vā(va)lmi(lmī)ka-halaṁdu-tintṛi(ntriṇi) kaḥ(kāḥ) [|*] ubhaya-grāma-mārgatas=taṭākaḥ(ka)-sahitaṁ(ta)-bhūmiḥ [|*] Ga-(Gā)-

22 ṅgēya-vaṅsa(vaṁśa)-pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājyē samvatsara-śata-tini[6] 383 samvachchharē(saṁvatsarē) karaḥ[7] [Phālguna-prati[padi*] ā-

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[1] Read °*varmmā tasya.*

[2] *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

[3] [The sentence remains incomplete. The mention of the donee and the gift land, found in lines 21-23 below, should have been made here.—Ed.]

[4] [Better read °*ākulita-śrita-garttātataḥ.*—Ed.]

[5] Read °*diś-āśrita-Vāyavyāṁ.* [Or, °*śrita ēva* | *Vāyavyāṁ.*—Ed.]

[6] Read *saṁvatsara-śata-trayē try-aśīty-uttarē.*

[7] Its meaning is not clear to me. [The reading intended is apparently *sāṁvatsarika-karaḥ* meaning 'annual rent' (cf. above, Vol. XXX, p. 115.).—Ed.]

23 [kha(i?)]-pāñcha-dēḍaḥ[1] Mahāva-grāma-gōtrā(tra)-Nārāyaṇa-su(sū)nu-Nārāyaṇa-Jaḍyālā-kshē-trāya[2] [|*] Pālanē dharma-sētuḥ [|*] Sarvadēvēna[3]

24 likhita[m*] |

[1] I am not sure of the import of this passage. [The language of the passage is defective. But it seems to quote the amount of annual rent to be paid in the month of Phālguna every year. The word *dēḍa* reminds us of *dēḍha-śata-rupya 150* in another *kara-śāsana* of this kind (cf. *JRAS*, 1952, p. 5).—Ed.]

[2] [The language of the passage is defective. But it seems to mean that the donee's name was Nārāyaṇa and that he received a piece of land (or its revenue income) in the village of Jaḍyālā. Lines 13 and 20-21 seem to suggest that the gift land lay along a road between the villages of Jaḍyālā and Vōṅkhara and that there was a pond in it. The name of the donee's father was Gōtranārāyaṇa and he was a resident of Mahāva-grāma.—Ed.]

[3] There is a mark after this letter.

No. 44—INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF YAJVAPALA GOPALA

(*4 Plates*)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

Several stone inscriptions of the Yajvapāla or Jajapēlla[1] king Āsalla (or Āsala), his son Gōpāla and grandson Gaṇapati, all of whom had their headquarters at the hill-fort of **Nalapura** (modern Narwar in the Shivapuri District of the old Gwalior State now in Madhya Pradesh), are known to scholars, although none of them has been properly edited. Most of these records were noticed by M.B. Garde in a small article on this dynasty of rulers published in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLVII, pp. 242 ff. They have also been enlisted in D. R. Bhandarkar's *Inscriptions of Northern India* as Nos. 562, 576, 597, 603, 628, 636 and 642. While Bhandarkar's No. 562 (from Bhīmpur in the Shivapuri District, dated V. S. 1319=1262 A.D.) and No. 576 (from Rāi in the same District, dated V. S. 1327=1270 A.D.) belong to Āsalla (son of Nṛivarman, grandson of Chāhaḍa and great-grandson of Paramāḍi), No. 597 (from Baṛaudī in the same District), dated V. S. 1336 (1279 A.D.), and No. 603 (from Narwar), dated V. S. 1339, Jyēshṭha-sudi 8, Wednesday (5th May 1283 A.D.), belong to the reign of Gōpāla and the second of the two records speaks of Jayapāla, who was the legendary founder of the dynasty and was popularly known as Jajapēlla, and of Chāpaḍa (Chāhaḍa) who was an ancestor of Gōpāla and was responsible for the capture of Nalagiri (i.e. Nalapura-durga or the hill-fort of Narwar). No. 628 of Bhandarkar's List, dated V. S. 1348, Chaitra-sudi 8, Thursday (27th March 1292 A.D.) comes from Surawaya (Shivapuri District) and belongs to the reign of Gaṇapati, while No. 636 (in the Gwalior Museum) is dated in V. S. 1350 (1293 A.D.) falling in the reign of Gaṇapati and refers to *Rāṇā* Chāchigadēva (wrongly read as *Adhigadēva*) who was a feudatory of Gōpāla. Bhandarkar's No. 642 (from Narwar) is dated V. S. 1355, Kārttika-vadi 5, Friday (26th September 1298 A.D.), and represents king Gaṇapati as the son of Gōpāla, grandson of Āsalla, great-grandson of Nṛivarman (Naravarman) and great-great-grandson of Chāhaḍa.

Some other records bearing dates in the later years of Gōpāla's reign have been noticed in the *Annual Administration Report of the Archaeological Department*, Gwalior State,[2] as well as in H. N. Dvivedi's *Gwalior Rājyake Abhilekh* (Hindi), Gwalior, 1947. These are Dvivēdi's No. 149 (from Narwar, dated V. S. 1341=1284 A.D.), No. 152 (from Balārpur in the Shivapuri District, dated V. S. 1342, Jyēshṭha-vadi 3, Monday=23rd April 1285 A.D.) and No. 154 (from Pachrai in the same District, dated V. S. 1345, Vaiśākha-vadi 2, Saturday=9th April 1289 A.D.). Cf. also his No. 140 from Narwar and No. 158 from Baṛhōtar in the same District.

Similarly Dvivedi's No. 175 (from Balārpur, dated V. S. 1356=1299 A.D.) and No. 177 (from the same place, dated V. S. 1357=1300 A.D.) belong to the later years of Gaṇapati.

The above records will show that Gōpāla's dates range between V. S. 1336 (1279 A.D.) and 1345 (1289 A.D.) while Gaṇapati's dates fall between V. S. 1348 (1292 A.D.) and 1357 (1300 A.D.). A number of coins issued by Chahaḍa and Āsalla were discovered by Cunningham.[3] The dates on the coins of the two kings range respectively between V. S. 1294 (?) and 1311 (i.e. 1237-54 A.D.) and between V. S. 1311 and 1336 (i.e. 1254-79 A.D.) respectively. Chāhaḍa is no doubt the same as

[1] The suggestion that the name of the family was Chāhamāna (Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 834, note 1 and pp. 1103-04) is clearly wrong. The family name was really Jajapēlla which was Sanskritised as Yajvapāla and associated with a mythical progenitor named Jayapāla or Jajapēlla.

[2] Some of these *Annual Reports* were not printed.

[3] *Coins of Medieval India*, pp. 92 f.; Ray, op. cit. p. 1103. Cf. R. D. Banerji, *Num. Supl.*, No. XXXIII, pp. 80-83.

Jāhir Deo of Firishta and Chāhar-i-Ajār of Minhājud-dīn.[1] He was a contemporary of Sulṭān Nāṣiruddīn (1246-66 A.D.) of Delhi and has been described by Minhājuddīn as 'the greatest of all the Raes' in the tract comprising 'Gwālīūr, Chandīrī, Nurwur and Mālwah' and as having 5,000 horsemen and 200,000 footmen under his command. In A.H. 649 (1251 A.D.) he is stated to have been defeated by Ghiyāsuddīn Balban on behalf of the Sulṭān and the fortress (at Nurwur according to Firishta), 'which was constructed by him among defiles and passes, was taken and plundered.' But the said subjugation of Chāhaḍa of Narwar was apparently nominal as Chāhaḍa and his son Āsalla could not have issued coins of their own if they were really subordinates of the Sulṭān. We have now also some coins of Gaṇapati. It is well known that the Muslims considered the issue of coins to be a monopoly of independent monarchs. After Gaṇapati nothing is known about the Yajvapāla or Jajapēlla dynasty which may have been overthrown by Sulṭān 'Alāuddīn Khaljī (1296-1316 A.D.). On this point we have no information in the Muslim chronicles. The statement that Chāhaḍa was the builder of the fortress of Narwar seems to be wrong. We have a copper-plate grant[2] issued from Nalapura-mahādurga in V.S. 1177 (1120 A.D.) by an independent Kachchhapaghāta king named Vīrasiṁha who was the son of Śaradasiṁha and grandson of Gaganasiṁha. We have also seen how Chāhaḍa claimed only to have captured Nalagiri, i.e. the hill-fort of Narwar.

About the beginning of 1955, I camped for a few days at Shivapuri, headquarters of the District of that name in the present Madhya Pradesh, and copied a number of inscriptions of the reign of king Gōpāla in the said area, one at **Sesai** and fifteen at **Baṅglā**. These records were found on stone pillars commemorating warriors killed in fighting and often bearing representations of footmen, horsemen and elephant-riders engaged in battle and of fallen warriors worshipping the Śiva-liṅga or enjoying the company of celestial damsels in heaven. In some cases, the persons are represented as worshipping the Śiva-liṅga jointly with their wives, implying thereby that the ladies committed *Satī* on the funeral pyre of their husbands. Generally only one face of the pillars bears such a representation above an inscription; but in some cases all the four faces have carvings although only one of the faces bears an inscription. Many of the pillars have their head fluted and crowned with a pinnacle.

The inscriptions exhibit considerable carelessness of the scribes. The **characters** are Nāgarī of the ordinary type and do not call for any special remark. It may, however, be pointed out that, in respect of calligraphy, these inscriptions cannot be compared with the beautifully engraved Yajvapāla (Jajapēlla) *praśastis* preserved in the Gwalior Museum. The writing on many of the pillars is more or less damaged. The language of the records is corrupt Sanskrit, although the corruption of the language is more remarkable in some epigraphs than in others. A few of them are couched in verse. The **orthography** and grammar of the inscriptions are greatly influenced by the local dialect. The root *yudh* has been used to indicate 'to die in fighting', and the word *yuddhita* has been used with reference to a person who had fought in a battle and died in the course of the fight or as a result of it. All the pillars bearing the inscriptions published below were raised to perpetuate the memory of certain warriors who died this kind of herioc death which was extolled in ancient India as highly meritorious.[3] It is also apparent that the wives of some of the warriors committed *Satī* on the funeral pyre of their deceased husbands. Unfortunately the language of the records is generally defective and does not bring out the intended meaning quite clearly. This characteristic of leaving the meaning intended by the scribe in many cases to be guessed by the reader is generally noticed in the private medieval records of the Malwa-Rajasthan region and has already been referred to above.[4]

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[1] *Tārīkh-i-Fīrūzshāhī*. Briggs' trans., Vol. I, p. 239; *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī*, Raverty's trans., Vol. II, pp. 690-91 and note; cf. also p. 175. Chāhaḍa ascended the throne earlier than 1234 A.D. as in that year he is stated to have defeated Malik Nusrat-uddīn Tayasāī, a general of Sulṭān Iltutmish, on the bank of the Kali Sindh.

[2] *JAOS*, Vol. VI, p. 542: Bhandarkar's List, No. 206.

[3] *Mahābhārata*. XII, 98, 44-47. Cf. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XI, p. 70, note 5.

[4] See Vol. XXX, pp. 192-93.

1.—*Inscription from Sesai, V. S. 1341*

Sesai is a village about nine miles from Shivapuri, the headquarters of the District of that name. An inscription on a memorial stone-pillar in this village was noticed in the *Annual Administration Report of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior State,* for Saṁvat 1971 (No. 21), and in Dvivedi's *Gwalior Rājyake Abhilekh,* No. 141. Unfortunately the *Report* does not appear to have been published, while Dvivedi fails to notice that the inscription belongs to the reign of the **Yajvapāla (Jajapēlla)** king Gōpāla.

The epigraph contains twelve lines of writing and covers an area about 12" by 9". The preservation of the writing is not satisfactory. The record bears the date: **V. S. 1341, Pausha-vadi 1, Monday.** The details of the date are irregular, but may refer to the **25th of December 1284 A.D.**

The inscription begins with the symbol for *Siddham,* followed by the word *svasti.* King Gōpāladēva is then introduced with a string of epithets including *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara* and *Paramamāhēśvara.* Then it speaks of the *rājya* or rule of Jaitujahmadēva, 'the slave of the servants of cows and Brāhmaṇas'. Although his relations with Gōpāla is not specifically indicated, he was undoubtedly a subordinate ruler under the Yajvapāla (Jajapēlla) monarch. He seems to be the same as *Mahākumāra* or *Kumāra* Jaitravarman called Jaitavrahmadēva, Jayatavrahmadēva or Jēyatavrahmadēva in the Baṅglā inscriptions (Nos. 3-5 ; cf. No. 15) edited below. He probably enjoyed the status of a sub-king or *Yuvarāja.* His mention in these records may be compared with that of a feudatory in some medieval inscriptions of Madhya Bharat and Rajasthan.[1]

The **object** of the record is found in lines 5 ff. It has been stated that *Rā°* Malayadēva of the family called Daṁgrōt was *judhita* (i.e. *yuddhita* in the sense of 'dead as the result of fighting in a battle') in connection with a case of cattle-lifting at the *pratōlī* (i.e. a street or ward) of **Sesai-grāma.** It is further stated that his elder wife named Māhiṇidē (i.e. Māhiṇidēvī) and younger wife named Nāvuladē (i.e. Nāvuladēvī) also became *judhita.* It is clear that Malayadēva lost his life while resisting the operations of certain cattle-lifters at the village of Sesai. His two wives were probably killed by the enemies who appear to have invaded Malayadēva's residence at the village.[2] The sentence that follows says how the memorial pillar bearing the inscription under study was caused to be made by *Rā°* Hirmāṇa and *Rā°* Haṁsarāja who were respectively the elder and younger sons of Malayadēva. The contraction *rā,* used in connection with the names of Malayadēva and his sons, stands for *rāuta* which was derived from Sanskrit *rājaputra* and was commonly used as a title of subordinate chiefs.

Sesai-grāma is no doubt the village where the inscription has been found.

TEXT[3]

1 Siddham[4] svasti śrī[ḥ* | *] Prakṛi(kri)yā-virājamāna-||[5] sakala-vira(ru)d-ā-

2 valī-samālaṁkṛita- |[6] paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-

3 paramēsva(śva)ra-paramamāhēsva(śva)ra-mahārāja-śrī-pṛithī(thvī)pa-

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[1] See above, Vol. XXX, pp. 192, 193 and note 1.

[2] The language of the record may of course also suggest that the two wives of Malayadēva took part in the fighting with the cattle-lifters.

[3] From impressions.

[4] Expressed by symbol.

[5] The *daṇḍas* are superfluous. The expression *prakriyā-virājamāna* seems to mean 'flourishing in the exalted position'. One may also suggest *prakṛityā* for *prakṛiyā.*

[6] The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

4 ti-sakalarājya[1]-||[2] śrīmanta-**Gōpāladēva**[3] || gau(gō)-Vrā(Brā)-

5 hmaṇa-dās-ānudāsaḥ śrīmat-Jai[tu]jahma[4]dēva[ḥ*] || ta-

6 sya rājya-samayē || Sēsai-grāmē Daṁgrōt-kula-rā[5]-śrī-Malaya-

7 dēva[ḥ*] pratōlī-saṁghāḍi-samāyāta-gō-graha-nimi-

8 ttē[6] judhitō[7]=svi(sti) [|*] tasya bhārjyā dvau saṁti[8] [|*] jēshṭa bhārjyā[9] Māhi-

9 ṇidē[10]-nāmaḥ(mā) || laghur=bhārjyā[11] Nāvuladē[12]-nāmā sarasār=ju-

10 dhitō=sti[13] [|*] ta[sya] putra(trau) dvau santi[14] [|*] jēshṭa[15] rā[16]-Hirmāna(ṇaḥ) **laghu[ḥ*]** rā[16]-Haṁ-

11 sarāja[ḥ*] kula-madhē(dhyē) udō(ddyō)ta-kāraka(kau) [|*] tasya[17] kīrtti[ḥ*][18] karā-

12 pitatyēḥ[19] || Saṁvatu[20] **1341 Pausha-[va]di 1 Sōma-dinē** judha[21] ||

2.—*Inscriptions from Baṅglā, V. S. 1338 or 1337*

Baṅglā is a small village about five miles to the east of the fort of Narwar. Near the village there is a vast stretch of rocky waste land covered with thorny shrubs. This area extends from the border of the village to the river Barua which is a small tributary of the Sindh and runs about a mile to the east of the village. It is studded with a number of memorial stone pillars, many of which are inscribed. A good many of these inscriptions refer to the death of certain warriors who lost their lives fighting on behalf of the Yajvapāla (Jajapēlla) king **Gōpāla** against the Chandēlla monarch **Vīravarman** whose known dates range between 1261 and 1286 A.D. We have selected

[1] The intended reading may have been °*rājya-pati*.

[2] The *daṇḍas* are superfluous.

[3] The intended reading is *śrīmad-Gōpāladēvaḥ*. It has to be noticed that no word has been used to indicate Gōpāla's relation with the person mentioned in the following line, who was apparently the former's subordinate. This relation could have been expressed by writing *Gōpāladēvē prithivī-patau* (cf. *Select inscriptions*, pp. 283, 285, 324, etc.).

[4] Read *śrīmaj-Jai°*. The correct form of the name seems to be Jaitravarman.

[5] I.e. *rāuta*.

[6] The language is defective, but the meaning is clear. *Pratōlī* means a street or ward of a town or village. Cf. above, Vol. I, pp. 333-34 (verse 13), 337; Bose, *History of the Candellas*, p. 150. The fight was in a *pratōlī* of Sēsai in resisting *gō-grahaṇa* by some enemies. *Saṁghāḍi* may stand for Sanskrit *saṅghaṭṭa*, 'a battle'.

[7] This is the same as *yuddhita* meaning 'died in fighting' as found in some of the Baṅglā inscriptions edited below.

[8] Read *bhāryē dvē staḥ*.

[9] Read *jyēshṭhā bhāryā*.

[10] I. e. *Māhiṇidēvī*.

[11] Read °*bhāryā*.

[12] I.e. *Nāvuladēvī*.

[13] The language of the passage is defective. But the meaning seems to be that the two wives of Malayadēva lost their lives in the hands of the cattle-lifters. The intended reading of the passage may have been *sahasā yuddhitē staḥ* meaning that the two ladies were killed in the course of the battle violently.

[14] Read *staḥ*.

[15] Read *jyēshṭhaḥ*.

[16] I.e. *rāuta*.

[17] The intended reading seems to be *tābhyām* meaning *Hirmāṇa-Haṁsarājābhyām*. The word *tasya* may also mean *Malayadēvasya*. But in that case *tābhyām* should have to be added to the text. The pillar seems to have been raised in the memory of Malayadēva and his wives by his two sons.

[18] This refers to the memorial stone bearing the inscription. Cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 184.

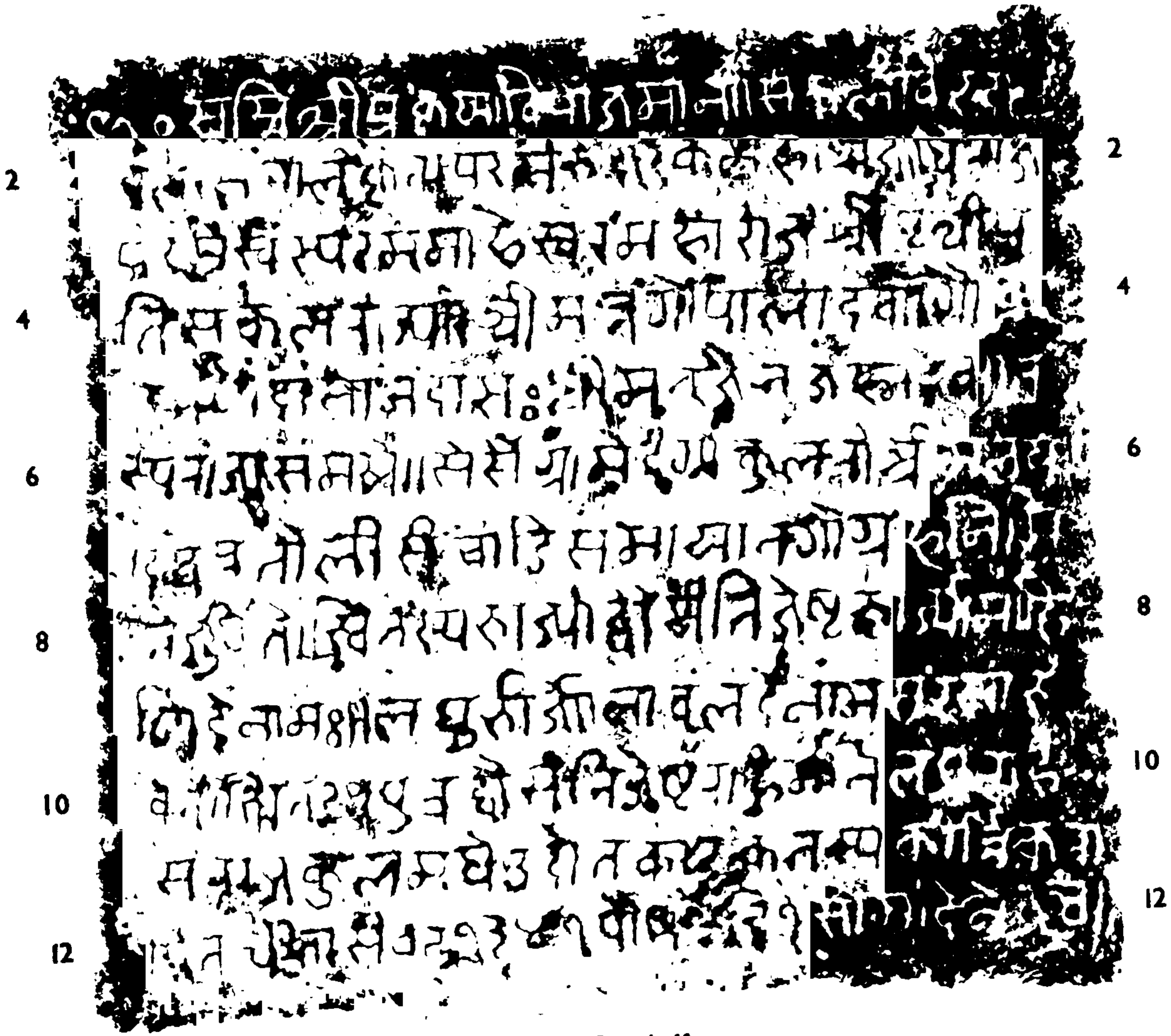
[19] Read *kārit=ēti*.

[20] Read *Saṁvat*.

[21] Read *yuddham*.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF YAJVAPALA GOPALA—PLATE I

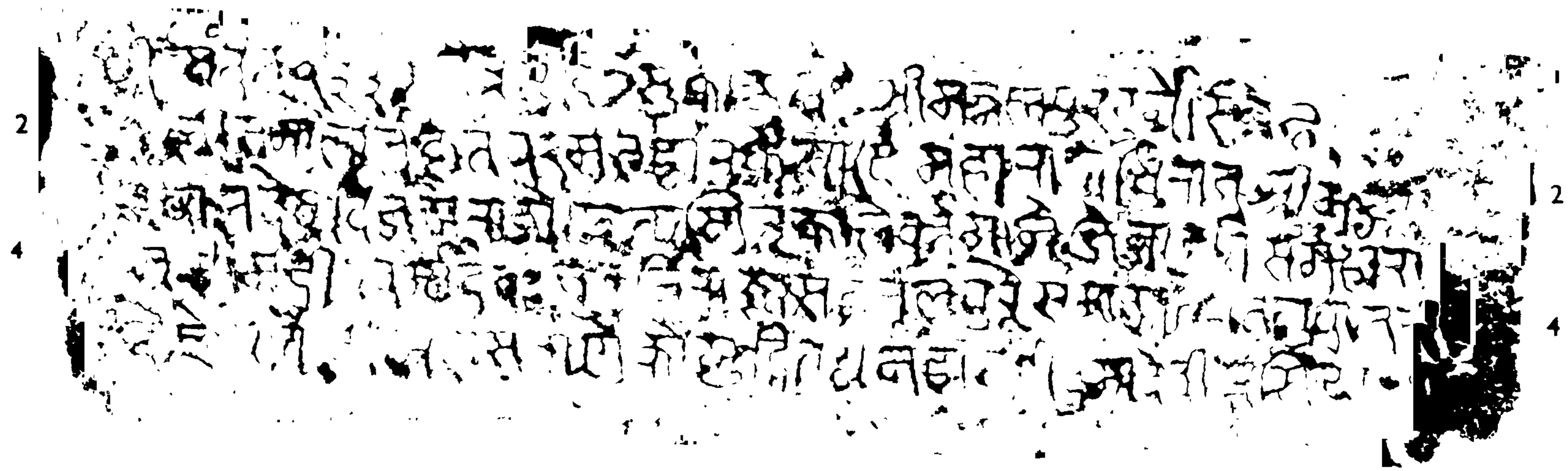
I.—INSCRIPTION FROM SESAI, V.S. 1341



Scale: One-half

2. — Inscriptions from Bangla, V.S. 1338

Inscription No. 1



Scale: One-half

seven (Nos. 1-7) out of these records for publication, although the remaining eight records (Nos. 8-15) have also been noticed in an appendix. Seven such epigraphs were first briefly noticed in the *Annual Administration Report of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior State*, for V. S. 1991 (1934-35), 1938, pp. 8, 12, 25-26 (Nos. 7-13), and then in Dvivedi's List, Nos. 133-39. Although these meagre notices are not free from errors, they should have attracted the attention of scholars, which they rightly deserve. Unfortunately even the authors of the recently published works on the history of the Chandellas have not taken their evidence into cognizance.[1]

The **date** of the battle between the forces of Gōpāla and those of Vīravarman, in which the partisans of the former lost their lives, is quoted in six of the records (Nos. 2, 4-6, 9 and 12) as **V.S. 1338, Chaitra-sudi 7, Friday.** It regularly corresponds to the **28th March 1281 A.D.** In one case (No. 3), the week-day, is quoted as Chaitra-sudi 2, Saturday, instead of Chaitra-sudi 7, Friday, of the other cases (Nos. 1-2, 4-9, 11-12 ; cf. also No. 10), and in five cases (Nos. 1, 7-8, 10 and 15) the year is given as **V. S. 1337.** The confusion about the week-day is apparently due to an error of the scribe concerned. But the reference to both V. S. 1338 and 1337 to indicate the same year may be explained away. If the year is regarded as Kārttikādi, V. S. 1338 current was the same as V. S. 1337 expired.

In some cases, the warriors specifically claim to have obtained victory in the battle. It is clear that the army of Vīravarman invaded the kingdom of Yajvapāla (Jajapēlla) Gōpāla and succeeded in penetrating as far as the immediate neighbourhood of the latter's capital Nalapura (Narwar). But the Yajvapāla forces then offered battle and repulsed the invaders. The Chandēlla king thus seems to have been defeated in his contest with the Yajvapālas after having gained some initial success. The battle referred to in the inscriptions probably lasted only for a day. A large number of soldiers on Vīravarman's side must also have lost their lives ; but there is no record of that besides vague claims on behalf of the partisans of Gōpāla in the records under study. The battle is stated to have been fought on the banks of the river variously called **Valuvā**, Vōlukā, Valuā, Valūbā, Vālukā and Valuka which is no other than the modern **Barua.** The identity of the invading king Vīravarman is made clear by his mention in one record (No. 2) as **Chaṁdilla** (Chandēlla), by another (No. 1) referring to his association with **Jējāhuti**, and by two others (Nos. 8 and 11) describing him as the lord of **Jējābhukti** and the king of Jējāhuti respectively. Jējāhuti and Jējābhukti are variant forms of the name applied to the Chandēlla dominions, Jējāka-bhukti, Jējāka-dēśa and Jējāka-maṇḍala being often mentioned in the records of the Chandēllas themselves.[2] Two of these records (Nos. 1 and 11) further say that Vīravarman was accompanied by four other kings who were no doubt his allies or vassals. But no other details about these rulers are given.

The records from Baṅglā throw some light on the interpretation of a passage in the Dāhi copper-plate grant of Chandēlla Vīravarman which bears the date V. S. 1337, Vaiśākha-sudi 15, Sunday.[3] The inscription, which is now lost, was secured by Ellis in 1848 from Dāhi, 4½ miles to the east of Bijāwar in Bundelkhand, and he supplied a note on its contents (based on a hopelessly inaccurate transcript) to Cunningham who succeeded in suggesting some corrections on the basis of a transcript (also erroneous) that was prepared by him from an impression of the record.[4] Kielhorn[5] equated the date with the 4th May 1281 A.D. which is just a little over one month later than the date of the

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[1] See N. Bose, *History of the Candellas*, Calcutta, 1956 ; *The Struggle for the Empire*, Bomby, 1957, pp. 60, 146.

[2] See Ray, op. cit., pp. 669-70 and notes. The name was supposed to have been derived from that of Jayaśakti, popularly called Jējā or Jējāka. A Kalachuri inscription (above, Vol. I, p. 35, verse 21) mentions the Chandēlla kingdom as Jējābhuktika. Al-Bīrūnī mentions Kajurāha (Khajuraho, the capital of the Chandēllas) as the capital of Jehāhūti (trans. Sachau, Vol. I, p. 202). The vernacular form of the name is Jajāhūtī or Jajāhōtī (above, Vol. I, p. 218).

[3] Bhandarkar's List, No. 600.

[4] See Cunningham's Reports, Vol. XXXI, pp. 74 ff.

[5] Kielhorn's Northern List, above, Vol. V, App., pp. 34 f., No. 240.

Baṅglā inscriptions (viz. 25th March 1281 A.D.). It will be seen that the same year was regarded as V.S. 1338 in most of the Baṅglā inscriptions and as V.S. 1337 in the Dāhi plate and in several epigraphs from Baṅglā. According to Ellis, his copper-plate inscription records the grant of the village of Dahi in favour of a Brāhmaṇa named 'Balbhadra Mallaya, an illustrious chief of distinguished bravery, who has conquered the Rajas of Nalpur, Gopal-Madhuban, Hatta, Har-raj, Gopagiri, Sardhi, the Turks, and rulers from Kashmir'. Cunningham pointed out that the grant was made by Chandēlla Vīravarman of Kālañjara in favour of Mallāya of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, who conquered 'the lord of Narwar (*Samarayugāparājitā Nalapurapati*) and the ruler of Mathura (*Gopāla Madhuvana-kādhipa*) and Harirāja of Gwalior (Gōpagiri)'. Although Cunningham's transcript and interpertation are apparently defective, later writers (including the authors of the most recent works on the history of the Chandēllas, referred to above) have generally accepted his views.[1] But Bhandarkar rightly suggested long ago that one of the adversaries of the Chandēlla king Vīravarman mentioned in the Dāhi grant was the Yajvapāla king Gōpāla of Nalapura.[2] There is little doubt that the Dāhi grant mentions *Nalapura-pati* Gōpāla as one of the rulers vanquished by Mallāya who was probably a general of Vīravarman. The Chandēlla *praśastikāra*, who composed the record, seems to have given here a partisan's reading of the results of Vīravarman's invasion of the kingdom of Gōpāla.

Inscription **No. 1** is a record in five lines of prose composition beginning with the symbol for *Siddham*. It says how, when *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* **Gōpāla** was ruling from **Nalapura-durga,** *Mahārāja* **Vīravarman** of **Jējāhuti** arrived at Nalapura together with four other kings, on **Friday, Chaitra-sudi 7, V. S. 1337.** It further says that *Rāṇaka* Vīsala, who was the husband, fought in the field near the river **Valuvā** and that *mahāsatī* Dhūmādēvī became famous. There is of course little doubt about the intended meaning of the inscription, although it has not been made quite clear by the scribe. Apparently *Rāṇaka* Vīsala, no doubt a feudatory of the Yajvapāla (Jajapēlla) king Gōpāla, died while fighting against the invading army of Vīra varman and his wife Dhūmā burnt herself on his funeral pyre.

Inscription **No. 2** begins with the *Siddham* symbol followed by the word *Siddhiḥ*. It is written partly in verse and partly in prose. The metre of the two stanzas at the beginning of the record is *Anushṭubh*. The verses speak of the same thing as the prose part that follows. *Rāya-rāuta Gajavāha-rāuta* Vāndana, who was the son of *Rāuta* Dēva and grandson of *Rāuta* Bhōja, is stated to have fought on the bank of the river **Vōlukā** or **Valuā** at **Nalapura** in a battle against the **Chandilla** (Chandēlla) *Mahārāja* **Vīravarman** on behalf of *Mahārāja* **Gōpāla** on **Friday, Chaitra-sudi 7, V. S. 1338.** The name of the river is quoted as Vōlukā in the versified portion of the inscription and as Valuā in its prose part. Vāndana, who enjoyed the titles *Rāya-rāuta* and *Gajavāha-rāuta*, was no doubt a feudatory of king Gōpāla. Although it has not been made clear by the language of the inscription, Vāndana must have died in the battle. In verse 2, the chief is stated to have fought (i.e. died fighting) on the back of a horse after having killed many soldiers of Vīravarman's side.

Inscription **No. 3** begins with the *Siddham* symbol followed by the date *Saṁvat* **1338** and the word *svasti*. It then speaks of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Paramēśvara Paramamāhēśvara* **Gōpāladēva,** *Mahākumāra* Jaitavrahmadēva (i.e. Jaitravarmadēva) and *Mahāpradhāna Rā°* (i.e. *Rāuta*) Dējai without specifically mentioning the relations that must have existed among the three. There is, however, no doubt that the *Māhapradhāna* (also called *Pradhāna* in Nos. 10 and 15 and *Mantrin* in No. 9) was serving directly under the *Māhākumāra* (also called *Kumāra* in No. 15 below) who was a subordinate of Gōpāla. All three appear to be described as belonging to what has been called Jvajvakullavaṁśa which may be a mistake for Yajvapāla-vaṁśa or

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[1] See Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. II, pp. 732-33, N. Bose, *op. cit.*, p. 111 ; *The Struggle for the Empire*, p. 146.
[2] *Cf.* his List, No. 600.

Jajapēlla-vaṁśa. The title *Mahākumāra* borne by princes is well known from the inscriptions especially of the later Paramāras.[1] Jaitravarman seems to have been the eldest son of **Gōpāla** and the *de facto* ruler of the Yajvapāla (Jajapēlla) kingdom during the later years of his father's reign. He, however, seems to have predeceased his father as the latter's throne passed after his death to his other son Gaṇapati. The title *Mahāpradhāna* appears to have been borne by the chief administrator or minister of the kingdom.[2]

The record then speaks of *Rā°* (i.e. *Rāuta*) Haradēva who was the son of *Rā°* (i.e. *Rāuta*) **Kumvarāsēha** (Kumārasiṁha) and is probably stated to have belonged to the Chauṇāha-māṇika family. Whether *Chauṇāha* is a mistake for *Chauhāṇa* cannot be determined. The inscription next speaks of the battle fought in the field near the **Valūbā** river. It does not mention the Chandēlla king, with whose forces the battle referred to in the record was undoubtedly fought. The inscription ends with the date: **Chaitra-sudi 2, Saturday,** which seems to be a mistake for Chaitra-sudi 7, Friday.

Inscription **No. 4** begins with the *Siddham* symbol followed by the date: **V. S. 1338, Chaitra-sudi 7, Friday.** It is then said that at that time, when *Mahārājādhirāja* **Gōpāla** was ruling at Nalapura-durga and *Rāvata* Jayatavrahmadēva (i.e. Jaitravarmadēva) and *Mahāpradhāna* Dējai were running the administration, a battle was fought with king **Vīravrahmadēva** (i.e. Vīravarmadēva) in the field near the river **Valuvā.** The title *rāvata* was derived from Sanskrit *rāja-putra* and seems to have been used as a variant of *rāuta.* The concluding part of the inscription mentions *Rājaputra* Arasīha (i.e. Arisiṁha) and his son Dhadhahēu as well as Rājputra Sīhaḍā.[3] These three persons must have died in the battle, although that fact has not been clearly stated. The last sentence of the inscription seems to refer to a lady who committed *Satī.*

The language of lines 1-8 of Inscription **No. 5** is similar to that of lines 1-9 of Inscription No. 4. The concluding part of Inscription No. 5 speaks of certain persons whose names are doubtful but may be: *Rājaputra* Lasībhaṭa, Vatha, Ḍēḍē, *Rā°* (i.e. *Rāuta*) **Sīhadatta** (i.e. Siṁhadatta), Sīhadatta's son *Rāṇā* Gaughōsēna, and Mamaladēva. Although the word used with reference to these persons is merely *yudhaṁ,* there is no doubt that they died in fighting in the battle against the invading forces of Vīravarman. The concluding words of the inscription are unintelligible.

The language of Inscription **No. 6,** which is indifferently engraved, is exceptionally corrupt. After the *Siddham* symbol followed by the word *siddhiḥ* and the date: **V.S. 1338, Chaitra-sudi 7, Friday,** there comes a metrically defective stanza referring to the battle fought on behalf of **Gōpāla** on the bank of the river **Vālukā.** The fourth foot of the stanza is unintelligible. The following portion in prose speaks of the battle fought during the sovereignty of *Mahārājādhirāja-pati Paramēśvara Paramamāhēśvara* Gōpāla. It seems to state further that Gōtinōduṇa, son of Jadēvā (Jayadēva ?), fought against Vīravarman and won victory in the battle after having killed ten soldiers of the other side.

Inscription **No. 7** consists of five stanzas in the *Anushṭubh* metre followed by the date: **V.S. 1337, Chaitra-sudi 7, Friday.** Verses 1-2 of the inscription speak of a hero. His name seems to be Gīyaka whose father was a distinguished archer and whose sons were named Indra and Vatsa. Verse 3 says how there was a terrible battle between **Vīravarman** and king **Gōpāla** on the bank of the river **Vālukā.** Verses 4-5 state that Gīyaka, who was devoted to his master and taught the science of archery to his sons Indra and Vatsa, died in fighting (*yuddhita*) after having defeated the enemies in battle and offered the glory of his victory to king Gōpāla.

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[1] See Ray, op. cit., pp. 882 ff. For a *Mahākumāra* in the Kalachuri family, see ibid., p. 800.

[2] For two *Mahāpradhānas* appointed by a Chaulukya king, see ibid., p. 1033.

[3] It is also possible to think the Sīhaḍā was a resident of a locality called Dhadhahēu.

TEXT[1]

Inscription No. 1[2]

1 Siddham[3] [|*]**Saṁvat 1337 Chaitra-sudi 7 Su(Śu)krē** | ady=ēha śrīman-**Nalapura**-durgrē(rgē) | samasta-[rāj-āva]-

2 lī-samālālaṁkrita[4]-paramabhaṭṭārak-ēty-ādi-mahārājādhirāja-śrīmad-**Gō**-

3 **pāladēva**-di(vi)jaya-rājyē | ity=asmin kālē varttamānē **Jējāhuti**-saṁ[5]-mahārā-

4 ja-srī(śrī)mad-**Vīravarmmadēvaḥ** chaturbhi rājñā[6] sa[ha] **Nalapurē** samāyātaḥ | **Valu[v]ā**-**nadī**-

5 kshētrē |[7] pati-Vīsala-sat-Rāṇēkō[8] yuddhitaḥ[9] | mahāsatī [Dhū]mādēvī prasiddhā[10] :||

Inscription No. 2[11]

1 Siddham[12] || Siddhiḥ || Kāryē **Gōpāla**-

2 bhūpasya Vāṁdaṇō raṇa-[naṁ?]-

3 ditaḥ | pautraḥ śrī-Bhōjadē-

4 vasya putrō Dēv-ābhidhasya

5 cha || [1*] **Vōlukā**-saritas=tīrē

6 saṁta(grā)mē **Vīravarmmaṇaḥ** | yu-

7 yuṁdhē[13] turag-ārūḍhō nihatya su-

8 bhaṭānva(n=ba)hūn || 2 **Saṁ 1338**

9 **Chaitra-sudi 7 Śukra-vārē** | śrī-**Nala**-

10 **purē** | mahārāja-śrī-**Gōpāladēva**-

11 kāryē **Chaṁdilla**[14]-mahārāja-śrī-

12 **Vīravarmma**-saṁgrāma-vyatikarē[15] | rā-

13 uta-Bhōjadēva-pautrō rāuta-Dēv[ā]-

14 putrō rāyarāuta-gajavāharāu-

15 ta-Vāṁdaṇō **Valuā**-nadī-navē(taṭē)

16 yuyudhē ||[16]

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[1] From impressions.

[2] This is No. 224 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1954-55, Appendix B.

[3] Expressed by symbol which has, however, not the usual globular sign at the end.

[4] Read *samalaṁkṛita* or *samālaṁkṛita*. *Paramabhaṭṭārak-ēty-ādi*° should better be read before *samasta*.

[5] This contraction may stand for *samrāṭ*.

[6] Read *chaturbhī* (or *chaturbhiḥ*) *rājabhiḥ*.

[7] The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[8] Read *sad-Rāṇakō*.

[9] This word has been used to indicate Vīsala's death in fighting.

[10] The intended meaning of this sentence is that *Dhūmādēvī* committed *Satī*.

[11] This is No. 219 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1954-55, Appendix B.

[12] Expressed by symbol.

[13] Read *yuyudhē* as in line 16. The word has been used to indicate Vāndana's death in fighting.

[14] This is a variant of the family name *Chandēlla*.

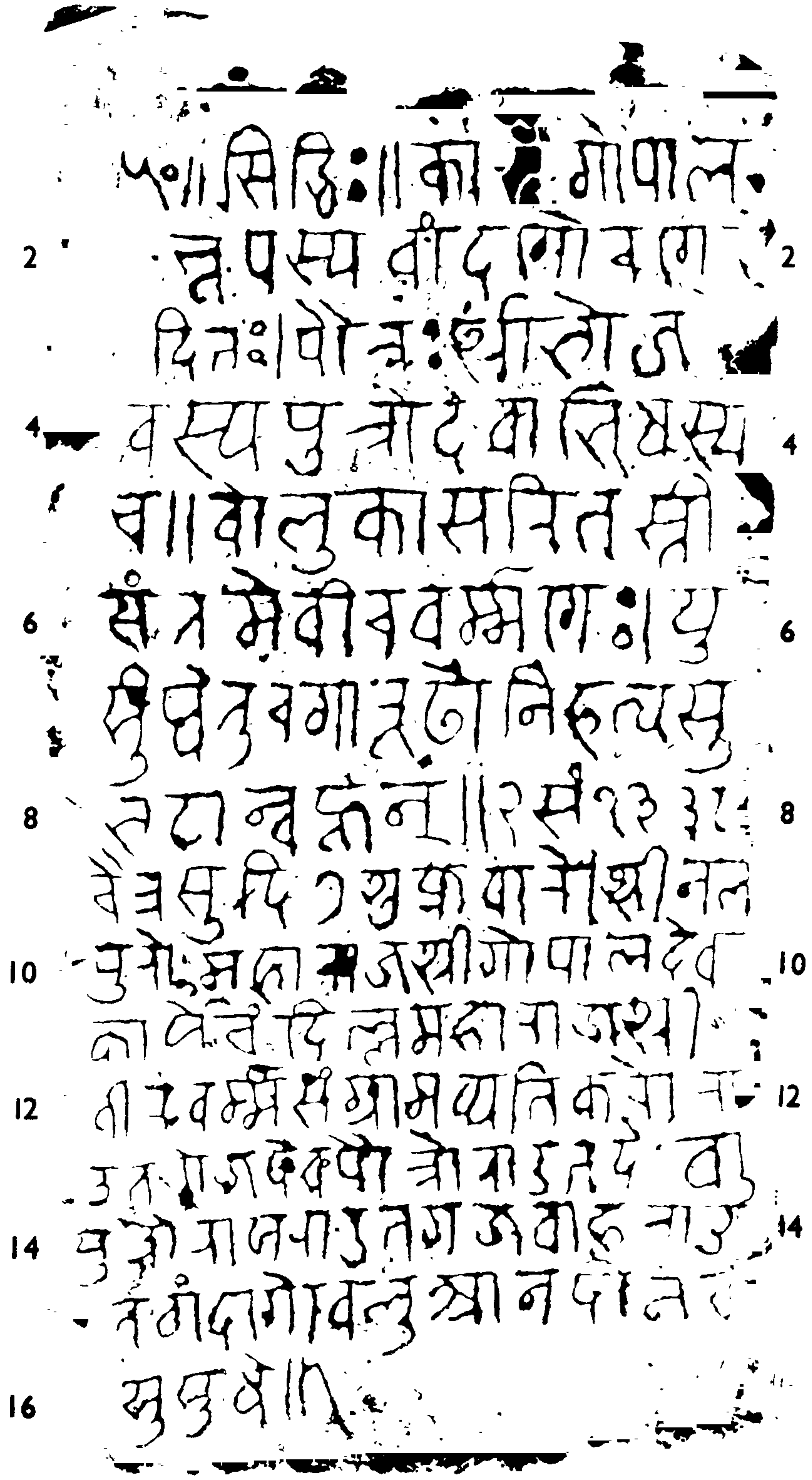
[15] The word *vyatikara* here means either 'an incident, occurrence or affair' or 'a calamity'.

[16] There is a slanting *daṇḍa* attached to the second member of the double *daṇḍa* to indicate the end of the writing.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF YAJVAPALA GOPALA—PLATE II

2.— INSCRIPTIONS FROM BANGLA, V.S. 1338

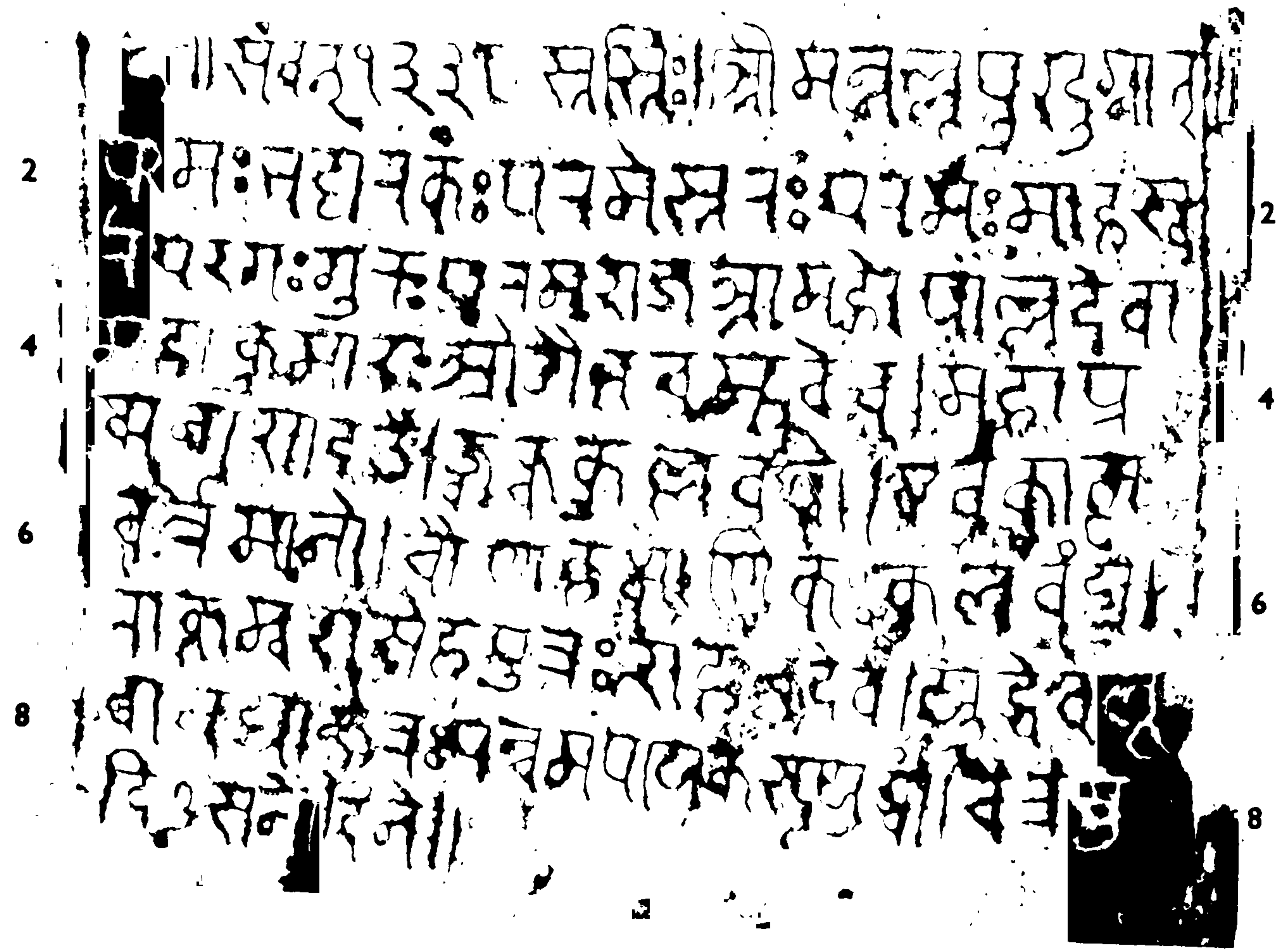
Inscription No. 2



Scale: One-third

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF YAJVAPALA GOPALA—PLATE II

Inscription No. 3



Scale: One-half

Inscription No. 3[1]

1 **Siddham**[2][|*]**Saṁvat 1338** sta(sva)stiḥ || śrīman-**Nalla(la)pura**-durgāt ||

2 paramaḥ(ma)bhaṭṭārakaḥ paramēsta(śva)raḥ paramaḥ(ma)māha(hē)sva(śva)-

3 ra[ḥ*] paragaḥ(ma)guraḥ(ruḥ) paramarāja[ḥ*][3] śrā(śrī)mad-**Gōpālla(la)dēvā(vaḥ** |)

4 mahākumāraḥ śrō(śrī)-[Jai]tavrahmadēva[ḥ*][4] | mahāpra-

5 dhānā(naḥ) rā[5]- [Dējai] | Jvajvakulla[6]-vaṁśē | ēva[ṁ] kāla(lē)

6 varttamānē || Chauṇāhamāṇikaḥ(ka)[7]-kula(lē) vaṁdyē |[8]

7 rā-Kūmvarāsēha[9]-putraḥ rā[10]-Ha[rā]dēva[ḥ*] | yuddhē **Valū-**

8 **bā**-nadyā[ḥ*] kshētraḥ(trē) panchamapayēkaśu[11] yuddhaṁ[12] | **Chaitra-su-**

9 **di 2 Sa(Śa)nau**[13] dinē ||

Inscription No. 4[14]

1 **Siddham**[2] [|*] **Saṁvat 1338 Chaitra-sudi 7 Su(Śu)krē** |

2 ady=ēha śrīma[n*]-**Nalapura**-durgrē(rggē) | mahārā-

3 jādhirāja-śrī-**Gōpālada(dē)va**-vijaya-rā-

4 jyē tasmin kālē varttamānē rā[vata]-

5 Jayatavrahmadēva[15]-mahāpradhāna-Dējai-

6 parigrahī-gadani-vyaparita-samayē[16]

7 rājā(ja)-śrī-**Vīravrahmadēva**[17]-saṁgrāmē **Valuvā-**

---

[1] This is No. 216 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1954-55, Appendix B.

[2] Expressed by symbol.

[3] The expressions *paramaguru* and *paramarāja* are not generally met with in the string of royal epithets found in inscriptions.

[4] The correct form of the name, given here and in No. 15 as *Jaita°*, in No. 4 as *Jayata°* and in No. 5 as *Jēyata°*, seems to be Jaitravarmadēva.

[5] I. e. *rāuta*.

[6] If this may be regarded as a mistake for Yajvapāla or Jajapēlla, king Gōpāla and his subordinates Jaitravarman and Dējai all belonged to the same family. As suggested above, *Mahākumāra* Jaitravarman may have been a son of Gōpāla.

[7] It is difficult to determine whether the first part of the family name is a mistake for Chauhāna.

[8] The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[9] I.e. *rāuta-Kumārasiṁha*.

[10] I.e. *rāuta*.

[11] The meaning of the passage is obscure. Is the intended reading *pañcha-padātikaiḥ*?

[12] This word seems to have been used here in the sense of *yuddhitaḥ* found elsewhere.

[13] This seems to be a mistake for *di 7 Sukrē* as quoted elsewhere.

[14] This is No. 220 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1954-55, Appendix B.

[15] The correct form of the name, given as *Jayata°* here, *Jaita°* in Nos. 3 and 15, and *Jēyata°* in No. 5, seems to be Jaitravarman.

[16] The language of the passage is defective. But it apparently refers to the time when Jaitravarman and Dējai were conducting the affairs of administration during the reign of Gōpāla.

[17] The correct form of this name as given in Nos. 1-2, 6-9 and 15 is Vīravarman.

8 **nadī-shē(kshē)tra=āvāsita**-yudhaṁ(ddham) | rājaputra[ḥ*]

9 **Arasīha**[ḥ*][1] asya putra[ḥ*] Dhadhaheu rā-

10 japutra-Sīhaḍā[2] || Dēvāsa-Vaṭita y[u]-

11 dha || sati |[3]

Inscription No. 5[4]

1 Siddham[5] [|*] **Saṁvat 1338 Chaitra-sudi 7 Su(Śu)krē**

2 ady=ēha śrīma[n*]-**Nalapura**-dugrē(rgē) | mahā-

3 rājādhirāja-śrī-**Gōpāladēva**-vi-

4 jaya-rājyē tasmin kālē vatta(rtta)mā-

5 na(nē) | śrī-Jēyatavra[hmadē]va[6]-mahāpradhāna-

6 Dējē[7] | parigraha. . gadani[8]-vyāpārē(ri)-

7 ta-samyā[9] rājā(ja)-śrī-**Vīravrahmadēva**-[10]

8 saṁgrāmē **Valuka**-nadī-[kshētr]-āv[āsi]-

9 [ta]-yudhaṁ(ddham |) rājaputra-La[sībhaṭa |?] Vatha[ḥ*] Ḍēḍē

10 rā[11]-Sīhadatt=āsya[12] putra[ḥ*] rānā(ṇā)

11 G[au]ghō[sē]na[ḥ*] | Mamalaḥ(la)dēva[ḥ*]

12 yudhaṁ[13] || shē(kshē)trē Sabhaṁmas[y]a[14] [||*]

Inscription No.6[15]

1 Siddham[5] | Siddhiḥ || **Saṁvart(vat) 1338**

2 **Chaitra-sudi 7 Śukrē** [|*] **Vālukā**-

3 saritas=tīrē yuddhaṁ saha **Vīra**-

4 **vyarmmaṇaḥ**[16] | **Gōpāladēva**-kā-

---

[1] The name seems to be the same as Arisiṁha.

[2] These persons must have lost their lives in the battle referred to.

[3] This obscure passage seems to mean that a person named Vaṭita who was a resident of Devāsa (modern Dewas?) lost his life in the battle and that his wife committed *Satī*. *Dēvāsa-Vaṭita* may also mean two persons named Dēvāsa and Vaṭita.

[4] This is No. 221 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1954-55, Appendix B.

[5] Expressed by symbol.

[6] The correct form of the name, given elsewhere (Nos. 3-4, 15) as *Jaita*° or *Jayata*°, seems to be Jaitravarman.

[7] This name is elsewhere given as Dējai. The following *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[8] For this defective passage see note on the corresponding passage in No. 4 above.

[9] Read *samayē*.

[10] The correct form of the name is Vīravarman as given in some of the inscriptions (Nos. 1-2, 6-9, 15).

[11] I.e. *rāuta*.

[12] Read *Siṁhadattaḥ tasya*.

[13] This word has been used to indicate the fact that the persons mentioned lost their lives in fighting.

[14] The passage is obscure but may mean that the persons in question died while fighting in an area belonging to a person named Sabhaṁma.

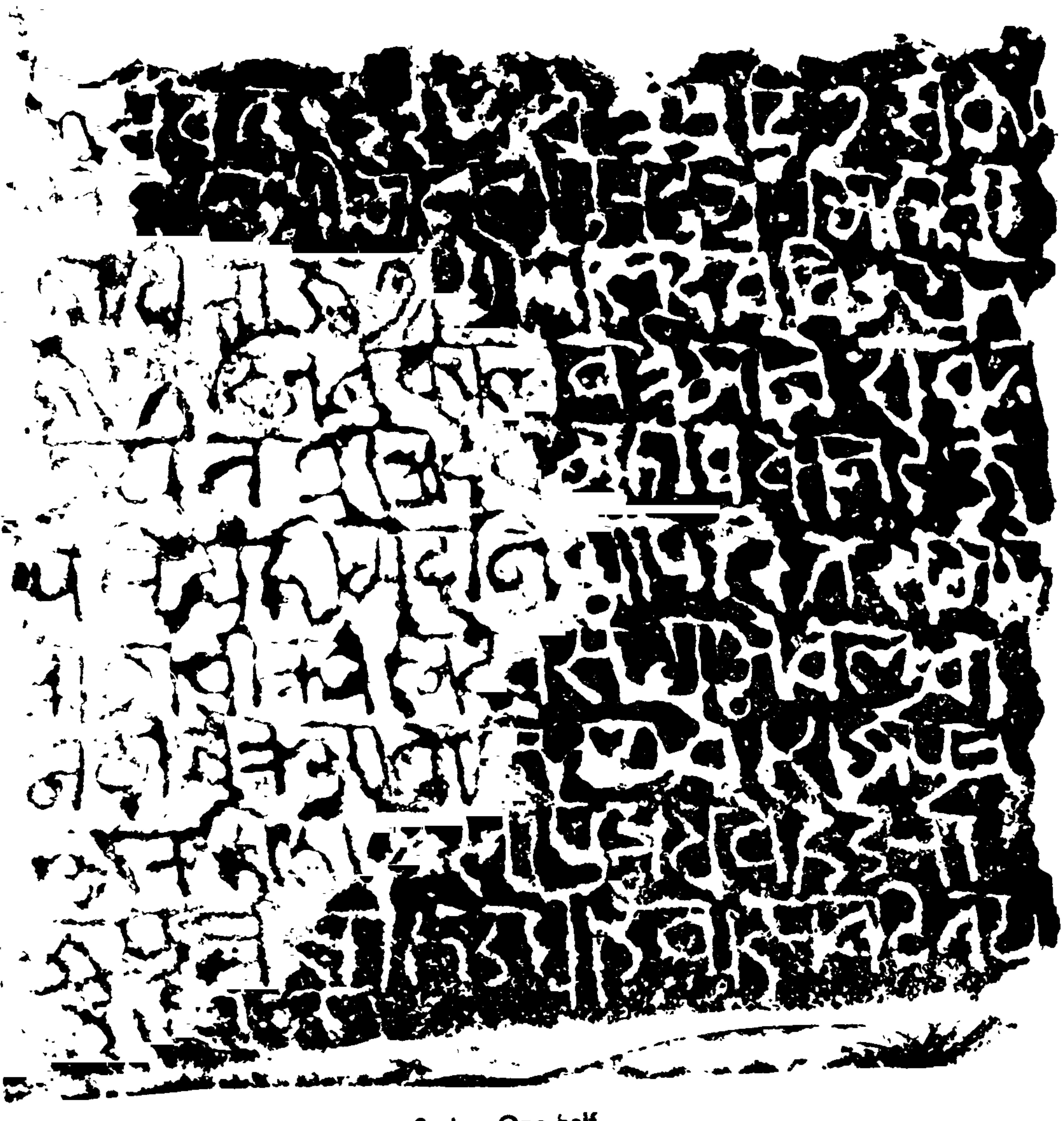
[15] This is No. 212 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1954-55, Appendix B.

[16] Read °*varmmaṇā*.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF YAJVAPALA GOPALA — PLATE III

2. — INSCRIPTIONS FROM BANGLA, V.S. 1338

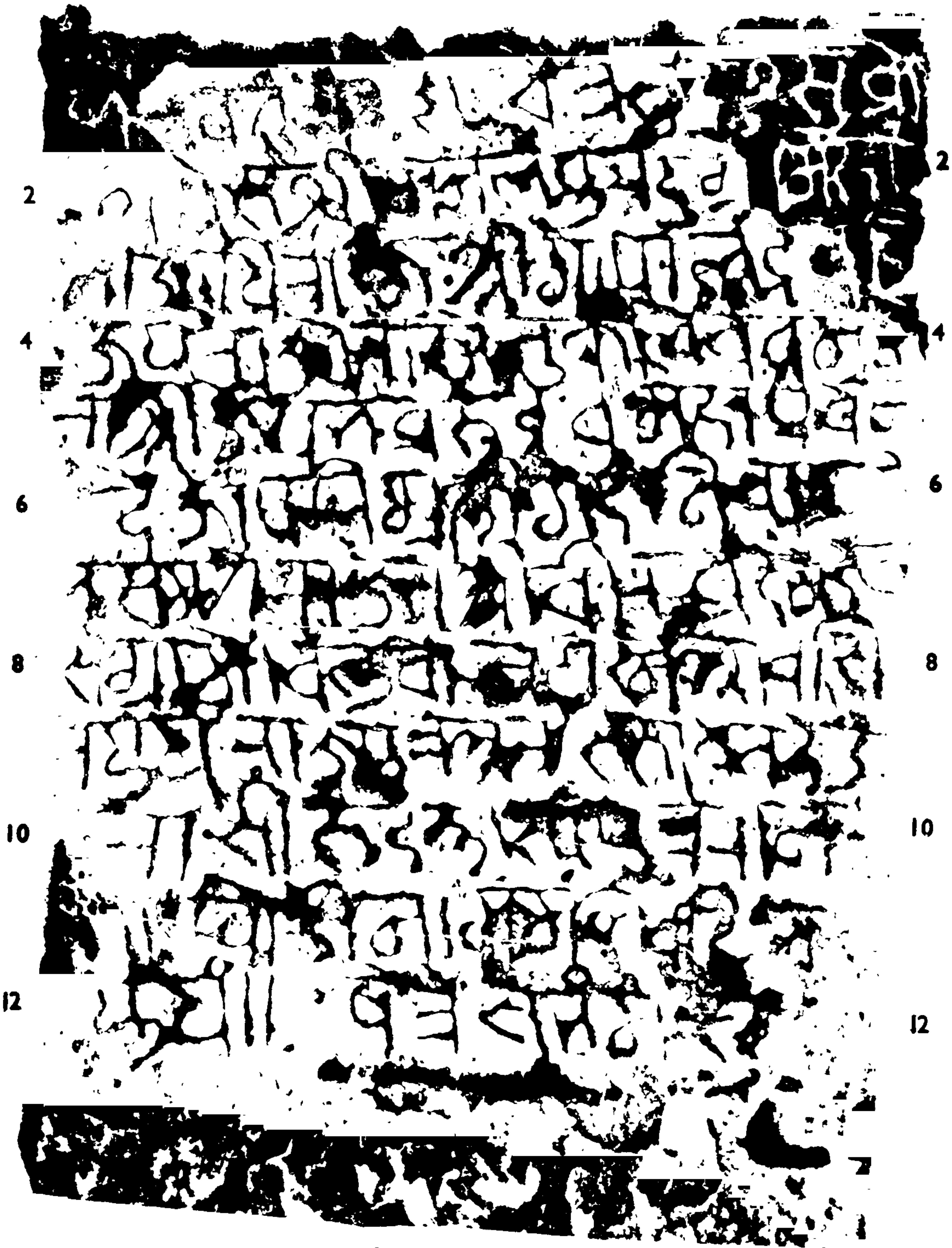
Inscription No. 4



Scale: One-half

2.—INSCRIPTIONS FROM BANGLA, V.S. 1338

Inscription No. 5



Scale: One-half

5 ryē janmamitaṁ rāṇa-maṁganaṁ[1] | [|*]

6 **Nalapura**-dū(du)rgāt mahā-

7 rājāshi(dhi)rā[ja*]pati-pana(ra)-

8 mēsva(śva)ra-paramamāhēsva(śva)-

9 ra-śrī-**Gōpāladēva**-rā-

10 jyē saṁtāṇaghaṁ kruüddha-[2]

11 raṇaṁ Jadēvā-suta-Gōtinōduṇa[3]

12 **Vīravarmmaṇā** saha

13 yuddhaṁ daśavatarhi ja-

14 naṁ[4] hṛi(ha)tvā yuddhaṁ jitaṁ(tam) [||*]

Inscription No. 7[5]

1 ....[6] m=urvvyām=avyāhata-parākramaḥ | Dhanurddhara iti

2 khyātō ......[7] ku[la*]-saṁbhavaḥ || 1 G[īya]kas=tanaya[s=ta][sya*] va(ba)bhūva va[ra]-

3 vikramaḥ | ath=aitasya sutāv=Iṁ[dra]-Vatsāv=i[ti] va(ba)bhūvatuḥ || 2

4 **Śrī-Vīra[varmaṇā]** sākaṁ **Vālukā**-taṭinī-taṭē | tadā pra[va]-

5 r[tti]taṁ raudraṁ yuddhaṁ [**Gōpāla**-bhūbhu]jaḥ || 3 Vairiṇah samarē

6 jitvā datvā(ttvā) [sva]-vijaya-śriyaṁ(yam |) [śrīmad-**Gō]pāladēvāya** sv[āmi]-

7 nē svāmi-bhaktimān || [4] Sa tābhyām=Iṁdra-Va[ts]ābhyām=a-

8 bhyasta-dhanur-āgamaḥ | [mu]nitiḥ(bhiḥ) saṁstutas=tatra [Gīya]kō

9 bhuvi yuddhitaḥ || 5 **Saṁvat 1337 Chaitra-sudi 7 Śukrē** ||

APPENDIX

None of the other eight inscriptions from Baṅgiā copied by me can be completely deciphered owing to unsatisfactory preservation and careless incision. They are briefly noticed below.

---

[1] This is a metrically defective stanza, the meaning of the fourth foot of which is obscure. If a name like *Rāṇā* Maṅgana is read here, it will not tally with the name given in line 11 below.

[2] This stands for the Sanskrit word *kruddha* ; but the preceding word, the reading of which is doubtful, is unintelligible.

[3] The reading of the passage is doubtful. If the name of the hero is read here as Gōtinōduṇa, it will not tally with the one given in line 5 above. It is difficult to determine whether the reading intended is *Gōtinōdēna*, (3rd case-ending) or *Gōtinadunaḥ* (1st case-ending) or *Gōtinandinaḥ* (6th case-ending).

[4] The language of the passage is defective and its reading doubtful ; but it seems to refer to ten persons of the enemy's side, who were killed by the hero in whose memory the pillar was raised.

[5] This is No. 222 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1954-55, Appendix B.

[6] There appears to be a symbol for *Siddham* at the beginning of the line.

[7] The name of a family quoted here is doubtful.

No. 8.—This is No. 214 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1954-55, Appendix B. There are altogether 12 lines of writing in the inscription. Of these, lines 1-8 run as follows:

1 Siddham[1] [|*] Vaghēlāka-vaṁśa(śē) Siṁhē[2]-nāmā dhanurdharō

2 va(ba)bhūva [|*] tasya putrō Gaṅgūkō va(ba)bhūva | asya

3 putrau Iṁdauva(ka)-Kaukau va(ba)bhūvatuḥ | **Nalapura[stha]-**

4 rājñō **Gōpāladēvasya** kāryēṇa **Jējāmu(bhu)kt-ī-**

5 sva(śva)rēṇa **Vīravarmmaṇā** saha **Vālukā**-nadī-

6 tīre Iṁdaukō pitrā Gāṁgūkēna bhrātrā cha

7 Kaukēna sahitō raṇē yuddhitaḥ || || ||

8 **Saṁ 1337 Chaitra-sudi 7 Śukra-dinē** ||

These lines state that Gāṅgūka (son of the archer Siṁhē or Siṁha of the Vaghēlāka family) died along with his two sons named Indauka and Kauka in fighting against **Vīravarman,** lord of **Jējābhukti,** on behalf of king **Gōpāla** of **Nalapura.** The heroes appear to have claimed descent from the Chaulukya-Vāghelā dynasty of Gujarat. The description of Vīravarman as the lord of Jējābhukti is interesting to note. This form of the name of the Chandēlla territory is more Sanskritic than Jējāhuti mentioned in Nos. 1 and 11. The year of the Vikrama Saṁvat is quoted as 1337 as in Nos. 1, 7, 10 and 15 instead of 1338 as in Nos. 2, 4-6, 9 and 12.

Lines 9-10 of this inscription cannot be fully deciphered. Lines 11-12 appear to be engraved by a different hand. Their language is also very much defective. The last sentence of the record in these two lines appears to read *asya Iṁdaukasya pachāvē idānim=ashṭaṁ kumārīā rayaṇa varaitu.* This may mean that eight girls committed *Satī* on the funeral pyre of Indauka. The word *rayaṇa* seems to be a mistake for *maraṇa[m*]*.

No. 9.—This is No. 213 of *A.R. Ep.*, 1954-55, Appendix B. There are altogether eight lines of writing. Of these, lines 1-5 read as follows:—

1 Siddham[3] [|*] siddhi[ḥ |*] **Saṁvatu(vat) 1338 Chaitra-sudī(di) 7 Su(Śu)krē**

2 **Nalapura**-durgē śri(śrī)-rājādhirāja-**Gō-**

3 **pāladeva[ḥ*]** | maṁ[tr]i-yō(śrī)-Dējā[4]-parigrahi-ga-

4 dani || rā[ja*]-śri(śrī)-**Vi(Vī)ravramhadēē**[5] **Valuā-**

5 nadī shē(kshē)trē yudhaṁ(ddhaṁ) Kāli-Suya-Lēlē-[6]

---

[1] Expressed by a symbol which has not the usual globular mark at the right end and looks slightly different from the other cases of its use in the epigraphs published here.

[2] The name may have been Siṁhē or Siṁha. In the latter case, we have to suggest *Siṁha-nāmā* or *Siṁhē nāma.*

[3] Expressed by symbol.

[4] The name is given as Dējai in Nos. 3-4, as Dējē in No. 5 and as Dēja in Nos. 10 and 15. He was the *Mahāpradhāna* of the Yajvapāla (Jajapēlla) kingdom. No. 10 calls him *Pradhāna.* In the present epigraph he seems to be called a *Mantrin.*

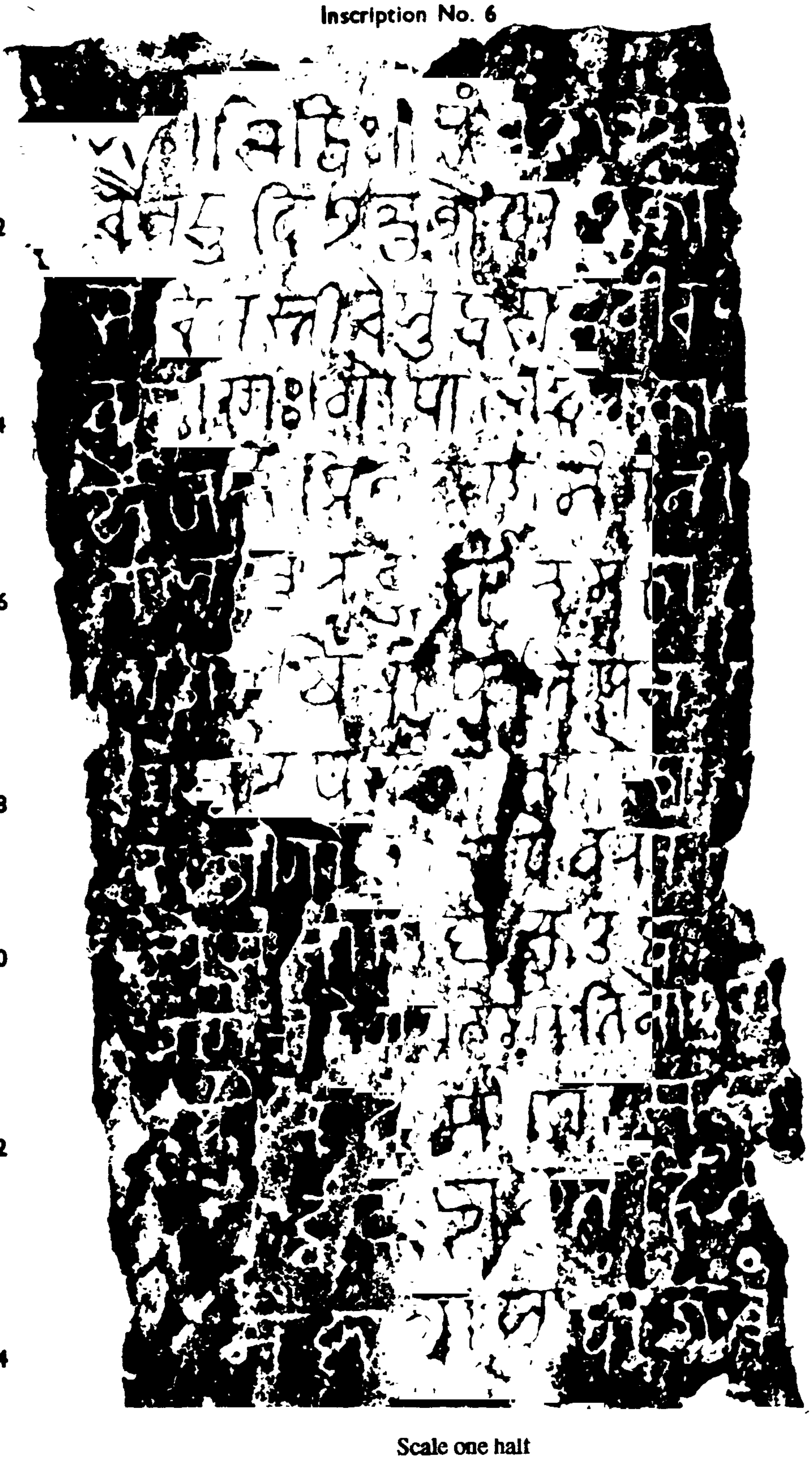
[5] Read *Vīravarmadēvēna.*

[6] These are probably some of the persons who died in fighting.

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF YAJAVAPALA GOPALA

2.— INSCRIPTIONS FROM BANGLA, V.S. 1338

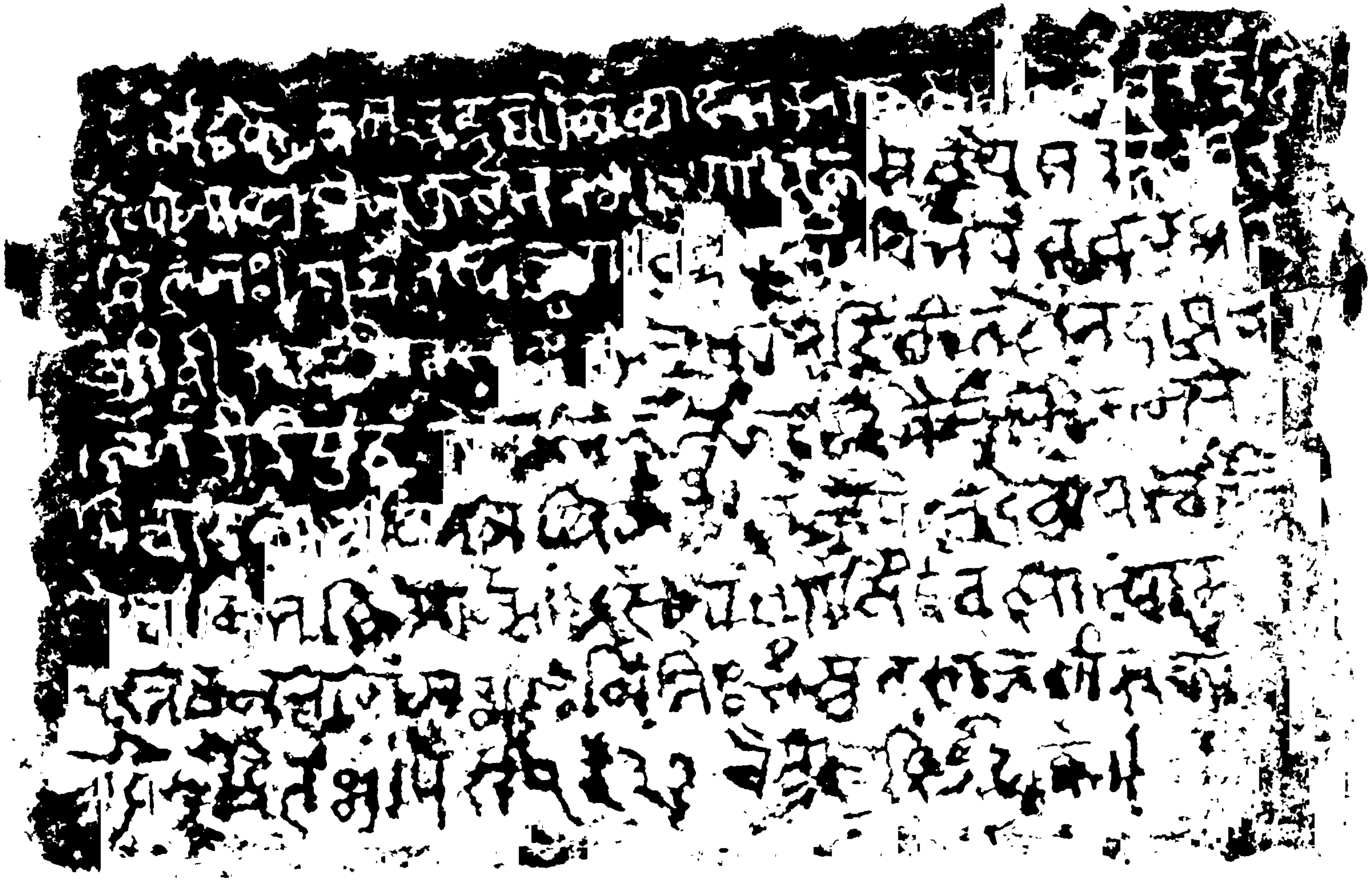
Inscription No. 6



Scale one half

2.—Inscriptions from Bangla, V.S. 1338

Inscription No. 7



Scale: Four-fifths

Lines 6-7 of this record appear to contain some additional personal names. There is probably reference to a lady committing *Sati* in line 8.

No. 10.—This is No. 223 of *A.R. Ep.*, 1954-55, Appendix B. There are altogether nine lines of writing. Of these, lines 1-5 read as follows:

1 Siddham[1] [|*] **Saṁvatu(vat) 1337 Chaitra sudi**..[2]

2 **Su(Śu)krē Valuā**-nadī-shē(kshē)tra-..

3 .śrī-rājādhirājā(ja)-**Gō-**

4 **pāladēva[ḥ*]** pradhāna-Dēja[3]-mada-

5 ni-kārya[4]..........rājā **Vi(Vī)ra-**

The inscription speaks of the field on the bank of the river Valuā, of *Rājādhirāja* Gōpāla and his *Pradhāna* (elsewhere called *Mahāpradhāna*) Dēja(Dējai) as well as of *Rājā* Vīravarman. The year of the Vikrama Saṁvat is quoted as 1337 as in Nos. 1 and 7-8 and not as 1338 as in Nos. 2, 4-6, 9 and 12.

No. 11.—This is No. 218 of *A.R. Ep.*, 1954-55, Appendix B. There are altogether 5 lines of writing. They read as follows:

1 ..**sudi**[5] **7 Su(Śu)krē** | ady=ēha śrīman-**Nalapurē** | mahā-..

2 ..mad-**Gōpāladēva[ḥ** |*]

3 **[Jē]jāhuti-**rājā(ja)-[śrī]-**Vīra[vra]hma[dēva]**[ḥ*] chatu[rbhiḥ] rā-

4 ..saha **Nalapurē** samāyātaḥ | **Valuā**-nadī-..

5 ..jēkō yuddhitaḥ ||

The text of this record is similar to that of No. 1 edited above. Most of the lacunae can be filled up with the help of that inscription.

No. 12.—This is No. 217 of *A.R. Ep.*, 1954-55, Appendix B. In line 2,....*tu*[6] *1338 Chaitra-sudi 7 Su(Śu)kré* can be read. This date shows that the pillar bearing the inscription was raised in memory of a partisan (or several partisans) of Yajvapāla (Jajapēlla) Gōpāla on his (or their) death in fighting with the invading forces of Chandēlla Vīravarman. But the details of the record are not clear.

No. 13.—This is No. 225 of *A.R. Ep.*, 1954-55, Appendix B. The inscription is very much damaged.

No. 14.—This is No. 226 of *A.R. Ep.*, 1954-55, Appendix B. It is a fragmentary record. None of the details gathered from Nos. 1-7 can be traced in this epigraph. It seems to belong to the reign of Yajvapāla (Jajapēlla) Gōpāla, as the writing closely resembles that of the other records. But it is not possible to be sure on this point.

---

[1] Expressed by symbol.

[2] The figure for 7 seems to have broken away here.

[3] The name is quoted elsewhere as Dējai (Nos. 3-4), Dējē (No. 5) and Dējā (Nos. 9, 15). He is called *Mahāpradhāna* in Nos. 3-5 and *Mantrin* in No. 9.

[4] *Madani* (cf. No. 15 below) seems to be a mistake for *gadani* found in this context in Nos. 4-5 and 9.

[5] The word lost before *sudi* was no doubt *Chaitra*. It is, however, impossible to say whether the year was quoted as 1338 or 1337.

[6] The word damaged here evidently stood for *Saṁvat*.

No. 15.—This is No. 215 of 1954-55. The inscription is in 11 lines, of which lines 1-6 read as follows :

1 Siddham[1] [|*] Siddhi[ḥ |*] **Saṁvat 1337[2] Chaitra-sudi 7 Śu-**

2 **krē** . . . . **Nā(Na)lapura**-durgē rājādhī(dhi)-

3 rājā(ja)-śri(śrī)-**Gōpāladēva[ḥ*]** || Kum[ā]ra-śri(śrī)-

4 Jaitava(bra)[hma]dēva[ḥ*] | pradhāna-Dējā-pariga(gra)[hē]

5 madani[3]. . . . . . jayē [śrī]-

6 **rāja** . . . . śri(śrī)-**Vi(Vī)rava[rma]dēva[ḥ*]** ||

Line 10 reads : *Valuā-nadī-vī(tī)ra-shē(kshē)[trē] judhaṁ(yuddha).*

---

[1] Expressed by symbol.

[2] The year of the date agrees with that in Nos. 1, 7-8 and 10, although in Nos. 2, 4, 6, 9 and 12 it is given as 1338.

[3] This word is *gadani* in Nos. 4, 5 and 9 but *madani* in No. 10.

INDEX

By K. V. Ramesh, B.A. (Hons.)

[The figures refer to pages, *n* after a figure to footnotes, and *add.* to additions. The following other abbreviations are also used : *au.*=author ; *ca.*=capital ; *ch.*=chief ; *Chron.*=Chronicle ; *ci.*=city ; *co.*=country ; *com.*=composer ; *de.*=deity ; *di.*=district or division ; *do.*=ditto ; *dy.*=dynasty ; *E.*=Eastern ; *engr.*=engraver ; *ep.*=epithet ; *f.*=family ; *fe.*=female ; *feud.*=feudatory ; *gen.*=general ; *gr.*=grant, grants ; *hist.*=historical ; *ins.*=inscription, inscriptions ; *k.*=king ; *l.*=locality ; *l.m.*=linear measure, land measure ; *m.*=male ; *min.*=minister ; *mo.*=mountain ; *myth.*=mythological ; *n.*=name ; *N.*=Northern ; *off.*=office, officer ; *pl.*=plate, plates ; *pr.*=prince, princess ; *prov.*=province ; *q.*=queen ; *rel.*=religious ; *ri.*=river : *S.*=Southern ; *s.a.*=same as ; *sur.*=surname ; *te.*=temple ; *Tel.*=Telugu ; *t.d.*=territorial division ; *tit.*=title ; *tn.*=town ; *tk.*=taluk ; *vi.*=village ; *W.*=Western ; *wk.*=work ; *wt.*=weight.]

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